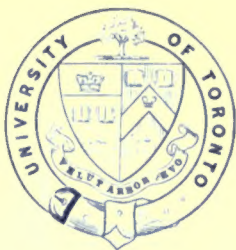


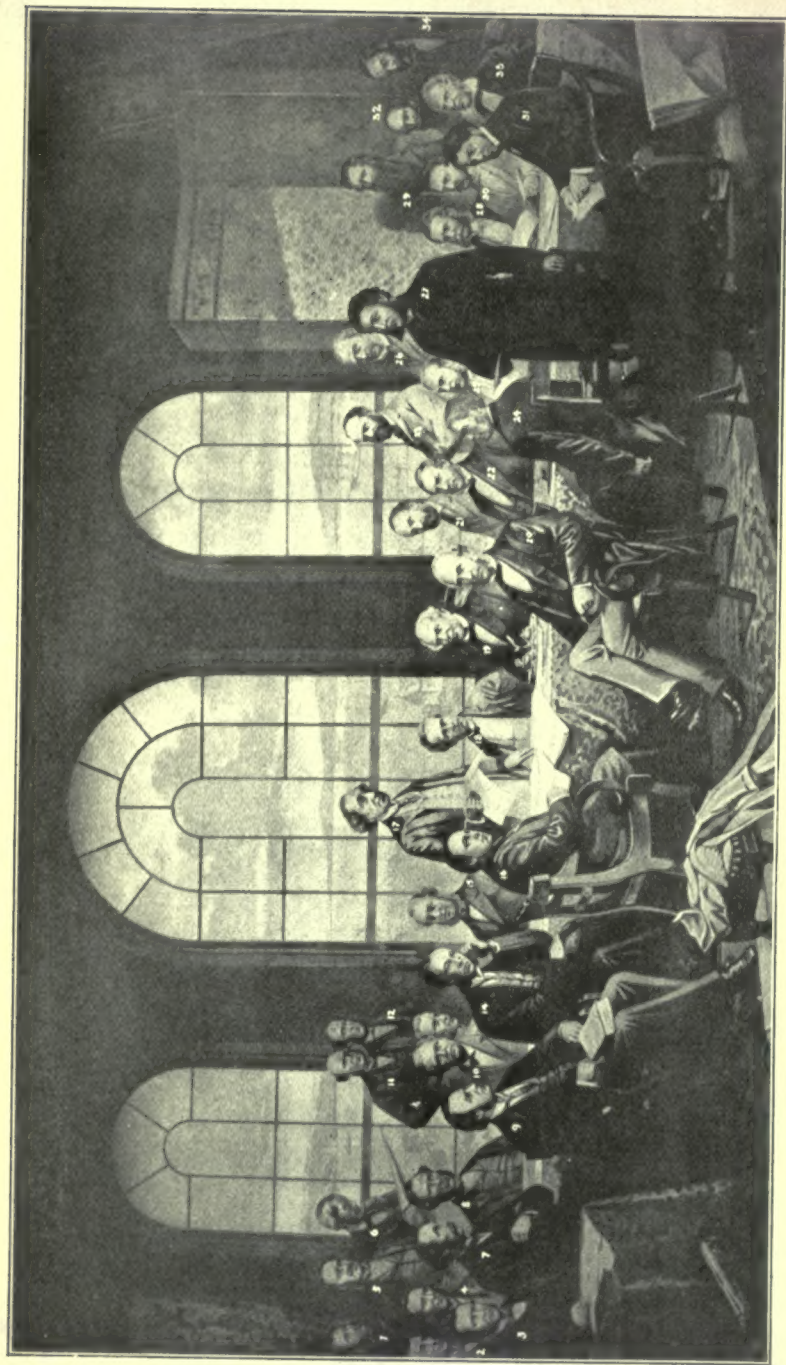
THE STORY OF CANADA



FROM THE
EARLIEST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME



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Public men of the British Provinces in North America, who shared in the Creation of the Dominion of Canada, on July 1st, 1867. (1) H. Bernard, Secretary; (2) W. A. Henry, Nova Scotia; (3) E. Palmer, Prince Edward Island; (4) W. H. Stevens, New Brunswick; (5) C. Fisher, New Brunswick; (6) E. Whelan, Prince Edward Island; (7) Col. J. H. Gray, Prince Edward Island; (8) G. Coles, Prince Edward Island; (9) Sir S. L. Tilley, New Brunswick; (10) Sir F. B. T. Carter, New Brunswick; (11) Sir Ambrose Shea, Newfoundland; (12) J. C. Chapais, Canada East; (13) E. B. Chandler, New Brunswick; (14) Sir Alexander Campbell, Canada; (15) Sir A. G. Archibald, Nova Scotia; (16) Sir H. Langevin, Canada East; (17) Sir J. A. Macdonald, Canada West; (18) Sir G. E. Cartier, Canada East; (19) Sir E. P. Taché, Canada East; (20) Hon. George Brown, Canada West; (21) T. H. Haviland, Prince Edward Island; (22) Sir A. T. Galt, Canada West; (23) P. Mitchell, New Brunswick; (24) Sir Oliver Mowat, Canada West; (25) J. Cockburn, Canada West; (26) R. B. Dickey, Nova Scotia; (27) Sir Charles Tupper, Nova Scotia; (28) Col. J. H. Gray, New Brunswick; (29) W. H. Pope, Prince Edward Island; (30) W. McDougall, Canada West; (31) T. D. Argy McCree, Canada; (32) A. A. McDonald, Prince Edward Island; (33) J. McCully, Nova Scotia; (34) J. M. Johnson, New Brunswick.

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THE STORY OF CANADA

*A History of Four Centuries
of Progress from the Earliest
Settlement to the Present Time*

BY

JOHN
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L.

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PREFACE

HISTORY can be one of the most interesting of subjects to write about, one of the most attractive to read, one of the most instructive to study; it can also be the driest and dull-est of all possible topics for the pen of a writer, the mind of a reader, or the aspirations of a scholar. After all, History is to the life of a nation what Biography is to the life of an individual. If the National life or the individual life has been stormy and interesting, if it has embodied great truths or noble ideals, if it has represented virility and force of character in war or in peace, in politics or in progress, if it has stood for something in the world distinct from selfishness and narrowness—then that history or biography must be of interest when written with discrimination and breadth of thought.

But there are two kinds of History. One deals with the record of a nation as an accountant treats his balance sheet—facts in the form of figures and dates, facts without the frills of life and character, facts without the thrills of adventure and ambition, facts without the essential touch of many personalities, facts without imagination or insight, life without passions or prejudices, pleasures or pains. This kind of History is common but it is not history. The reason children dislike History is that dates and statistics and statements without a touch of life are all they usually get; for the same reason many people like Biography who never read what they call History. After all, the record of a nation is and must be the story of its great men in great actions, of its little men in places too big for them, of its individualized masses in the posts where each has built his or her bit into the national life. The nation is simply a large community with a collective greatness or weakness; its real history is a study of under-

currents, of personal influences, of prejudices or ideals, of merits or faults, natural to its individuals and multiplied a myriad times in the National entity.

This History of Canada has been written with the feeling that while dates and figures and facts must be the actual basis of such a record, they are ineffective and always uninteresting to the people—as distinct from the students of a nation—unless the facts are clothed so as to present a picture of environment and personality; unless they involve a reasonable understanding of the conditions—buried in the past or existent in the present—in which the country, the people, the leaders, the masses, thought and lived and fought and worked.

To Canadians who really believe in their country it has more than a record of growing wheatfields, developing mines, expanding trade, extending industry or important finance. Before the World War Canadians were not, as a rule, familiar with the history of their own country, proud of its really striking record, confident in its virility and future greatness, assured of its National and Imperial development. The mass of the people looked with admiration upon the splendid annals of the Mother-land, her wars upon sea and shore, her heroes in history and statecraft and literature and every branch of human progress, her wealth of civilized tradition and store of constitutional liberties. Others were impressed with the vast object-lesson of United States development and the thrilling records of its war for unity and freedom. To many busy, self-centred, or very prosperous people, to hundreds of thousands of new settlers in Canada, the four hundred years of history which the Dominion boasted was more or less a sweeping shadow upon the dial of time; a matter of comparative unimportance and little interest.

Yet that period and this country have produced the most picturesque panorama of events in all the annals of the world. There

was stamped upon its record the figure of the wild, untamed savage moving over his native ground in a spirit of mingled ferocity and love of freedom; the black-robed Jesuit struggling against fate and the fierce will of the Iroquois in a spirit of sacrificial fire almost unequalled in the annals of martyrdom; the long procession of French gentlemen, adventurers, *voyageurs* and hunters, streaming up the waterways of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes and following, over the vast wilderness of half a continent, the pursuit of dreams of wealth, or power, or fame; the romantic story of such lives as Iberville le Moyne and Charles de la Tour, such struggles as those of Champlain and the Iroquois, Frontenac and the English, Wolfe and Montcalm, Carleton and the Americans.

Through the shaded aisles of primeval forests, over thousands of miles of lake and river and wilderness, echoed the sounds of that hundred years of war between French and English for the possession of a Continent. Out of these struggles developed the striking incidents of the Revolutionary period and the first conflict for Canadian independence of the United States; out of these new conditions came the memories of a Canadian war in 1812 which was fought for freedom as fully, and marked by episodes as heroic, as were the conflicts of ancient Greek or Spartan, modern Pole or Belgian, the men of Scotland or Ireland or England.

To the constitutional student there are no more interesting pages in History than those describing the developments of the 19th Century in British America and none which convey more lessons in the follies of a fanatical freedom, the strength of an inherited loyalty, the value of a moderate liberty evolving through precedent into practice. The questions connected with the history of Canada are, indeed, at the very root of the annals and present position of the British Empire. He who would understand the situation of to-day must know something, for instance, of the prolonged struggle between British and

American tendencies and influences which permeated the whole modern development of the Canadian people from the annexationist views of Papineau and Mackenzie to the continental aims of Erastus Wiman or Goldwin Smith; from the religious and denominational ties of early days between Canada and the United States to the social and commercial relations of a later time; from the early period of American preachers and missionaries and teachers and schoolbooks to the present time of an American cable system and news agencies and literature. He who understands the existing loyalty of Canada to the Empire will then realize in the full light of its history that, despite the ties of tradition and allegiance and sentiment, the maintenance and development of British and Canadian loyalty was one of the miracles of the 19th Century.

To the young men and women of Canada a knowledge of its history and progress is not only desirable, but essential. To understand the business situation of to-day, information concerning the financial, fiscal and commercial development of the Dominion cannot but be useful. To comprehend the position of political parties, the utterances of public men, the principle and practice of National administration, a knowledge of the political struggles and progress of the country is most valuable. To realize the advance of Canada in Imperial and international affairs, a clear understanding of the events preceding and following the World War is clearly essential. These things History should give; I trust this volume may be a small contribution toward that ideal.

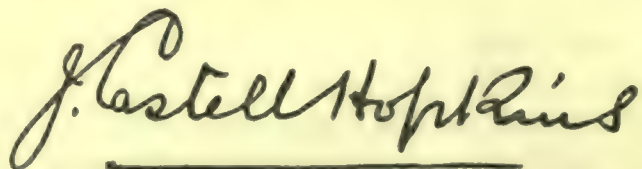


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Photo. British & Colonial Press

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES



SOME OF CANADA'S GREAT BRIDGES

At top: Lachine Bridge, C. P. R. In centre: C. P. R. Bridge, Saskatchewan. At bottom: Quebec Bridge.

CHAPTER I

Discoveries and Explorations

FLOATING down the stream of the ages have come many interesting myths and traditions regarding the Continent of America and that half of its vast area which has since become the Dominion of Canada. Plato, the Greek, described a mighty island of Atlantis which was supposed to have been submerged by the waters of a boundless sea, but was far more probably shrouded from sight by passing centuries of ignorant indifference. Seneca, the Spanish teacher of the youthful Nero, taught his Imperial pupil of a great continent which should one day defy the darkness of unknown waters and appear beyond the ultimate bounds of Thule. A Chinese record of the fifth century indicates a possible Buddhist visit to Mexico; and Welsh traditions of a later date record the mythical voyage of Madoc, in the twelfth century, to a far western country where he saw many strange sights and scenes. The sifting influence of historic research has, however, left these and many other stories to take their place beside the romantic quest for the Golden Fleece and similar legends of an olden time.

VOYAGES OF THE NORSEMEN

More satisfactory, because more stable in basis, are the records of Norse invasion and Viking adventure. Sailing from out their rugged shores about the middle of the Christian era, these wandering ocean warriors played a great part in the history of lands bordering upon the sea. Brave to rashness, and sturdy and stubborn in pursuit of gold, or silver, or precious stones, they made piracy almost respectable in days when power belonged to him who could hold it, and

property to him who could take it. There seems little reason to doubt that the small but strong wooden vessels of the sea-kings sighted the shores of America and beached their prows on the coast of Canada. Iceland and the Faroe Islands, we know, were settled by the Norsemen in the ninth century. Eric the Red, of Norway, occupied the coast of Greenland in A. D. 986, and one of his colonists was a little later swept by stormy seas into sight of unknown lands to the south and west. Leif Ericson, in the year 1000, undertook the exploration of these strange new regions, and appears to have touched the continent where Labrador now is. Other points which he claims to have seen were called Helluland, Markland and Vinland. Whether these places were really the Island of Newfoundland, the coast of Nova Scotia, and the shores of Massachusetts, as is respectively alleged, will probably remain a hopelessly disputed point.

TALES OF VIKING HEROES

There are strong reasons for believing in some measure the truth of the Icelandic Sagas, from whence these traditions are derived, and it is probable that the songs which thus sing weird tales of Viking heroes upon the Atlantic shores of Canada and the United States have a firmer ground of fact to support their swelling words than has many an accepted event of old-time Eastern and European history. Still, so far as the world at large was concerned, nothing but faint rumours and mythical tales had resulted from these passing settlements upon the soil of America or sweeping glimpses of its lonely shores.

To really make this vast region known to humanity required a period of growing maritime commerce as well as of stirring adventure—a time when the Orient, with its wealth of mystery and romance, of silks and spices, of gold and silver and gems, was being brought closer to the eye and the mind of Europe. It

required the discovery of the compass and the wider knowledge of navigation which grew so naturally out of that event. It was made imminent by the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1486, and inevitable by the growth of British maritime ambitions and the sea-dog spirit of the sturdy islanders. It became a fact when Columbus, after imbibing the love of the sea from his birth-place of Genoa, sailed the Mediterranean and the nearer waters of the Atlantic for twenty years and then made up his mind to discover a direct route to the East Indies. For long after coming to this conclusion, he haunted the courts of Europe, and finally impressed his great interest in the subject, and his faith in a new route to the East, upon the generous Isabella of Castile. The discovery of San Salvador and other islands of the West India group which followed, in the memorable year 1492, opened the way not only to a new world in territorial magnitude but to the greatest empires of history and to newer civilizations and larger liberties.

CABOT'S PLACE IN HISTORY

It remained, however, for a Venetian, sailing under the flag of England, to first touch the mainland of the continent. John Cabot has only now, after lying in the silence of forgotten dust during four long centuries, come into recognized honour and deserved renown. Whether, in 1497, he touched the shores of Canada amid the cold and ice of Labrador, or in the wilder country of Nova Scotia, there seems every reason to believe that he did reach it somewhere between those two regions.* A monument at Bristol, from which he sailed, and a memorial at Halifax, which he made possible as a British seaport and city, agree in marking the great importance of his work. Columbus, of course, had preceded him in touching the island fringe of

* Authorities differ greatly in opinion as to Cabot's landing place. Judge Prowse believes that he first touched the shores of Newfoundland, while Dr. Harvey favours the Cape Breton theory. Labrador is supported by H. Harrisse, and in earlier days by Humboldt and Biddle. But the bulk of modern opinion, including Sir Clements Markham, Signor Tarducci, R. G. Thwaites, and Sir J. G. Bourinot, is strongly in favour of Cape Breton as the landing place. This view has recently received almost conclusive support and proof at the hands of Dr. S. E. Dawson, of Ottawa.

the continent; but the great unknown mainland still rested in the shadow of silent ages. And it is now remembered at the bar of history that Cabot sailed seas of a stormier character than Columbus ever saw; that his resources were infinitely less; that his rewards were far smaller, while his life-work was disregarded for centuries.

Yet it was he who first planted the English flag upon American shores, and paved the way for English settlements in Newfoundland and English naval supremacy in western seas. His discovery gave an immediate impetus also to the maritime spirit of England, and it supplied a later claim for her to share in the soil and history and stirring development of the whole American continent.

Following Columbus and Cabot came a stream of adventurers, explorers and navigators. Sebastian, a son of John Cabot, sailed along the shores of the new land from Nova Scotia to the region of Hudson's Straits and was probably appalled by the melancholy dreariness of the coasts of Labrador. The eastern coast, further to the south, was explored in 1498 by Americus Vesputius and after him the whole continent came in time to be called. A few years later, Cortereal, a Portuguese, inspired by the enterprise which in those days gave his country an empire of commerce and unappreciated soil, explored the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador and inaugurated the intercourse of Europeans with the Red men by carrying a number of them away into slavery. In 1506, Denis of Honfleur, a Frenchman of unrecorded position, visited the future Gulf of St. Lawrence and boldly declared the whole region annexed to France and subject to its Crown. He brought back with him a kidnapped Indian child which represented the brutal instincts of so-called civilization when in contact with barbarism; a considerable fund of knowledge which presently resulted in the appearance of Cartier upon the scene; and a basis of claim to territory and possibilities of power which might



THE BRITISH ROYAL FAMILY

A 1921 Picture (reading from left to right) of H. M. Queen Mary; H. R. II. Prince Henry; H. R. II. The Prince of Wales; H. R. II. Albert, Duke of York; His Majesty the King; Colonel, The Viscount Lascelles, D.S.O.; H. R. II. Princess Mary; Viscountess Lascelles.



HIS EXCELLENCY, GENERAL THE LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA, AND THE LADY BYNG

have made Francis the greatest of European Sovereigns and his "Field of the Cloth of Gold" a reality rather than a pageant.

It was not indeed the fault of French courage and enterprise if the land of Francis I, and Henry IV, and Louis XIV, did not become greater in the extent of its realm than Spain in even the palmiest days of its power or Great Britain at the present time. In 1534, Jacques Cartier, a Breton mariner of some repute, a *protégé* of Philippe de Brion-Chabot, who was himself deep in the King's favour and a fervent believer in the policy of extending the King's empire in these unknown regions, set sail from St. Malo with two small ships containing 120 men, and with dreams of power and performance which we can only estimate from the dauntless bearing of the man in difficulties and dangers of an after time and from the portraits of that rugged, alert, keen-eyed countenance which have come down to us.

CARTIER'S DISCOVERIES

Reaching the coasts of Newfoundland on May 10th he passed on to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and along the shores of the future Prince Edward Island to the mainland of New Brunswick. The season was opportune and his delighted men, as well as himself, revelled in a region of fertility and beauty which fairly enchanted their senses. Forests rich in the green shades of early summer, meadows full of rippling streams and wild fruits and coloured blossoms, rivers crowded with salmon and other fish, and even the air itself teeming with wild pigeons, greeted the surprised explorers. Indians, few in number but friendly in disposition, met and welcomed them. In July Cartier sailed away to further ventures with a natural feeling of elation in his heart at what he had already seen and experienced. The entrance to Miramichi Bay was passed, the sheltered beauties of an indentation which Cartier called the Baie des Chaleurs was left behind, the Gaspé shore was reached and here, with appropriate ceremony, Cartier set up a cross thirty feet in height bearing upon it a shield with the arms

of France. After appeasing the Indians, who had taken some natural alarm at this action, he foolishly trapped two young savages and carried them away with him as practical proofs of his work and discoveries. Then, without further effort, though at this time in sight of the shores of Anticosti and at the threshold of the noble river which he was afterwards to call the St. Lawrence, Cartier turned his prows homeward and once more faced the wide waters of the Atlantic.

CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE

Like Cabot and Columbus he had little true conception of the land he had just left. To him, and to the imaginative people who received him in triumph at St. Malo, or listened with eagerness to the tales of adventure and discovery which grew in volume and vagueness as they traversed the interior, it was a fertile and lonely island and the great gulf of which he had partly coasted the shores was a gateway to the eastern passage which had so long been sought to the land of Cathay—the region of gold and romance and dreams. Popular enthusiasm was aroused. The King was stirred by new visions of empire and tribute. The priest was roused by the knowledge of new peoples to convert. The trader was interested by new possibilities of commerce and barter. As a consequence, Cartier sailed again from St. Malo, on May 19th, 1535, with three small ships, an aristocratic company of passengers, and the hopes and prayers of many.

Once again he came in sight of Anticosti which he called Assumption, and then approached a bay which received the memorable name of St. Lawrence from the Saint whose feast day it chanced to be. Up the great river went the interested and charmed explorers, touching the grand and gloomy portals of the Saguenay, passing the tree-clad Isle aux Coudres, shunning the black shadows of Cape Tourmente, revelling in the wild vines and luxurious vegetation of

L'Ile d' Orleans. There they received and conciliated the countless savages who came gliding in their swift and silent canoes from all the shores of the vast waterway to see what these strange white men, with their stranger white-winged and monstrous canoes, were doing on the little island which for the moment they had called the Isle of Bacchus.

Leaving this place after a somewhat difficult but friendly conference with Donnacona, the chief of these regions, Cartier's little squadron sailed further up the river and cast anchor at the mouth of the St. Charles and in view of the Indian village of Stadacona, as it nestled under the beetling crags which were to soon see above them the crowning ramparts of Quebec. Hence the ever-delighted explorers went on up the great river, and through the Lake St. Peter, until they reached the Indian town of Hochelaga where it rested under forest-crowned heights to which Cartier gave the name of Mount Royal. The expedition had been so far like some swiftly passing dream of pleasure. The sights and scenes of the noble river; the flushing, shifting gorgeousness of summer and autumnal colours in the vast primeval forests which lined its banks; the unbroken wildness and occasionally sombre splendour of cliff and crag and promontory; the panorama of passing savage life and the unstinted hospitality of admiring and worshipping natives at Orleans, at Stadacona and now at Hochelaga; were enough to surely warrant the adventurous settlers in looking forward with confidence to the future. They returned, after a few days, to Stadacona loaded down with gifts from the friendly natives—boats heaped with fish and ripened corn—and with memories of a respect tinged with reverence and a confidence in their honour and goodness which should never have been shattered.

But they had no real knowledge of what was coming to counterbalance the period of pleasantness now rapidly passing away. A glimpse at Acadie in days of summer loveliness, or of the shores of

the St. Lawrence garbed in autumnal beauty, was but ill preparation for the blasts of winter which, in its most intense form of cold and its greatest abundance of ice and snow, was soon to be on them. By the time, indeed, that they had got their vessels into a sort of sheltered enclosure and put up some rough structures for themselves the change had come.

A WINTER OF MUCH SUFFERING

The terrors of that winter can hardly be adequately described. All about the prospective settlers was a boundless area of snow and ice. Their clothing was thin and adapted only to a mild and pleasant clime. Their fears were in proportion to their ignorance and their sufferings from a malignant form of scurvy were as great as from cold and other hardships. Twenty-five of the men died and by the time of early spring, with its first welcome signs of warmth and of the passing away of that over-whelming nightmare of surrounding whiteness, the balance of the little party were tottering in feebleness on the brink of the grave. Fortunately, the Indians, had been kind, though suffering somewhat themselves and in spite of their natural hardness, from the severity of the winter. They had prescribed a simple mixture for the sick which proved efficacious and indeed, probably saved the lives of the remaining white men.

As soon as the loosening ice on the river permitted, Cartier turned two of his ships homeward, leaving one behind to be found 307 years afterwards (1843) sunk in the bed of the St. Charles. Before going he seized Donnacona and nine of his chiefs, as visible trophies for the eye of France and as a lasting, though unintended, monument to his own folly and ingratitude. They died without seeing again their native land, and, in dying, left a legacy of future bitterness and pain to French settlers and the white man generally which it was well for Cartier he could not anticipate.

Again, in 1541, the intrepid explorer, with the patronage and co-operation of the Sieur de Roberval, a wealthy nobleman of Picardy, started for this scene of mingled pleasures and privations. Francis I. had, in the meantime, recovered a little from years of conflict with his powerful rival Charles V. of Spain and of the Holy Roman Empire, and had made De Roberval Viceroy of New France, with Cartier as Captain-General. The latter arrived at Stadacona in August and commenced a settlement a few miles higher up the river, which he called Charlesbourg; and there he began to cultivate the soil and build a fort. The natives naturally proved unfriendly when they found that their chiefs had not returned with the white men, and the winter which ensued was full of gloom and disheartening privation. A couple of vessels had been sent back to France for aid before the cold season began but, with the first flush of spring-time and without waiting their return, Cartier pulled up his stakes and started for home. Off the coast of Newfoundland he met De Roberval, himself, with three ships, plenty of provisions, and 200 new colonists of both sexes, and was commanded to return. But Cartier seems to have lost both head and heart so far as this enterprise was concerned and to have longed for a sight once more of the fair shores of sunny France. Whatever the reason, he disobeyed the orders of his superior and escaped during the night with his vessels and men.

De Roberval went on to his destination, put up a large building for the mixed purpose of accommodation and defence and prepared to face a winter of whose severity he only knew by vague hear-say. The privations of the season were enhanced by the unfriendliness of the natives as well as by the character of the convicts who constituted a large portion of his following. Sixty men perished during these weary months from cold, or hunger, or scurvy, while the cord and whips and prison found a place in connection with many others of the insubordinate, would-be colonists. In the spring De Roberval, who

was a brave and venturesome leader, attempted to explore the unknown interior, but without success and with the loss of some eight men by drowning. He clung to his settlement, however, during another winter of hardships and then at last fled back to France. Five years later, when his memories of scurvy and starvation, of snow and ice, of hand-to-mouth living upon fish and roots, had become somewhat dimmed, or perhaps forgotten in a sudden rush of summer recollections and memories of the wild free life of the primeval forest and rolling rivers of the new world, De Roberval is said to have again started for the scene which had such intense fascination for those who once breathed its vastness of air and space.

The nature of that expedition of 1549 is one of the mysteries of history and, whether the tradition of its sailing up the dark waters of the Saguenay and being lost while searching for some land of gold and jewels and alleged enchantment is true, or not, will never be really known. It seems probable, however, that the gallant nobleman and his followers were either swallowed up in a storm at sea, or lost as the first European victims of an Indian fear which was soon to change into a bitter hatred. Cartier lived some years longer to enjoy the quiet of home life and the pleasures of a period of rest which came to the brave seaman of St. Malo after the efforts of his stirring and vigorous career.

THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH

During the next fifty years these adventurous efforts to found a New France beyond the seas were forgotten in the storms of internal dissension and war which came to old France. England, which in the period just considered had been devoting the energies of her picturesque buccaneers and always gallant seamen to the gold-ships of Spain and the settlements on South American shores, or in the West Indies, made by the same great Power, now turned her attention to the north. Sir Martin Frobisher set foot on the coasts of

Labrador in 1576; Sir Francis Drake in the following year sighted the snowy mountain tops of British Columbia; Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1583, led an expedition of well-equipped and gallant colonists to the shores of Newfoundland and took possession of the Island, whose harbours were thronged by cod-fishing fleets from France, Spain, Portugal and England, in the name of Queen Elizabeth. He established English authority, enacted various laws, and proclaimed, under Royal charter, his possession of the soil for 600 miles in every direction from St. John's—a region which included New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Labrador, and part of Quebec as they are in modern days. Considerable exploring work was done by the gallant Admiral, whose character of mingled truth and gentleness and dauntless courage fills such an attractive page in history. It was beautifully exemplified as he sat in the stern of his frail and foundering vessel, during the return voyage to England in the stormy winter season, and sank to his final rest with the words of consolation to his crew: "Cheer up lads, we are as near to Heaven at sea as on land."

Once more, as the century drew to its close, French enterprise began to re-assert itself and the mantle of the ill-fated De Roberval was taken up by a nobleman of Brittany, the Marquis de la Roche. In 1598 he obtained appointment from the King as Viceroy of New France and prepared an expedition of one ship which he filled with a crew gathered from the common prisons. It was an ill-beginning with a worse ending. He reached, in summer season, the shifting sands of Sable Island and found there plenty of good water and herds of wild cattle bred from those left by De Lery's settlement of eighty years before. It seemed an excellent place in which to leave his convict colonists while he went on a further voyage of exploration. He landed them for a period, which he promised should be brief, started for the mainland, touched the Nova Scotian coast, and was then swept out to sea by a sudden storm and back to France. There he was seized by

a powerful rival and consigned to prison. When at last he got word to King Henri and was allowed to send a ship out to the rescue of his would-be settlers it was to discover one of the dark tragedies of history and to find that only a pitiful remnant of shaggy, despairing creatures who looked more like brutes than men remained.

They had, at first, been delighted with their liberty, with the balmy freshness of the summer air, with the brief abundance of fresh meat and the wild berries clustering to the lip. But the cattle began to disappear, time commenced to hang heavy on their hands, no returning ship was visible, the heat was occasionally intense, and was suddenly succeeded by the first storms of autumn sweeping over the low and unprotected surface of the level, treeless island. Then came the sense of *désertion*, the feeling of unutterable despair, the loneliness of intense isolation, the cruel, uncontrolled passion of men without moral or religious scruple. They fought and tried to kill each other and then there came sweeping down, and around them, the wintry storms of the wildest and most exposed spot on the whole Atlantic coast. How any of them ever survived that winter is a marvel—that some did live through it is a fact. When the relief expedition reached the Island, only 12 men were found alive. They were brought back to France and pardoned on account of their sufferings.

Meanwhile an effort had been made by a naval officer of Rouen, named Chauvin, and a trader of St. Malo, called Pontgravé, to establish a colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence for purposes of fur-trading. They procured from the King certain rights of monopoly and the beginning was made of what eventually became a great business. The small settlement started for this purpose at Tadoussac, near the junction of the Saguenay and the St. Lawrence, was not however as successful in a colonizing sense. Sixteen men were left to hold the port through the winter of 1599 and, in the very season which proved so fatal to the miserable refugees on Sable



Photo. British & Colonial Press

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G., M.A., LL.D., Ph.D., M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada and Secretary of State for External Affairs.



Photo, Wm. Notman & Son

THE HARBOUR AT HALIFAX

Halifax is one of the great Atlantic ports of the American continent. It possesses a splendid natural harbour, to which artificial advantages are being constantly added.

Island, the ill-equipped and ignorant colonists on the mainland were dying of cold and starvation. When the spring traders came again they found their little colony broken up and only two or three survivors living amongst the Indians. The fur-trade was continued, but no further effort at colonization was made at this time.

Elsewhere, and amid very different surroundings, the continent was being claimed or explored. Balboa had discovered the Pacific Ocean and dispelled the dream of America being a part of Asia. Spain, at the hands of Cortez and Pizarro and Ponce de Leon, had conquered or claimed the empires of Mexico and Peru and the wilder glades of Florida. England had established a fugitive settlement or two in Virginia, and Port Royal was soon to be founded and Acadie become an historic name on the Atlantic coast of the present Dominion.

THE CAREER OF CHAMPLAIN

The pivotal point in the establishment of Canada, or New France, was, however, the career of Champlain. This greatest character in the early period of its history was a gentleman by birth and a native of Bruage, on the Biscayan coast, where he was born in 1567. He became a Captain of the Royal Marines in later years and was a soldier in the wars of the League, under Henry of Navarre. With a combined experience of sea and shore, the inspiration of Henry's patriotic character, the possession of personal qualities of courage, chivalry and religious zeal, Champlain was an ideal pioneer leader. In him the zeal of the missionary is said to have tempered the fire of patriotism and there is no question of a devotion to duty which scorned privation and disappointment, and a courage which endured all things for the achievement of a far-away end. When internal peace came to France, by the accession of Henry IV., Champlain had soon tired of a life of ease and had journeyed to the West Indies and Mexico. It was, therefore, very natural when the King turned his

attention and ambition to the new world and Aymar de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, was given permission to resume the work of colonization, that he should see in Champlain the man for the work. It was readily taken up by him and, in 1603, accompanied by Pontgravé of fur-trade fame, and commanding two tiny vessels of twelve and fifteen tons burthen, he crossed the stormy seas, sailed up the solitary St. Lawrence, passed the deserted out-post of Tadoussac, the now vacant site of the Indian village at Stadacona, the ruined buildings of Cartier at Cape Rouge, and came in time to the tenantless site of the once beautiful and flourishing Hochelaga. Neither the mighty rock of Quebec, nor the lofty sides of Mount Royal, now sheltered the wigwams and huts of the one-time friendly natives. Nothing was done by the expedition, excepting the capture of a cargo of furs, and on their return the two leaders found, to their serious loss, that the generous DeChastes was dead and that Henry's mind was filled for the moment with other thoughts.

For a year after this Champlain remained in France and then accompanied De Monts and Poutrincourt upon their colonizing venture in Acadie, the land of winter ice and snow and summer loveliness—changing conditions which it seemed impossible for the early French settlers to fully grasp in all their significance of needed preparation and adaptation. Then followed the ups and downs of several years, the foundation of Port Royal and its capture by the English who, meanwhile, had been making firm their ground in Virginia, as they did a little later in Newfoundland and endeavoured to do on the shores of Hudson's Bay. The unfortunate navigator, who gave his name to the great inland sea, lost his life in its exploration, though he left behind an English claim to sovereignty of its shores based upon his service under an English King. Before this occurred Champlain had tired of the plots and complications of Acadian settlement and, under the patronage of Sieur de Monts, had turned his

attention once more to the St. Lawrence and to what was to be the great work of his life.

In 1608, therefore, this determined colonizer and fearless explorer started up the great and silent river and reached again the spot where Stadacona had once stood. Upon the deserted site and under the shelter of the beetling rock upon which his future fortress was to be established, Champlain laid the foundations of Quebec. It was a rambling structure, composed of wooden buildings, and surrounded by a wooden wall and ditch, fortified by bastions and guns. But it was enough for the moment and to the man who had the instinct of empire and government in his breast. Before very long he detected and suppressed with severe punishments a plot on the part of the fur-traders to do away with his stern but wholesome rule and to make trade the entire aim, instead of the subsidiary condition, of the settlement. The chief conspirator was promptly hung and others were sent to France in chains, or condemned to the galleys.

AN EVENT OF LASTING CONSEQUENCES

During the following year occurred an event which had lasting consequences and was the nominal cause of the prolonged and bloody conflict between Iroquois and French. Its importance has probably been exaggerated as the feud was inevitable in any case. The Iroquois would have brooked no rival to their savage empire had Champlain never given any assistance to the Hurons whom they had long intended to crush and did eventually crush. Moreover, they were quick as the wolves which roamed the wilderness in countless numbers, to detect the presence of danger, and, no doubt, had already heard traditions and plentiful rumours of the conduct of Cartier and other explorers in deceiving and seizing friendly natives—perhaps members of wandering bands with which they may have been on friendly terms. Be that as it may, however, Champlain did certainly precipitate the issue when, in the early summer of 1609, he

espoused the cause of the Ottawa Algonquins, as friends and allies of the Hurons, and started from Quebec with eleven Frenchmen and a flotilla of canoes filled with Indians, to attack the fiercest and ablest of all the Indian tribes or nations. Three-fourths of the native followers early deserted the expedition as the result of a quarrel and he sent back all but two of his own men to Quebec.

Then, with only sixty Indians in his train, but with a dauntless bearing and determination which carried all before him, the "man with the iron breast" proceeded upon his journey into the vast, unknown interior. Over rapids and foaming falls, upon varied rivers and great lakes, through dense forests and a primeval wilderness, the intrepid soldier fought his way. He discovered the Lake Champlain of a later day and upon its shores met the Iroquois in battle. It was a picturesque scene. Here, amid forests centuries old the military civilization of Europe stood for the first time face to face with the not ignoble savagery of America. Champlain, with his steel breastplate and plumed casque, his matchlock in hand, his sword by his side and his little group of followers behind him quietly awaited the attack of two hundred of the fiercest, tallest and strongest savages of the new world! The war-whoop of the Indians was met by a discharge from the French leader's matchlock which killed or wounded three of the Iroquois braves. This use of lightning to destroy his enemies with was too much for the superstition of the natives and they fled precipitately. Many were killed and some captured and Champlain, for the first time, beheld the tortures of which he had probably heard much and which the Algonquins at once proceeded to inflict upon the prisoners.

During the succeeding year Champlain took another journey and reached the mouth of the Richelieu, where he once more fought and overcame a body of Iroquois who had, in this case, placed themselves inside a barricade which had to be stormed and captured. In 1613,

the adventurous pioneer, with only five companions and two small canoes, went on a long journey of exploration. He passed with difficulty around the Longue Sault and Carillon Rapids, paddled up the Ottawa to the Rideau Falls and the foaming cataract of the Chaudière, and reached Allumette Island. There he rested for a while before turning back, while all around him was the solitude of vast wilds unbroken by any sounds save those of nature. Champlain imagined much and hoped much, but not even he, with all his visionary expectations of finding a path to the silks and spices of the far East, could have dreamed of this very region one day becoming the home of splendid legislative halls and the seat of government in a great British country. Two years later he organized another expedition against the Iroquois and this time pushed further up the Ottawa until he reached the Mattawa, crossed by a short *portage* into Lake Nipissing and thence descended the French River until the vast expanse of Lake Huron was reached. Upon the shores of Georgian Bay, its great inlet, he collected an Indian force from amongst the palisaded villages of the Hurons which then crowded the rolling and fertile fields of the future County of Simcoe.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE IROQUOIS

In September he led a large war-party by the channel of the Trent to Lake Ontario, crossed it at a narrow point and then, leaving their canoes, his Indians stole like shadows through the brilliant autumnal woods till they came to a well-guarded and palisaded town of the Onondagas. A sudden and wild attack was repulsed, the lessons in skilled warfare which Champlain had tried to give his reckless braves were unobserved, and a second onslaught met with the same result. He himself was wounded, his *prestige* was largely gone and the Hurons became thoroughly disheartened. Reinforcements were awaited but did not come and, five days later, they made haste homeward, carrying with them a leader who was suffering from a sore

heart as well as a wounded body. Promises to take him back to Quebec were broken, and he had to winter amongst the tribes. With him, however, was the Recollet priest, Le Caron, and Champlain occupied his time by helping in the foundation of a mission, in visiting allied tribes, and in patching up a dispute between the Algonquins and the Hurons. In the spring he returned to Quebec and was welcomed by those who had given up all hope of ever seeing him again.

This was his last distant expedition of a warlike or exploring character. In 1622 the Iroquois came swarming down upon the French fortress at Quebec and around the stone convent of the Recollets on the St. Charles, but were unable to do more than harry the country and capture some Hurons who, in one case, were tortured to death before the eyes of the horrified priests of the St. Charles. A little later, Champlain had to suppress a plot for the destruction of Quebec amongst an Algonquin tribe—the Montagnais—whom he had greatly befriended and helped and whose treachery cut him to the quick. But, although no more active campaigns were undertaken by him, he had to face the continued and sleepless hatred of the Iroquois, and no man knew from day to day and year to year at what moment the war-whoop of the savage might not be heard from the four quarters of the horizon. Some good came out of the evil which the brave Frenchman had created by increasing and deepening the hostility of the Iroquois. It made the Hurons more amenable to French and missionary influence and this Champlain would have considered the greatest of all good ends.

DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT LAKES

Champlain, during this part of his career, had discovered Lake Champlain and Lake Nipissing, Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, and had explored the great Ottawa and many a lesser stream. He had proven the pioneer of French energy in a vast region to which he laid claim in the name of his King. This was much for one man to

do, but it was by no means all that he achieved. From 1612 to 1629, from 1633 to his death two years later, he governed strongly and well the New France which he fondly hoped was going to be a great empire for his country and his race. During these years his difficulties were immense. Not only was there trouble with the Indians and with refractory settlers, but there was the reckless criminality of the fur-traders who corrupted the savages with brandy and too often taught them other phases of immorality which they had never known. Over and over again the lordship, or viceroyalty, of New France changed hands. There was neither continuity of system nor government. The Associated Merchants of St. Malo and Rouen held power for a time under the nominal rule of the Prince de Condé and strove in vain to oust Champlain from his position. Then two Huguenot gentlemen—brothers named De Caen—obtained the fur-trading monopoly, and religious disputes began to trouble a Colony shadowed at that very moment by the scalping-knife of the Iroquois. To them succeeded the Duc de Ventadour, whose object was neither trade nor settlement but the salvation of souls. Under his patronage Jesuit priests began to pour into the country and to follow the savages to their lairs in every part of a vast and unknown region.

Another change came when Richelieu succeeded to power in France. He strengthened Champlain's hands for the moment, founded in 1628 the Company of the Hundred Associates with Champlain as a member and with a charter of trade and power extending over New France, Acadie, Newfoundland, and Florida; proclaimed the Colony an absolutely Catholic possession and forbade the settlement of a Protestant within its bounds; pledged the Company to send out 4,000 settlers within fifteen years; and gave to the Company, as a personal gift from the King, two well-armed battle-ships. But all this was of little avail for some years. War was being waged with England, supplies had been cut off, the little Colony was

starving or living upon roots and, in 1629, Admiral Kirke sailed up the St. Lawrence and captured the place. By the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632 New France and Acadie were given up again by England, Champlain was restored to his post, the settlement became a devout centre for the conversion of savages, lawlessness was suppressed and trading interests were made subservient to administrative necessities. Everything promised a prolonged period of peace and progress.

On Christmas Day, 1635, however, the only man who could have achieved such conditions in a permanent sense died suddenly, with an horizon of hoped-for rest and happiness in full view. During five years of the earlier period his brave wife had lived with him and then he had insisted upon taking her back to France. But for years he had been without her and was now looking forward to a settled home and a reasonably quiet life in this Colony which he had founded and guarded and nursed as a mother might her only child. He had fought the Iroquois, fought the convict spirit of early settlers, fought the intrigues of court and religious interests, fought the fur-traders' greed and cruelty, fought the English invader and the still worse enemies of cold and hunger. He had conquered all, but was now, at last, himself beaten by death. His career presents a most striking picture and he well deserves his place as a hero, not only of French Canada but of all Canada, whether French or English.

LA SALLE AND THE INTERIOR

During these later years others besides Champlain had been traversing the wilds and noting the location of vast unknown bodies of water. Jesuit priests and French trappers and hunters passed up the rivers and reached the shores of countless lakes—south and east and west from the St. Lawrence. The one class was seeking souls and the other furs—but they all traversed new regions and encountered the forces of nature in some of its greatest environments.

Lake Michigan was sighted by Jean Nicollet in 1635, Lake Erie by Fathers Chamonot and Brébeuf in 1640, Lake Superior by Etienne Brulé in 1622, and Chouart in 1659. Father Marquette and a fur-trader named Jolliet saw the upper waters of the Mississippi for the first time in 1673 and paddled down past the mouths of the Illinois, the Missouri and the Ohio. Meantime, Nicolas Perrot, a daring adventurer whose career is one long series of thrilling incidents, was the first white man to stand upon the site of Chicago, as, in 1671, Father Albanel was the first European to appear upon the shores of the stormy waters in which Hudson had perished nearly a century before. Seven years from this last date Father Hennepin, looking out from the dense woods he had been traversing amid the sullen roar of some great wonder of nature, beheld the Falls of Niagara in all their primeval splendour and solitude.

Much, therefore, was being done in the later days of Champlain and more was done in the fifty years which followed to unroll the map of North America. Still, it was all so vast and vague, the knowledge so varied and detached, that there was little real conception of the connected position of the five Great Lakes, with their innumerable satellites and feeding rivers and their out-pour through the St. Lawrence into the sea. The vision of a route to Cathay, or the enchanted East, yet lingered in many minds and even affected the gallant La Salle as, after various adventures, the expenditure of private means upon fur-trading expeditions and minor explorations, he set out in 1682 to find the mouth of the Mississippi and, perhaps, a passage to China itself. Accompanied by Henri de Tonti, who had proved his right arm in many undertakings, La Salle crossed from Lake Michigan into the current of the Illinois and thence into the great river itself. As they passed down the Mississippi amid Indians, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, and for what seemed

an almost endless distance, they went from winter into the budding beauties of spring and the ripe richness of summer.

In triumph they reached the mouth of the river and proclaimed the whole vast region a French possession under the name of Louisiana; in disgrace, caused by jealous rivals, they reached Quebec in the spring of 1683, and later on arrived at the French Court. As with all these early explorers the fascination of the scene was, however, too great, La Salle again sailed from France with a strong expedition to find the mouth of the river from the sea and to found a colony which should make the country French in fact as well as in name. He failed to find the place, landed his men some hundreds of miles away and started overland in search of it. In the heart of the fearful wilderness of forest, swamp and sluggish streams his men mutinied and at their hands died the great explorer.

But his life had once more proved the venturesome courage of his race and had aided the work of Cartier and Champlain, of devoted priest and daring *voyageur*, of fur-trader and reckless young noble, in opening to France a possible pathway to power and in unrolling the map of a vast continent.

CHAPTER II

The Indians of Early Canada

THE story of the Indian in North America has never been fully written. Parkman, in brilliant but restricted pages, has described the custom and characteristics of the Iroquois and Hurons as they appeared in the days of the famous struggle with the French. Many volumes of American history have been produced which illustrate and depict the cruelty or treachery of the white man's enemy, but do scant justice to the noble qualities which he undoubtedly possessed. Historic memories yet linger in a myriad villages throughout Canada and the United States, of midnight raids and scalping expeditions and savage rites; while the smoke of blazing settlements and the cry of tortured prisoners echo down the aisles of time and still shadow with gloom and bitterness the pen of the most impartial writer. Especially has this been the case in British America, where the prolonged conflict of the Iroquois and French, and the marvellous heroism of pioneer priests and missionaries have stirred into ready sympathy the racial sentiment of every student and speaker.

A CHARACTER OF SINGULAR COMPLEXITY

Yet there was much to admire and respect in these savage possessors of the primeval wilderness of America, and of all the aboriginal races the Indians* appear as at once the most picturesque and the most peculiar.

The life of the red man was one of contrasts, his character one of singular complexity. Cruelty towards his foe was combined with stoical indifference to torture or pain when his own turn came.

*So called from the belief of Columbus that the natives of San Salvador were people akin to those of the East Indies.

Treachery in war was a matter of course, yet his faithfulness to friends was a quality whose strength even a Christian civilization might find reasons to emulate. His personal pride was at times so great as to become an insane egotism, yet at other moments his humility stooped to the lowest depths of self-abasement. His self-restraint rose to the heights of an almost heroic self-repression and then disappeared at sudden intervals in bursts of unbridled and utterly savage rage.

He was at once cold and hard and unrelenting in action and passionate and revengeful in disposition. He was ignorant and superstitious by nature in an extreme degree, yet keen and quick of thought beyond modern parallel. He treated his women as do all savage peoples, and considered himself far superior to the necessities of labour or servitude. For him were reserved the lordly occupations of the chase, the spectacular glories of war, the physical victories of self-torture in youthful days and of privations in the wilderness, or upon the warpath, in the days of manhood. Yet he was moral in the highest degree and was never guilty of those weaker and meaner vices which stamped and destroyed the character of the ancient Roman and have left their deep impress upon modern France and the greater cities of our own civilization.

SLEEPLESS SUSPICION OF OTHERS

Love of liberty in its wild primeval form the Indian possessed, to an extent which made him contemptuous of all arbitrary rule or personal control, and affected not a little his relation to the incoming tide of white men. Sleepless suspicion of others formed a natural part of his surroundings of war and treachery and solitude. Like the Italian he preferred to send a secret blow or despatch the shaft of an ambushed arrow, to open fighting or public revenge; while the triumph of holding an enemy's scalp at his belt was to him what the golden spurs of knighthood have been to many a Christian warrior of old, or the

thanks of Parliament and honours from the Crown are to the British soldier of to-day. Like the Spaniard he was dark and sinister in his punishments and retaliations. Like nearly all savage races his warfare was one of sudden and secret surprise, ruthless and ready slaughter. Like the nations of the whites, his tribes also warred continually against each other.

Looking back now upon the vast panorama of forest and prairie, lake and river over which the Indian wandered upon foot or glided in his birch-bark canoe; bearing in mind the stern hardships of the winter season and the wild happy freedom of the summer time; remembering the absence of all high tradition, spiritual influence or intellectual knowledge; one cannot but be impressed by the character and conditions of the people who first faced the fire-sticks of Champlain, the more fatal fire-water of the French trader, and the fierce zeal of the Jesuit missionary. A native of the wilds, a product of primeval conditions, the Indian believed in the right and liberty to roam at will over his wide realm of wilderness and water. Just as nature had made him a noble animal, with instincts which at times raised him to a high level of character and achievement; so, also, it filled him at first with simple admiration of the stranger who came with such attractive gifts, such wonderful weapons and such curious customs. After some experience of the white man's initial follies of policy and action, the instincts of nature, however, changed his confidence into permanent distrust—and this in the case of the American savage meant a more or less sleepless hostility.

When the earlier discoverers and explorers found their way into the wilds of Canada they came into contact and then collision with various Indian tribes or nations. The great family of the Algonquins extended right up through the middle of the continent and constituted the central race of the French possessions—reaching also in scattered masses from the Atlantic to Lake Winnipeg and from the

Carolinas to Hudson's Bay. These were the Indians whom Cartier encountered on the banks of the St. Lawrence, Penn in the forests of the Keystone State, Raleigh upon the coast of Virginia, and Jesuits and fur-traders in the Valley of the Ohio and on the shores of Lake Superior.

Of these people were the Delawares and the Shawnees. The latter were a strange, wandering tribe whose location it is difficult to fix, but who are known to have more than once come into conflict with the French. They eventually settled on Canadian soil and in a later century played a brief, but important part, under the great Tecumseh. The former were at one time conquered by the more famous Iroquois and compelled to bear the opprobrious Indian name of women; but in one of the French and English wars they recovered at once their courage and their reputation. Other branches dwelt along the Canadian shores of the Atlantic and north and east of Lakes Michigan and Huron. These latter tribes included the Ojibbiways, Pottawatamies and Ottawas, and at one time formed a loose and fluctuating alliance for the purpose of opposing the course of Iroquois conquest. In this region also were the Sacs, the Foxes and other smaller divisions of the Algonquin race. The Nova Scotian off-shoots have since been called Mic-macs, those of western New Brunswick were named Etchemins, while the Montagnais of Quebec and the Nipisings of the far North shared the same ancestral tree.

THE IROQUOIS INDIANS

But the great race of American history was the Iroquois which stretched across what afterwards became known as the State of New York and made for itself a name of terror upon the shores of the Great Lakes and far down the Atlantic coast. The Iroquois comprised in themselves both the best and the worst traits of savage nature as developed by the solitudes of North America. Intense in their pride, lustful in their desire for conquest, savage in their

cruelties, they were also able in organizing power, strong in a sort of barbaric intellectual strength, constant alike in friendship and hatred, energetic beyond all comparison. Traditions which have a force almost equal to historic fact record the birth of their power in the fifteenth century under the leadership, and by the statecraft, of a chief named Hiawatha.

He it was, who—according to the translation of Indian wampum records by the late Dr. Horatio Hale—conceived the plan of a vast native confederation which should turn the mind of the Indian from fighting to the paths of peace and contentment. He it was, who devised the famous Iroquois system of separate nations controlling their own local affairs but lodging general interests in the hands of a common Council of all the nations, capable of indefinite expansion in the number of tribes included and a weapon, therefore, of enormous power in the hands of an able man. Into the proposed League Hiawatha eventually drew the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Senecas and the Onondagas. Writing toward the end of the eighteenth century, and amid influences of surrounding hatred and hostility which made any kind of fair play to the Indian difficult, the Hon. Cadwallader Colden—a well known New York historian—says of the Iroquois organization and polity as it appeared in his day, that :

“Each of these nations is an absolute republic in itself. The authority of the rulers is gained by, and consists wholly in the opinion the rest of the nation have of their wisdom and integrity. Honour and esteem are their principal rewards as shame and being despised are their punishments. Their great men, both sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people for they affect to give away and distribute all the presents and plunder they get in their treaties or in war. There is not a man in the Ministry (Council) of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwise than by merit, and there is not the least salary, or any sort of profit annexed to any office to tempt the covetous or sordid.”

The bitter enemies, and eventual victims, of the Iroquois were the Huron tribes of the regions bordering on Georgian Bay and in

the vicinity of Lake Simcoe. They were variously recorded in history or tradition as numbering from ten to twenty thousand souls and were certainly of a higher type than other savage races of their time. In many respects the Huron and Iroquois were alike and in fact were related in the tribal sense. The nature of their dwelling-houses, their stockaded villages and cultivated lands, their habits of permanent settlement, were very similar; as were many of their manners, customs and superstitions. From 1609, for nearly eighty years, they remained deadly rivals and then the weaker disappeared from view. Meanwhile, however, many pages of history had to be written in deeds of struggle and slaughter before that time came, although the steady progress of the Iroquois is always noticeable.

The Neutral Nation, living along the north shore of Lake Erie and striving for a while to remain friends with both the rival tribes; the Andastes, dwelling in fortified villages in the far valley of the Susquehanna; the Eries, living in the vicinity of the lake which bears their name; were all of kin to the Iroquois and were all conquered and practically destroyed by that ambitious federation of savages. Then came the conquest of the Delawares, or Lenapes, and the departure of the Ottawas from Manitoulin Island to territories in what became the State of Wisconsin. Fortunately for the future of the white people, though unfortunately for a certain barbaric civilization which might in time have been evolved, the Five Nations had forgotten the teachings of Hiawatha and, while sensible of the benefits which came from their own union, did not grasp the ideal which might have extended that union until it included all the Indian tribes and evolved a force which might have swept the French into the St. Lawrence. A glimmer of this idea was apparent in the admission of the Tuscaroras when final success had become impossible; a despairing perception of it came fifty years latter to a natural

genius in the person of Pontiac as he organized the league of Indian tribes which resulted in a prolonged and bloody struggle.

As it was, however, the Iroquois in their fighting strength and influence present a striking picture upon the page of history, and it was well, indeed, that their constructive force did not equal their destructive power. Yet they could never have numbered more than four thousand warriors, all told. Swift and silent movement from place to place, perfect familiarity with every stick and stone, every sign and symbol, every sense and sound of forest life, enabled them to use their small numbers with a weight out of all apparent proportion. But it was really the same with all the savage races of North America, though in differing degrees. Garneau, in his *History of French Canada*, estimates the Algonquin population when the French first came into contact with them at 90,000, the Hurons and Iroquois together at about 17,000, the Mobiles of the far south at 30,000 and the Cherokees of what is now the centre of the United States, at 12,000. His total is 180,000 for the greater part of the continent, and, in view of the privations undergone in winter time and the constant conditions of warfare involved, it is probable that this estimate is fairly correct. The statements and suppositions of travelers such as Cartier, Jolliet, Marquette, De la Jonqui re, and others, help also to indicate the probability of his figures.

THE INDIANS PAST AND PRESENT

So far as can now be judged the original Indian—the aborigine of pre-Cartier days—was not naturally inclined to hostility toward the new comers and was, in fact, more disposed to hospitality. He had much of curiosity in his character as well as of superstition, and both qualities might have been utilized in the direction of peace and educative influences. Hakluyt, in his account of Cartier's first visit to Hochelaga, lays great stress upon the bountiful generosity of the natives. Turnbull, in his work upon Connecticut, pays them an

unusual American tribute and says the natives practically saved the lives of the first settlers by their generosity in supplying corn and other food. Similar experiences have been recorded by others, and the response which history stamps upon the white man is found in such kidnapping episodes as have already been described, in the aggressive policy of Champlain, in the harshness of the New England settlers, in the cruelties of the Spaniards to the south, in the indescribable horrors of the Cortez and Pizarro campaigns.

The character of the Indian, in days when the whole wild continent was his, differs so greatly from the emasculated product of modern civilization that no judgment of former conditions can be based upon present appearances. Though the matter of origin has never been settled there were similarities which stamped the savages of America as possible descendants of migrating Tartars from the steppes of Central Asia. They were, as a rule, tall and slender and agile in form, with faces bronzed by sun and wind and rain. Their expression was stern and sombre, seldom or never marked by a smile. Their heads had high cheek bones, small, sunken and keenly flashing eyes, narrow foreheads, thick lips, somewhat flat noses and coarse hair. The senses of sight and sound and smell and feeling were developed into a sort of forest instinct which seemed almost supernatural to the early white settlers and finds such vivid expression in Fenimore Cooper's brilliant romances. Their costume of deer-skin and moccasins, their necklaces of wampum and shells, their ornaments of feathers, claws or scalps, their fondness for daubing the body and face with vermillion paint, their use of the arrow, the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, soon became terribly familiar to the ring of white man who, century by century, slowly drove in and dispossessed these earlier owners of the soil—as it is not improbable they had driven the still more ancient race whose mounds and buried cities and curious remains still excite the wonder of the archæologist, from the far north to the farthest south.

Hunting, or fishing, was the occupation of these Arabs of the American wilderness, fighting their continual pastime. Hence, permanent dwelling-places were not usual, except among the Hurons and Iroquois, and their life was one of ceaseless wandering. Their religion was always of a peculiarly mixed and doubtful quality. Champlain has left on record the statement that the Mic-macs of Acadie had neither devotional ideas nor superstitious ceremonies. Other tribes upon the St. Lawrence assured him that each man had his own god whom he worshipped in secret silence. They seem, however, to have usually worshipped something, whether the spirit of good, the spirit of evil, the spirit of storm, the god of war, the spirit of the mountains, or a spirit of the waters.

They peopled all the surrounding air with friendly or hostile spirits and created amongst themselves those powerful manipulators of superstition—the medicine men—to control the demons of storm and famine and disease and death which a vivid imagination had called into existence. To these priests of a peculiar and varied faith they also confined the care of the sick and there is little doubt that experience and necessity had evolved many a simple yet effective remedy by the time the white man appeared on the scene. Great faith was placed in dreams, and oratory was almost as important a factor in success as bravery. The orations that have come down to us are in many cases models of conciseness, brevity and forcefulness, not unmixed at times with a touch of pathos. In morals the Indian was far superior to most other savage races. He had one wife and, though she was expected to do most of the work and to bear a full share in hardship and suffering, he did not wantonly ill-treat her and was usually faithful to her as she was to him. With the appearance of the white settlers this latter condition unfortunately changed, though, in all the wars which followed, the captured white woman was safe from anything worse than the scalping-knife. Nor, in

any instances of captivity recorded, do women and children appear to have been subject to torture at the hands of their captors.

The customs and character of the American aborigine turned, mainly, however, upon war. A struggle between two rival tribes or nations could be brought on by the most trivial cause, or by almost any ambitious or relentless individual. When determined upon, it became the source of almost uncontrollable joy, of wild dances, of eloquent harangues, of multitudinous prayers and sacrifices, of feasts and endless bravado and boasting. Then followed a period of absolute silence and secret preparation, departure in the night-time and a long, patient waiting by squaws and old braves and young boys, for the return. Perhaps the expedition never came back, but if it did so, with scalps and prisoners, the welcoming din of shouts and shrieks and tom-toms presented a perfect pandemonium of sound. Then followed the frightful torture of the captives, controlled somewhat by degree or rank, but always borne with a stoical endurance and pride. Such were the savages whom Champlain encountered and the French fought during over a hundred years of intermittent warfare.

Such, also, were the savages who, in modified or varied characteristics, extended from Lake Superior through the far west and north to the Pacific Ocean and about whom much less is known. They were great hunters and in time became most expert horsemen. The Dacotahs, or Sioux, were a nation of allies, not unlike the Iroquois in many respects, and covering the southern region of Manitoba and Assiniboia. With them and around them were the Crees and Assiniboines, while to the north were the Chippewayans and around Hudson's Bay and the northern lakes were scattered the Chippewas. With the exception of the Sioux these tribes were not apparently as war-like as those in the more central part of the continent and, when settlement came, they showed a much more docile

disposition, mixing in years to come with the hunters and trappers to an extent which is fully illustrated by the Half-breed population of 1870 and 1900. In British Columbia and the far north the Indians were a decidedly inferior race to those of other parts of the continent—a condition probably due to the milder climate and to the lack of necessity for severe exertion in order to obtain food. Under pioneer white auspices they became greatly degraded though subject, in later days, to Christianizing influences. The Flatheads, the Haidas, the Mitkas, and the now almost extinct Chinooks, comprised the chief divisions and the most of these were akin to the Chippewayans of the plains of the east.

THE IROQUOIS AND THE FRENCH

Meanwhile, the French settlers scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the seventeenth century, knew nothing of these far away tribes who hunted the buffalo on the boundless prairies, or erected their *tepees* upon the banks of some great salmon stream on the Pacific slope of the unknown Rockies. The Frenchmen had quite enough to face in the savages more immediately surrounding them and the deeds of heroism, on both sides of the desultory warfare which followed the death of Champlain, constitute a most impressive picture. Montreal was founded in 1642 by Le Royer de la Dauversière and Jean Jacques Olier, and was governed in its earlier days by the iron hand and courage of De Maisonneuve. It formed one more object of attack to the Iroquois who had, of late, been gaining strength and confidence and were now supplied with fire-arms by grace of the Dutch traders at Fort Orange. The annals of the twenty years which followed make an epic poem in the endurance, the courage, the constancy, of the little white population of Ville Marie—as Montreal was called—and of the other fortified settlements of New France.

Up and down the rivers floated the crowded canoes of a merciless enemy, every path through the forest seemed to be a ready road

to Iroquois capture and torture, every tree in the wilderness to be an Indian warrior. The savages lurked in the most unexpected places; hung silently upon the outskirts of Ville Marie or Quebec; waited with sleepless patience for the appearance of some straggling white man or solitary woman from the convent walls. Only the strongest of armed parties could pass east or west, only the firmest of fortified walls were safe when the haunting war-whoop of the enemy was heard. The fur trade was dead and, in 1649, came the death of the Huron nation, the destruction of the Jesuit missions, and the greatest day of Iroquois power. Their war parties swept over the Huron villages like a Dakotan tornado and only a scattered remnant of the race lived to reach the walls of Quebec, or Ville Marie, and to tell the tale of slaughtered converts and martyred missionaries.

These years of agony came to a climax during the decade following 1650. The stone walls of the convents were no longer a sufficient protection and the nuns fled to the cities for protection. Around Quebec and Montreal the Indians scalped and slaughtered with apparent immunity. Little or no help came from France and then a malignant fever suddenly broke out amongst the people. Not all the light-heartedness of the French race could bear up against this combination of disasters, this cloud of destruction which hung low over the land. Those who could fled away to France, those who could not seemed to loose their hold upon hope. Strange portents were seen in the skies. D'Argenson, the Governor, shrinking from misery around him which he was unable to remedy, demanded his recall and at last, in 1660, came the news that the Iroquois had determined upon one general and concentrated attack which should crush the white man and make the power of the great Iroquois nation finally supreme. Hundreds gathered below Montreal, hundreds more gathered upon the Ottawa, and news came that the greatest war party in savage history was about to sweep down upon devoted Ville Marie.

At this crisis a deed was performed which has justly been called the Thermopylæ of Canada and which merits a place amongst the finest records of sacrificial courage. Dollard des Ormeoux, a young French nobleman, who had sought the new world for adventure and reputation and was now in command of the little garrison at Ville Marie, volunteered to lead a small party of young men down the Ottawa and to break the force of the Iroquois wave before it reached the terrified and disheartened defenders of the town. Calling for volunteers, he obtained the aid of sixteen youthful heroes and afterwards of some friendly Hurons—who, however, deserted him when the critical time came.

HEROISM OF DAULAC

Making their wills, receiving the sacrament of their Church, and the mournful farewells which can be better imagined than described, the gallant little band passed up the St. Lawrence, crossed the Lake of the Two Mountains and took up their station in an abandoned enclosure formed of tree trunks by some Algonquin war-party of a preceding year. Here they made their stand—seventeen white men, one Algonquin chief and five gallant Hurons—and here, for days, they defended themselves against hundreds of picked Iroquois warriors who stormed around their feeble shelter without intermission and with every device of experienced forest warfare. Exhausted with fatigue, famished for food and sleep, wounded and gasping and dying, the little band fought on. Slowly their numbers diminished but steadily also the dead bodies of the enemy piled up outside the palisades until the walls of wooden stakes had almost ceased to be a shelter. Then, at last, when all the defenders were dead but five, and they helpless from innumerable wounds, the greatly re-inforced army of the enemy won admission to the enclosure. Four of the surviving heroes died at once; only one was found sufficiently alive to make torture worth the while.

The lesson was enough. To the bravery of the Iroquois nothing appealed so greatly as courage and such courage as this revived all their old-time respect for the white man—a feeling which had diminished in proportion as the rule of religious Orders had prevented the expression of French war-like spirit and the absence of French soldiers had prevented aggressive action. If seventeen Frenchmen, they argued, could keep 700 picked warriors at bay for days and kill many of their best men, what would the population of Ville Marie not be able to do? The great expedition withdrew to its lodges and for a time there was rest in the worn and wearied settlements. Six years later, in the winter of 1666, De Courcelles, the bold but rash nobleman who now governed the Colony, undertook to lead an expedition to the banks of the distant Hudson for the purpose of chastising the Mohawks—perhaps the bravest of all the Five Nations. He started out with 300 men and 200 Indian allies. He returned without finding the enemy, after a journey of severe privation and labour and with the loss of sixty men from Indians who had hung upon his rear. In the autumn a second expedition was more successful, the villages of the Mohawks were destroyed and their stores of food carried away or burned. These retaliatory expeditions were not only creditable to French bravery and endurance but, owing to the immense regions traversed, made the Iroquois feel an increasing respect for the long arm of his now traditionary enemy.

During the next eighty years the history of the Indians, so far as New France is concerned, was one of attack and counter-attack, of plot and counter-plot. Always and everywhere the Iroquois had been the deadly enemies of the Frenchmen, and now, with savage though very natural sense, they became also the more and more frequent allies of the English. To hold the balance of power between the two great rivals, to enable the one to kill off the other, and to contribute in the promotion of the latter process, was to the savage statesmen a



Photo. British & Colonial Press

THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN, P.C., K.C., M.P.
 Prime Minister of Canada and Secretary for External Affairs in 1920-21.



Photo. British & Colonial Press

THE HON. T. A. CERRAR, M.P.
 Leader of the Progressive Party in Canada, 1921-22



THE CANADIAN HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AT OTTAWA

These magnificent buildings were erected at enormous expense for the accommodation of the Canadian ruling bodies at the capital of the Dominion. They are among the largest and most elaborate government edifices in the world. This main building was burned in 1916, and a new building of similar architecture has been erected where the former building stood.

most congenial task. The French had their allies also, in various Algonquin tribes and in a scattered remnant of the Hurons.

And so the struggle went on. Governor Denonville, in 1687, with two or three thousand troops invaded the country of the Senecas and committed whatever ravages were possible. His expedition was rendered memorable by an act of treachery which was not only bad in principle and character but disastrous in policy. A number of chiefs were invited to a conference and to smoke the pipe of peace at Fort Frontenac—an advanced port on the St. Lawrence. They came, were surprised, captured and sent to France to meet a fate which must have been one of slow and sustained agony as slaves in the King's galleys. The villages of the tribes were burned, their cattle and swine and stores of corn destroyed, and the people mercilessly harried until scattered far and wide and their strength shattered in a way from which they never recovered.

It was a military triumph, but the result was an instant combination of all the Iroquois nations in a swift and savage onslaught upon New France. In small detachments they glided like shadows of revenge upon the settlers, and settlements and smoking ruins, or the remains of tortured victims, stamped keen memories of pain over a wide area of the Colony. So swift and sure was the vengeance of the Indians, so unable was he to adequately meet it, that Denonville felt impelled to sue for peace. Negotiations were commenced but the peace was killed by one of the most clever and unscrupulous incidents in the annals of this savage warfare. Kondiaronk, or "The Rat," was a chief of the small tribe of Hurons at distant Michilimackinac which had helped Denonville in his Seneca raid. He knew that no peace was possible unless his tribal remnant were given up to Iroquois vengeance through the removal of French protection, and he determined to act promptly in order to avert such a possibility. Lying in wait for the Iroquois envoys, as they were on the way to

Montreal to conclude the treaty, Kondiaronk fell upon them, killed one and captured the rest—in the name of Denonville. Then, when told that they were envoys on a peace mission, he pretended intense disgust at the treachery of Denonville and sent them away loaded with gifts and filled with wrath at this second evidence of what they believed to be French duplicity. In the words of the astute Huron "the Peace was killed" indeed and, indirectly, Denonville's original treachery had met a just and fitting reward.

THE LACHINE MASSACRE

Vengeance to the Iroquois mind was now imperative and the chiefs of the Five Nations resolved it should be a memorable one. Months of French suspense and Indian silence followed and then the blow fell. On the night of August 4th, 1689, fifteen hundred savages swept into and around the village of Lachine, at the upper end of Montreal Island, and the wild storm which nature sent at the same time failed to silence the screeches of the Indians and the screams of their victims. The writer of to-day has to draw a veil over the horrors, the tortures, the slaughter of that night. Suffice it to say that the hearts of the French soldiers in Montreal were turned to water in their breasts, and that New France seemed stricken with a helpless horror. Then, just in time for the revival of French *prestige* and the safety of French settlers everywhere, there came back the greatest of early French Governors, the wise and gallant, though merciless, De Frontenac.

He decided to strike at the Iroquois through the English. Three expeditions were secretly arranged from Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal and, as secretly, they marched upon Schenectady in New York, Salmon Falls in Maine and another point. Friendly Indians were largely employed in these successful expeditions and Indian methods of slaughter were followed. For a time afterwards the Iroquois were held in order by these successes against their English

allies and by the evidences of courage and statecraft in Frontenac which they had been quick to discover and appreciate during his preceding Government. In 1692 occurred one of those incidents which shed a ray of light athwart a gloomy record of bloodshed and barbarism. It was a bright summer day at the little Fort of Verchères and its only occupants were Madeleine, the Seigneur's daughter (a girl of fourteen years), two soldiers, two boys and some women. The time was supposed to be one of peace and the men were away at work in the fields. Suddenly a large party of Indians appeared on the scene. The gates were shut and the terrified inmates calmed by the little maiden. She at once took command, cannon were shotted and fired by her orders, and the tiny garrison placed so as to continue their use to best advantage. For a week the heroine of Verchères—as history justly terms her—held the place with increasing vigilance against repeated Iroquois attacks, and until the inmates were at last saved by the appearance of French soldiers.

The year after this, Frontenac led a not very successful expedition against the Mohawks and, in 1696, though now old and somewhat feeble, he was carried in an arm-chair through the vast wilderness of water and forest at the head of twenty-two hundred men to another attack on this redoubtable tribe. The Iroquois burned their towns and some were burned for them, while much food was destroyed and famine in the future made inevitable. But little else was done except the capture of some chiefs who were taken back as hostages. The Iroquois had now for nearly twenty years been in formal alliance with the English at New York, and under the protection of the English Government. Year by year, the naturally war-like spirit of all the tribes had been fanned by the European rivals until their merciless disposition and indifference to death had flamed up in the massacre of Lachine, on the one side, and that of Schenectady on the other. Yet they were cunning enough not to permit the absolute destruction

of the French. They were shrewd enough to know that if the English were entirely triumphant with, or without, their aid the result would be equally dangerous to their own power. In 1685, during La Barre's incapable rule, and as a result of his foolish strategy, they at one time had the French colonies at the mercy of a united attack. Yet they seem to have deliberately refrained. Again, during the European War of the Spanish Succession the English and Indian allies appeared once more to have the game in their hands when the Iroquois held back at a vital moment, and failure followed.

THE ENGLISH COLONISTS AND THE INDIAN

Thus the struggle went on and spread its complex course over the greater part of the continent. In the history of Canada the Indians continued to take an important but very varied part up to the War of 1812. From the days of Frontenac they fought on one side or the other, on behalf of the English or the French. Broadly speaking the Iroquois stood by the former through thick and thin, while the bulk of the other tribes supported the authorities at Quebec. In Washington's expedition against Fort Duquesne, in Braddock's defeat and in Johnson's attack upon Crown Point, in the campaign of Montcalm against Fort William Henry, they took an important and characteristic part. In Acadie, during the mutations of French and English struggle, they were never numerous enough to hold any considerable place as combatants, but in cutting off isolated settlers from time to time were quite sufficiently successful. During the middle of the eighteenth century, when Halifax had just been founded and the English were trying to conciliate the French inhabitants, the Mic-macs of Nova Scotia—as Acadie was now called—fell largely under the malignant influence of a priest named Le Loutre. He was a merciless and tireless supporter of the French régime at Quebec, honest with the flame of a fierce and cruel patriotism, but devoid of any real spirit of Christianity and honour. Under his

control the Mic-macs became a veritable thorn in the side of the English, a source of constant outrage and murder. Some other tribes stood by the latter, reprisals naturally followed and, for years before the final fall of Quebec, the shameful spectacle was seen of Indians struggling for scalps in order to obtain a French or English bounty.

With the victory of Wolfe came cessation in the strife of centuries between the European rivals but with it, also, came a last despairing Indian effort to hold their own against the onward sweep of English population and power. Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas, had for some years before the signing of the Treaty of Paris been consolidating and increasing his strength. He had steadily stretched his influence over the Ottigamies, the Huron remnant which had for half a century been slowly growing in numbers, the Sacs, Pottawatamies, Ojibbiways, Wyandottes and other tribal divisions of the Canadian region. He had spread the spell of his personality down the centre of the continent to the far frontiers of Virginia and over the fiery Delawares and Shawanees. He had even detached the Senecas from their traditional and close alliance with the Five Nations, or Iroquois. His subtlety of insight enabled him to see clearly that, with the final success of the English, the power of the Indian had practically passed. His eloquence and force of character enabled him to bind the tribes together in a proposed onslaught upon the advancing white man.

Circumstances played into his hands and he was able to point out that no more appeals were made to Indian assistance and Indian pride ; that no more gifts were bestowed upon their people or courtesies showered upon their envoys. Policy no longer made their alliance necessary, while recollections of half a century of barbarous warfare made the Colonial attitude one of contempt and natural aversion. Hence his scheme to scourge the English pale-faces into the sea before his own people should be swept away into the unknown west by the

increasing numbers of their enemy. Encouraged secretly by French fur-traders, who told him that help was coming from France, and by New Orleans' merchants who felt the competition of the English, he laid his plans and, in May 1763, the whole western frontier was a blaze of savage warfare. Detroit was closely besieged, after the failure of an attempt to surprise it, a detachment of troops from Niagara was cut to pieces, Sandusky, Michilimackinac and other places were taken and destroyed, while the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia flamed with the light of burning villages and echoed to the cries of slaughtered settlers. Campaigns against the Indians followed under Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet with varying success, and the war dragged on until 1766, when Sir William Johnson finally forced the submission of Pontiac. This ended the struggle, and a year later the really great leader of his people was killed in some private broil.

THEYENDANEGBA AND TECUMSEH

In the years which followed, Sir William Johnson, as English Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Colonies, obtained a vast influence over the savages and especially over the Iroquois of New York. When the Revolution broke out he espoused the Royal cause and faithfully did the Indians join in fighting for it under the leadership of Theyendanegea,—Captain Joseph Brant. This chieftain was another leader of the type of Pontiac, but without his savagery of temperament, and with some of the trained qualities of civilization. Able, honourable and courageous, he rendered great service against the Continental forces. When the end came he led the bulk of the Iroquois Loyalists from their historic homes and comfortable farms to the banks of the Grand in Upper Canada, and there they were supplied with land grants by the King, and settled down to a life which was unbroken by war or strife until the days of 1812. Then, once more, they took up arms under Tecumseh, and

revived the old glories of their race without the cruelties and savageries which had cast so black a shadow over its sombre history.

Both in the years of the Revolution and in the War of 1812 a few Indians fought with the Americans ;* but they were never numerous despite the bounties offered by Congress. Their aid was publicly sought by Montgomery during his invasion of Canada, and Congress passed a Resolution approving the project to raise 2000 Indians for this particular service. They do not seem, however, to have worked well with the Americans at any time, and to have, indeed, retained their rancour against this branch of the palefaces long after the Iroquois had buried the hatchet and discarded their hatred against the French.

The Indian was a natural monarchist, a born believer in aristocracy, and it is probable that the English system, as it evolved to the north of the Great Lakes, was far more suited to his tastes and inclinations than the democracy of the new Republic. He saw and felt the forms of British institutions, liked the principle of loyalty to a great King or Chief, and also admired, as time went on, the strength of British love for law and order and for justice between different races. His day of power had gone, it is true, but he all the more appreciated kindness and just treatment, and, during the century which followed, Canada has no prouder or more satisfactory page in her history than the treatment of her Indian wards and their immunity from strife and bloodshed and corrupt government.

* See Washington's Address to Congress on April 19th, 1776.

CHAPTER III

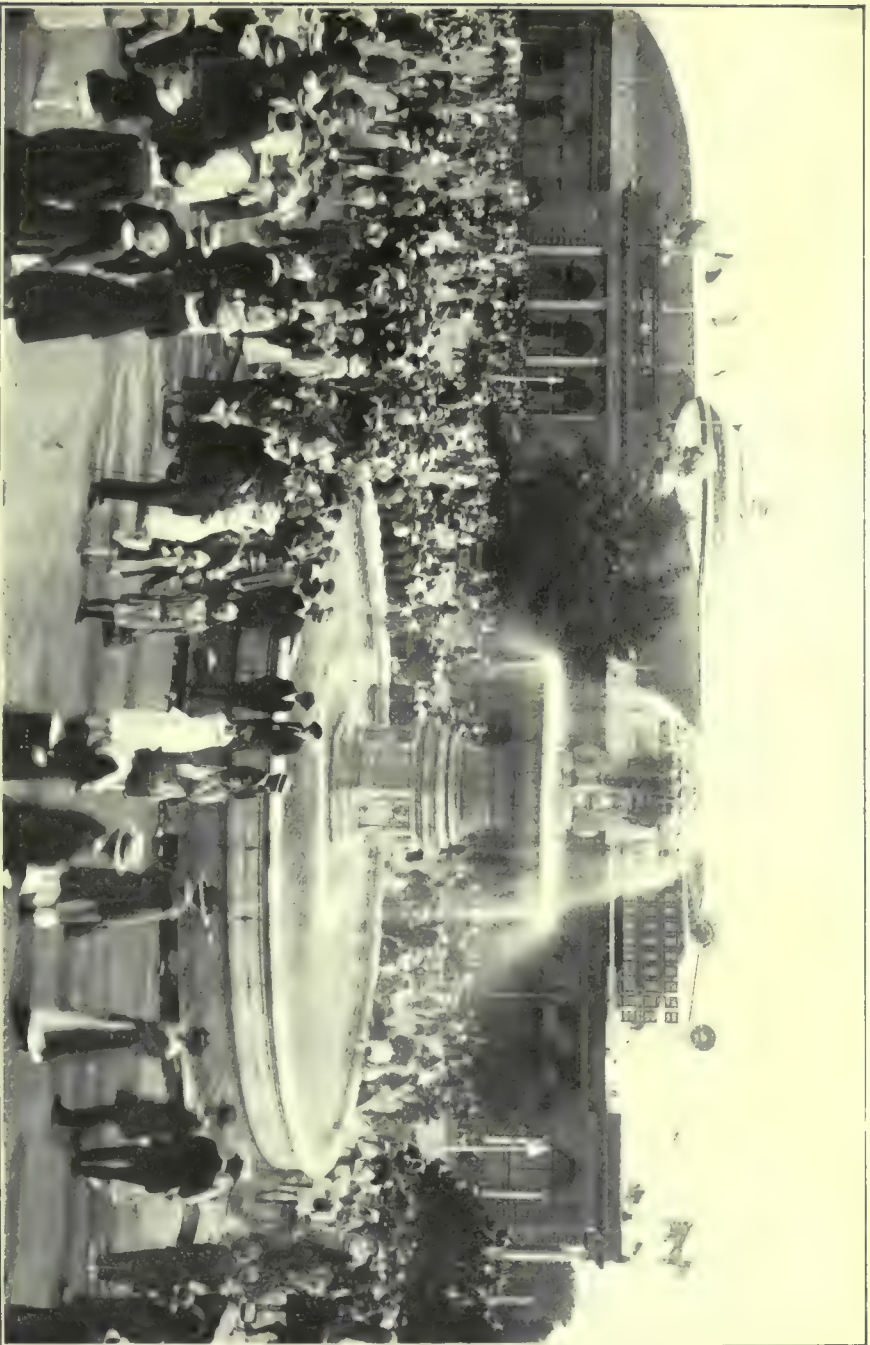
The Jesuit Missions and Pioneer Christianity

THE extraordinary army of men who belonged in successive centuries to the Society of Jesus possess in their annals of mingled power and privation, of greatness and meanness, of fanaticism and finesse, no more interesting record than that embodied in those *Jesuit Relations* which are so eloquently descriptive of their prolonged effort to evangelize the savages of the one-time Canadian wilderness.

PIONEERS OF EMPIRE IN NEW FRANCE

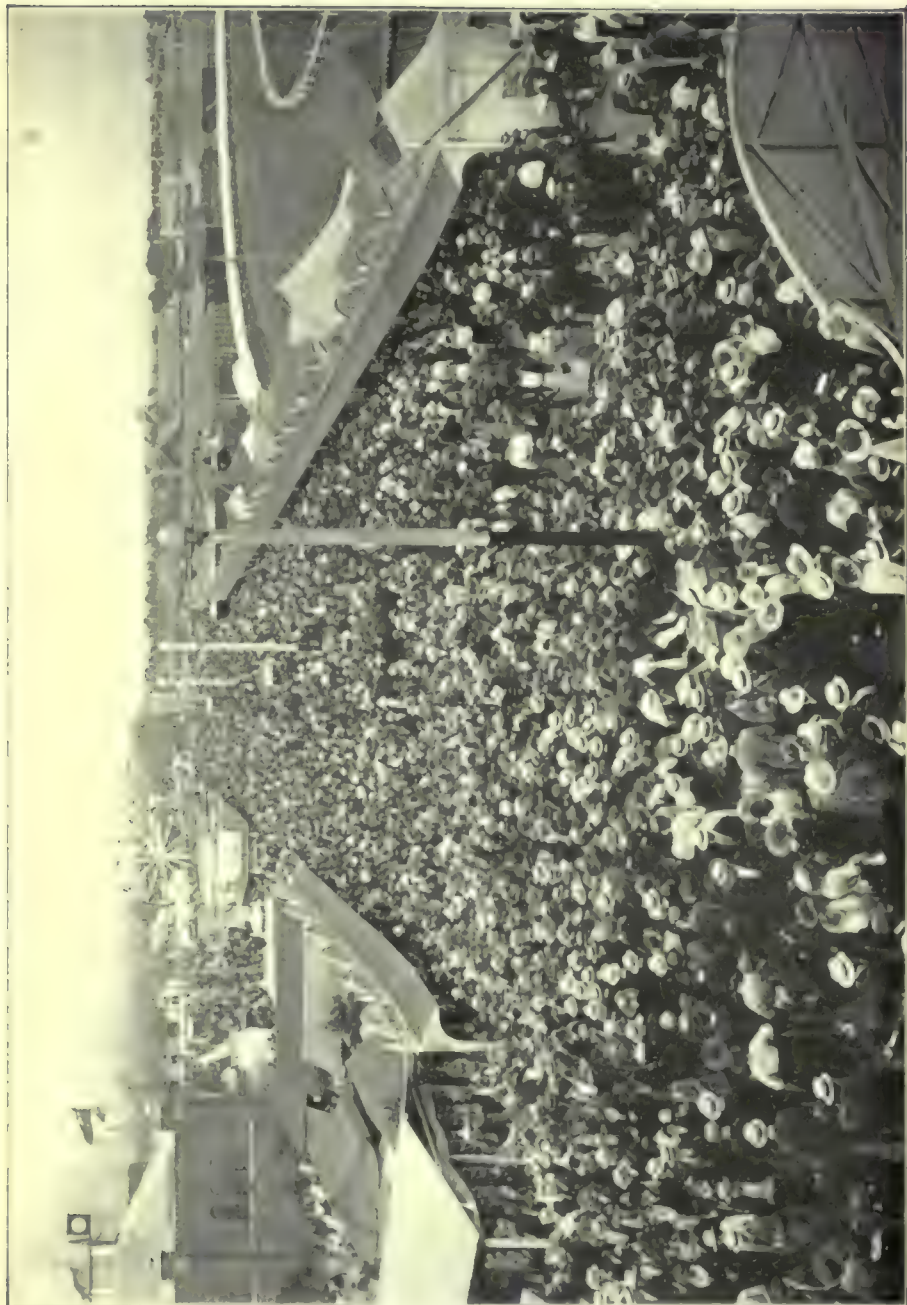
Whatever story may yet leap to light for good or ill in the past pages of this great Order, nothing but honour surrounds the work of the Jesuit pioneers in British America. Armed with nothing but the crucifix and wrapped in a mantle of faith and Christian enthusiasm which made them dare everything and fear neither torture, nor privation, nor death, they tramped through the lonely aisles of the forest, wandered amid swamps and the haunts of wild beasts, lived in the smoke-blackened atmosphere of dirty huts, nursed and prayed with the ignorant and helpless victims of contagious disease, and preached to threatening tribes controlled by the ignorant "Medicine men" who saw their supremacy menaced by these new doctrines of peace and charity and good-will.

During the seventeenth century, while their fellow priests, with varying degrees of success and failure, of Christian work and secular negotiation, were extending the power of the Church of Rome in India and the Moluccas, in China and Japan, in Brazil and Paraguay, devoted missionaries of that remarkable organization were winning



A VIEW AT THE CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION

Held annually on the Exhibition Grounds at Toronto, this great Fair was started 44 years ago and in 1921 had become the largest annual Exhibition in the world, with over a million visitors every year.



THE THRONG ON THE "MIDWAY" AT THE CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION, THE ATTENDANCE OF WHICH, DURING TWO WEEKS IS OVER A MILLION EVERY YEAR

over to Christianity the Huron Indians in what is now the Province of Ontario. In 1626, Jean de Brébeuf founded a mission on the forest-clad shores of the Georgian Bay. In 1641 Fathers Jogues and Raymbault preached to great Indian audiences beside the rapids of the Sault Ste Marie as that little river rushes to connect the great waters of Superior and Huron. Everywhere throughout a still wider region of forest and wilderness these and other pioneers of religion preached and suffered and struggled with the forces of nature, and of native barbarism, or died for the faith that was in them.

WONDERFUL COURAGE AND FAITH

With breviary and crucifix they wandered afar from even the ultimately converted Hurons and the implacable Iroquois. From the wave-beaten shores of Nova Scotia to the prairies of the unknown west, from the region of Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi, they passed in a succession of black-robed figures. Paddling in bark-canoes upon rivers and lakes of unexplored size and character; toiling over rugged *portages* or through forests without seeming end or limit; sleeping on rocks and moss, or taking refuge from the bitter cold of winter in the still more unpleasant smoke and dirt of an Indian wigwam; dependent for subsistence upon the scarce quality of savage charity or the acorns and nuts and wild growth of the forest; they persevered in their mission "for the glory of God," for the advancement of their Order and of New France, until, as Bancroft, the American historian, puts it, "not a cape was turned, not a river was entered but a Jesuit led the way."

Meanwhile, in the more limited sphere within which rested the wigwams of the Hurons and around which beat the ever-present rage of their inexorable enemies, the Iroquois, success came to the missionaries in the way which they loved best.

What mattered it to them in the preliminary effort to tame the Huron nature, or in the later conflicts with the hereditary foes of the

tribe, if priest after priest dropped from the ranks into the arms of a martyred death? Daniel, Brébeuf, Lallemant, Garnier, Garreau, Buteux, Jogues and Chabanel, laid down their lives after suffering tortures beside the reality of which the most vivid imagination would pale. Goupil, Brulé and Lalande were some of the lay labourers who also earned the crown of a violent death; while the sufferings of Chastelain, Chaumonot, Couture and many others, would make a record too painful for summarized treatment. The *Jesuit Relations*, written by many of these Jesuit Fathers, in different languages and under varied conditions of suffering to the authorities in Quebec, or at Rome, present a picture rarely if ever equalled in the annals of privation and perseverance.

The tragic story of Father Jogues is one of intense interest. Coming from Quebec in 1642 with supplies for the mission, he and his companions were captured by the Iroquois on Lake St. Peter. The gentle, refined and cultured priest was submitted to every indignity and torture that his captors could think of while they dragged him in triumph from town to town. His companions did not survive the ordeal of suffering or the fiery stake but, eventually, the most delicate of them all, with mangled and bleeding body, was allowed to escape into what seemed the certain death of the wintry woods. By some miracle of fortune or of Providence he escaped to the Dutch at far-away Fort Orange and was thence sent home to France. But, despite the hero worship of a Court and memories of untold suffering, he took the first vessel in the spring for New France and this time actually endeavoured to establish a mission amongst his Iroquois torturers. The martyr's death came to him in 1644. Almost exactly similar was the devotion and self-sacrifice of Father Bressani, an Italian Jesuit. Captured as was Jogues, scarred, scourged, mangled, burned and otherwise tortured, he lived to see hungry dogs feeding off his naked body, and to write the words, "I

could not have believed that a man was so hard to kill."* To the General of the Order in Rome to whom this was addressed he added the statement that it was written in ink made of gunpowder and water, and was soiled because he had only one finger of his right hand left entire and could not prevent the blood from his still open wounds staining the paper. Yet he lived to be rescued, to be carried home to France, and to again return to the scene of his suffering and sorrow.

SUCCESS WITH THE HURONS

Such a spirit compelled success. In 1634 Fathers Brébeuf and Davoust, after a weary and painful journey of nine hundred miles, with limbs scarred by rocks, and bodies bitten and bruised and torn and worn, reached the Huron settlements, not far from the Lake Simcoe of to-day and established the mission for which they had willingly endured so much. "Amid it all," wrote Brébeuf, "my soul enjoyed a sublime contentment, knowing that all I suffered was for God." And it really seemed as if the blood of the martyrs was to be the seed of the Church. Gradually the Huron tribes became converted and the altar which was at first, and for long, raised in the aisles of the forest began to find a place within the palisades of the native villages.

The story of this success is one full of tragic incidents crowned with the most tragic of all ends. For fifteen years Brébeuf and Lallemant, Daniel and other devoted priests, laboured without ceasing to convert the savages amongst villages which dotted the fertile region between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe wherever an opening in the dense forest growth allowed a settlement, with its huts and protective palisades, to be placed. The priests shared every hardship of a life to which custom and tradition had inured the Indian, without complaint and with apparent pleasure. Despite dislike and threats and

* The Rev. Dr. W. H. Withrow in *Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country*, Volume II., page 444.

insult they would enter the dwellings of the Huron braves and administer the rite of baptism to infants whom they thus believed to be changed "from little savages to little angels." Of a thousand such ceremonies, performed in 1639, it is stated that all but twenty were done in immediate danger of death. Such courage, coupled with sympathy in sickness, tenderness to the dying, evident love for the children, care for the wounded, inevitably had its effect in time. Slowly converts came in, gradually superstitious rites were discontinued, steadily the worn cassock and wasted form of the missionary came to be an endurable and then a welcome guest.

The influence of these men grew so great as the years passed slowly on as to seem a marvel in the eyes of the modern observer. Savage natures were actually changed so as to be unrecognizable. Human tenderness was revived and lawless passions restrained; Christian decorations and devotions took the place of wild Pagan mummeries; most wonderful of all, the Huron learned to pray for his bitter and hereditary enemy, the Iroquois. A transformation such as this seems little short of miraculous, and it was natural that an already boundless missionary zeal should be strengthened by it—if that were possible. Recruits came from France and converted Indians swelled the ranks of Christian labour. In almost every Huron village a mission was established and, in place of a few fearful, doubtful converts meeting and worshipping in the shadow of the forest, there were organized services held and even religious structures erected at St. Michael, St. Joseph, St. Jean, St. Louis, St. Denys, St. Antoine, St. Charles, St. Ignace, Ste. Therese, Ste. Marie and many another place called after some Saint or old-world shrine of the faith.

The last-named was perhaps the most important and was established, in 1640, on the banks of a small stream not far from the present town of Penetanguishine. It was a fort as well as a mission and

the outline of the masonry and palisaded walls may still be seen after the lapse of two centuries and a half. Within these defences were a church, a mission residence, a kitchen, and a refectory. Immediately outside of them were a large building for Indian guests, an hospital for the sick and a cemetery for the dead. Agriculture was carefully taught and earnestly encouraged, while the Fathers not only themselves used spade and mattock, but raised fowls, swine and cattle. Prosperity came to the villages; comfort and plentiful supplies of food, in winter as well as in summer, resulted from the foresight of the missionaries; the elements of a very real and kindly civilization became visible.

Unfortunately, however, though it must be said naturally, the military spirit of the Hurons was undermined in this process. The need of food no longer spurred them to the distant hunt and possible conflict; the lust for vengeance no longer moved them to practice cruelties and physical austerities which developed activity and determination and strength. They grew averse to war, afraid of the Iroquois, anxious for peace and, therefore, natural and easy victims to the implacable hate of an enemy who knew no mercy and despised the qualities which Christianity aimed to cultivate. They were still subject to desultory raids from wandering bands of the enemy, and many were the scalps taken from unwary Hurons during this decade of development. But there had been no combined onslaught and, up to 1648, hope without any real confidence was the prevailing feeling amongst the villages. In that year, while the Iroquois were haunting the shadow of every tree and the fortifications of every white settlement along the St. Lawrence in search of victims, a party of Huron braves from St. Joseph descended the Ottawa and the greater river with a large stock of furs for sale to the French. At Three Rivers they were attacked but beat their assailants back.

It was, however, the beginning of the end. An Iroquois band had meanwhile swept up the country to St. Joseph, broken down the

palisades, killed Father Daniel at the altar of his church, taken 700 prisoners and left the little town a smoking ruin. In the following year the mandate went forth that the Huron nation was to be destroyed. Twelve hundred warriors entered the rich and populated country and left it a desert. The villages were burned, or taken by storm and then destroyed. Priests and people, alike, were slaughtered or taken prisoners and preserved for a worse fate. The *Jesuit Relations* record a measure of suffering wreaked upon some of the Jesuit Fathers which it seems impossible for men to have endured. At St. Louis, Brébeuf and Lallemant, disdaining to fly, stood by the warriors of the settlement and were eventually captured. Enraged, and yet admiring their courage, the savages exhausted every resource of experienced ingenuity to procure from them some sign of suffering. Scalping; pouring boiling oil upon their heads, tearing off the nails from their hands, lacerating their flesh, cutting the living bodies almost to pieces, durning them with red-hot irons—all were useless in face of a firmness and faith which impelled them to die as became the creed they loved when in presence of enemies who, above all things, admired the stoical endurance of pain. "We cannot hope" wrote Ragueneau in the *Relations*, of Père Daniel, his brother in toil and tribulation, "but to follow him in the burning path which he had trod, but we will gladly suffer for the glory of the Master whom we serve."

The mission at Ste. Marie was strong enough to resist the onslaught of the foe and it survived. But, alone in a land which had become a desert, with the scattered remnant of its flock fleeing in isolated groups over the country from Lake Huron to the St. Lawrence and Quebec, it was of little service and, finally, after moving to an island in Georgian Bay where the Iroquois followed and famine faced the mission, the last centre of Christianity in this part of the wilderness was compelled to also seek refuge in the

direction of Quebec. Thus closed one splendid page in the history of the Society of Jesus. Another, though less conspicuous one, was immediately turned over. The Jesuits had long been anxious to found a mission amongst the Iroquois themselves. They believed that doing so would be a service to the State as well as to the Church and that they might be able in time to ameliorate and soften the fierceness of the savage character.

A few years after the extirpation of the Hurons permission was given, during a brief period of peace, and Fathers Le Moyne, Chaumont and Dablon established a mission in the country of the Onondagas and went to work with a thousand knives itching for their scalps and the knowledge that every moment might be their last. Finally, they discovered the threads of a plot for their destruction, the simultaneous rising of the Five Nations, and the sweeping of the French into the St. Lawrence. The little band of white men escaped by a clever *ruse* which looked to the Indians like a miracle; and the most courageous attempt of the devoted priests had failed. But, within ten years, they had obtained a footing and the black-robed figures passed to and fro with an immunity born of growing respect and of increasing attention to their lessons. In various other and distant directions Jesuits, Recollets and priests from the Seminary of Quebec penetrated—often where the most daring fur-trader feared to go. North of Lake Superior, and from the Illinois to Lake Winnipeg, Jesuit priests carved a pathway for French influence and Christian instruction. At Sault Ste. Marie and at the far away Michilimackinac they established missions and, everywhere, they carved for their Order a signal name and fame. Such was the foundation of Roman Catholicism in Canada.

Curiously different, however, was its effect upon the Indian savages and upon the French settlers. Diverse indeed were the results of heroism in the wilderness and attempted government in the

Province. One influence made for peace, the other too often led to discord. Both, however, had a great moulding power in the making of the country amongst either its savage or its civilized peoples. Up to 1658 the Jesuits practically controlled the spiritual affairs of the Colony and their labours had, of course, been largely of a missionary nature. There was little ecclesiastical organization and no hierarchy. But, in the year named, Francois de Laval de Montmorency, Abbé de Montigny, in France, was consecrated Bishop of Petrea and Vicar-Apostolic of New France.

THREE GREAT ECCLESIASTICS

From the following year until 1688, and from 1692 until his death in 1708, this militant, labourious and devoted Prelate gave his whole energies, his entire wealth and life to the establishment of his Church and the extension of her influence. His high birth and considerable means were sources of great strength in those days, when added to the prestige of ecclesiastical position, and these elements of power Mgr. de Laval used with all the force of a somewhat over-bearing spirit and a tremendous religious zeal, to rule the Colony for the good of itself and the Church.

To him the welfare of the State was bound up in the progress of the Church, and it was, therefore, natural that a man of imperious character in the position of the Bishop of Quebec—a See to which he was formally appointed in 1674, and which covered nearly the whole of North America—should enter into conflict at times with the civil power. With De Frontenac, who was a singularly strong character in his own sphere, one of these contests occurred and resulted in the aged Bishop going to France in person and winning the King's favour for his unceasing effort to suppress the liquor traffic with the Indians. Similar differences arose in connection with his policy of making the Sovereign Council subservient to him rather than to the Governor. With some of the more powerful of his clergy



THE HON. W. S. FIELDING, LL.D., D.C.L., M.P.
Minister of Finance in 1896-1911 and again in 1921.



THE HON. P. C. LARKIN
Canadian High Commissioner in London, England. Appointed in 1922
by the Mackenzie King government.



Photo, British & Colonial Press

MONTREAL FROM THE ST. LAWRENCE

Montreal is an ocean port during the summer season and is the largest city in Canada. Extensive improvements have been made in the Harbour during recent years, in the way of breakwaters, railway and shipping facilities, and elevators.

disputes also came as the inevitable result of his dominant and dominating will. Like his humbler predecessors in the Society of Jesus, neither distance, danger nor privation had any terrors for him. From the missions of Acadie to the far valley of Lake Champlain and the wild regions of the Upper Lakes, he travelled and organized and inspired his priests and adherents with new energy and enthusiasm. At Quebec he founded the Grand Seminary in 1663 and the Minor Seminary five years later, and from those institutions there soon flowed a fresh stream of devoted priests. By this time a number of strong and growing religious institutions were strengthening the cords of the Church in Montreal and Quebec. They included the Sulpicians at the former place, the Jesuits and Recollets at the latter; the Ursuline Convent in Quebec, which had braved so many pioneer perils under charge of the venerated Madame de la Peltrie and Marie de l' Incarnation; the Congregation of the Ladies of Notre Dame, at Montreal under the control of Marguerite Bourgeois; the Hotel Dieu, built at Quebec, as a gift from the Madame d'Aguillon, and the similar institution in Montreal created by Mademoiselle Mance and Madame de Bouillon. These institutions under the Bishop's fostering care, or through the intense militant spirit of the heroic women in charge, had prospered greatly and been of untold service to the oft-times weary, sick and despairing colonists.

Such in brief was the work and character of the Father of his Church in New France. A long line of more or less able and earnest men succeeded him. Mgr. Jean Baptiste de St. Vallier, who spent immense sums founding and helping religious institutions; Mgr. de Pontbriand, who established the Hospital of the Grey Nuns in Montreal, with the assistance of Mde. d'Youville, and died just after seeing the smoking ruins of his Cathedral in Quebec as a result of the siege of 1759; Mgr. Jean Oliver Briand, who had to face the new conditions following the English conquest and to make his office one

of diplomacy and racial conciliation, as well as of religious oversight ; Mgr. Joseph Octave Plessis, the greatest of French Catholic ecclesiastics after the founder of the Church in Canada, and the most loyal and successful of administrators.

He understood and studied, as no man had previously done, the causes of the French overthrow in Canada, and he was clear-headed enough to appreciate the freedom of development accorded under the new *régime*. He founded colleges and schools, and took a place in the Legislative Council and an active part in its work, visited England and Rome in 1819, and finally succeeded in establishing Quebec as a sort of a central See with Suffragans or Vicars-Apostolic at Kingston in Upper Canada, on the Red River in the far North, at Montreal, and in Nova Scotia. He died in 1825, after nineteen years of an administration which had revived the fruits of Mgr. de Laval's labours, and had extended his Church in an organized sense over much of the vast region originally covered by the Jesuit Fathers.

The Church, meanwhile, did not prove ungrateful to England for the favours of toleration and freedom which had been conferred at the Conquest. In 1775 Bishop Briand issued a *Mandement* denouncing the "pernicious design" of the invaders under Montgomery and Arnold, praising the magnanimity and kindness of the King toward his French subjects, and urging the defence of homes and frontiers and religious interests against the Continental troops. During the troubles preceding the War of 1812 Mgr. Plessis took still stronger ground and, in a long and eloquent *Mandement*, issued on September 16th, 1807, and based on the principle of "Fear God and honour the King," he urged loyalty to Great Britain and denounced as unworthy the name of Catholic or Canadian any individual who was not ready to take up arms in opposing a possible American invasion. A little later, when American missionaries began to stir up the people with promises of what republican liberty would do for them, he issued a

letter of concise and stringent instructions to all the Curés of his Diocese, regarding the necessity of inculcating loyalty. And, in the result, the influence and power of the Church was very plainly shown in 1775 and 1812.

POWER AND PROGRESS

Meantime, in the part of Canada now called Ontario, and which had been watered by the blood of the Jesuits in the Huron Missions, French settlements had gradually appeared and, toward the end of the eighteenth century, a number of Scotch and Loyalist colonists. At Sandwich, not far from the future city of Detroit, a number of the French had settled at the time of the Conquest and to the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the County of Glengarry, there came forty years later a number of Catholic Highlanders. In 1803 they were joined by Alexander Macdonell, the Father of the Church in Upper Canada. Like his prototype, Mgr. de Laval, and his colleague Mgr. Edmund Burke, who went to Nova Scotia after a brief stay at Sandwich, Father Macdonell feared neither pain, nor privation, nor labour, in the missionary work of the Church. Consecrated Bishop of Upper Canada in 1820 he lived for nineteen years to preside over the progress of the Church in that Province as he had already done in strenuous and unselfish fashion over its birth and early years. Writing in 1836 to Sir Francis Bond Head, Governor of the Colony, he pointed with pride to the erection during his pioneer episcopate of thirty-three churches and chapels, to the education and training—largely at his own expense—of twenty-two clergymen, and to the expenditure of £13,000 of his own private means, as well as the collection of much more from friends abroad. The following extract is illustrative of these early conditions and was written in reply to attacks made upon him in the Assembly :

“Upon entering my pastoral duties I had the whole Province in charge, and was without any assistance for ten years. During that period I had to travel over the country from Lake Superior to the Province line of Lower Canada, carrying the sacred

vestments sometimes on my back and sometimes in Indian birch canoes ; living with savages without any other shelter or comfort but their fires and their furs and the branches of the trees afforded ; crossing the great lakes and rivers, and even descending the rapids of the St. Lawrence, in their dangerous and wretched craft. Nor were the hardships which I endured among the settlers and immigrants less than those I had to encounter among the savages themselves, in their miserable shanties exposed on all sides to the weather and destitute of every comfort."

During the 160 years covered by the arrival of Mgr. de Laval and the death of Bishop Macdonell in 1839, much progress had been made by the Church of Rome elsewhere in the country. Far away in the North-West, wandering priests had ministered from time to time to the Indians, but it was not until the consecration of Father N. B. Provencher in 1818 as a Bishop and his appearance on the banks of the Red River, that organized work commenced there. From that time on steady and successful missionary labours were maintained, amid the most severe hardships, intense cold and every form of privation. In the Maritime Provinces, or "Acadie the Fair," the Jesuits early appeared on the scene—the first to arrive being the Rev. Nicholas Aubrey, who had landed fifty years before Laval arrived at Quebec. Fathers Quentin and Du Thet, Biard and Massé were later pioneers. Then came the Recollets and the Franciscan Fathers and, in 1676, Father Petit became the first Vicar-General of Acadie. Under British rule, Father Edmund Burke, who had been labouring with enthusiasm for a number of years, was in 1818 made a Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia. During the early years of the century, owing to large accessions of Catholic Scotchmen to this population, the Church grew rapidly in numbers and influence. Thus the seed sown by the Jesuits in the soil of North America began to fructify after they had passed away and produced in the course of a century and a half a strong Church, planted in Quebec amongst a large and growing population and elsewhere placed in a position suited for great future development.

CHAPTER IV

The Land of Evangeline

LONGFELLOW has immortalized an occurrence in Canadian history, which was notable in itself and which will always live in public memory. But back of that event were a hundred and fifty years of stirring Acadian annals—years of sorrow and suffering, of struggle and success. Before Champlain had founded Quebec, or Henry Hudson discovered the great northern waters which bear his name, a French Huguenot settlement was established on an island in the mouth of the St. Croix River, as it rolls between a part of the present boundary lines of Canada and the United States. In this pioneer and unsuccessful effort by the Sieur de Monts in 1604, he had the patronage of Henry IV. of France; and a beginning was thus made to the prolonged struggle for possession of what came to be called the land of Acadie, which included within its bounds the present Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and that part of the State of Maine east of the Kennebec River.

THE LAND OF ACADIE

It was, upon the whole, a goodly region, watered by beautiful rivers and innumerable brooks, covered by splendid forests and possessed of a soft and pleasant summer climate. But the Canadian winter—that cold, stern period of snow and ice, to which the French always found it so hard to accommodate their memories of the mild weather of southern Europe—was sure to be a source of constant suffering; and not the least so to the pioneer band of settlers at the mouth of the St. Croix. When the earliest buds and birds of spring appeared, De Monts and Champlain abandoned a situation open to

all the frozen blasts of the ocean and the river, and established themselves at a place which they termed Port Royal and which, within more modern days, has become known as Annapolis. At the head of the beautiful Annapolis Basin, sheltered from the sea by guardian sentinels of rock and shielded from the storms of land by wooded hills, the site of the new settlement was, in the summer season, a scene of sunshine and loveliness, in winter a very haven of rest to the half-clothed, inexperienced, but light-hearted Frenchmen.

SUFFERINGS AND HARDSHIPS OF EARLY SETTLERS

The leaders of this colonization effort stand out very clearly upon the pages of Canadian history. Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, was one of those adventurous figures who build much of romance and attractiveness into the making of nations. From the French King he had obtained a grant of land which might have been made to cover the whole region from Montreal to the Philadelphia of the distant future, and with his two ships and a crew which included thieves and gentlemen in about equal proportions, the light-hearted nobleman of a brilliant court had started upon his task—one in which Cartier and De Roberval and De La Roche had already failed to effect any practical success and had endured much of privation and suffering.

With him were Champlain—already the central figure of St. Lawrence explorations—and Jean de Biencourt, Baron de Poutrincourt. The latter was a wealthy and energetic nobleman of Picardy, whose whole heart came to be wrapped up in the success of the enterprise. After the first troubles at St. Croix and the later settlement at Port Royal, Poutrincourt paid a visit to France, in which he was later on joined by De Monts, and returned during the spring of 1606, with mechanics and labourers for the infant colony. With him was the merry, shrewd and scholarly L'Escarbot, who has left behind such interesting records of the events connected with these

settlements. One other important personage concerned in early Acadian colonization was Pontgravé, a rich Breton merchant of St. Malo, who had already shared in the Champlain expedition up the St. Lawrence.

The years that immediately followed were of stirring and ever-changing interest. Port Royal became the centre of storm-clouds which reached in shadowy outline from Paris to London and back again to this tiny settlement on the verge of a vast continent. Champlain, meanwhile, explored and surveyed and schemed, while L'Escarbot looked after the planting and sowing and reaping. De Monts continued in Paris to try and counter the plots of enemies and hold the rights he had been granted. The winter of 1606-7 was the famous occasion of Champlain's "Order of a Good Time," when the fifteen leading men of the colony met in Poutrincourt's dining-hall and revelled each day for some hours in good fellowship and good fare and the good cheer of a wit which was Parisian in its character and cleverness. With the picturesque group of gentlemen-adventurers sat the Sagamore Memberton, bearing upon his shoulders the burden of a hundred years, the responsibility of tribal leadership and the reputation of sincere friendship for the whites.

This jolly and prosperous season, however, was the calm before the storm, and in the spring-time came a ship from St. Malo bearing, not the familiar figure of De Monts with new resources and fresh settlers, but the intelligence that his enemies had triumphed and his charter been revoked. There was nothing for it but to pluck up the deepening roots of settlement and return to the motherland, and this Poutrincourt did with a sore heart and a steadfast determination to return again. He took up the mantle of interest and labour which De Monts now dropped and, while Champlain proceeded to write his own name large in the history of the New France which he hoped to establish on the banks of the St. Lawrence, Poutrincourt continued

faithful to Port Royal, and in 1610 returned with new settlers and a zealous priest—Father la Flèche—who soon succeeded in converting the friendly Membertou and his entire tribe.

In this year, also, came another French crisis and the death of Henry IV, by the knife of Ravaillac, brought upon the European scene the towering and merciless figure of Marie de Medicis and upon the smaller Acadian arena the black-robed and stormy figure of the Jesuit. The Society of Jesus was now predominant at Paris and it proceeded to take possession, or attempted to take possession, of the souls of the people in Acadie. If its zealous representatives had shown only the religious courage and constancy of their later colleagues in the region of the Great Lakes, much difficulty might have been spared the struggling colonists and much of the strife averted which is said to have caused Poutrincourt to once cry out to them: "Show me the path to Heaven and I will show you yours on earth." The founder of the new colony was now merely able to hold his little territory around Port Royal while Madame de Guercheville, a lady of the French Court famed for both virtue and beauty, had obtained the rights of the Huguenot merchants at St. Malo and transferred them to the Jesuits and had also received from Louis XIII. a grant of the whole of North America from the St. Lawrence to Florida.

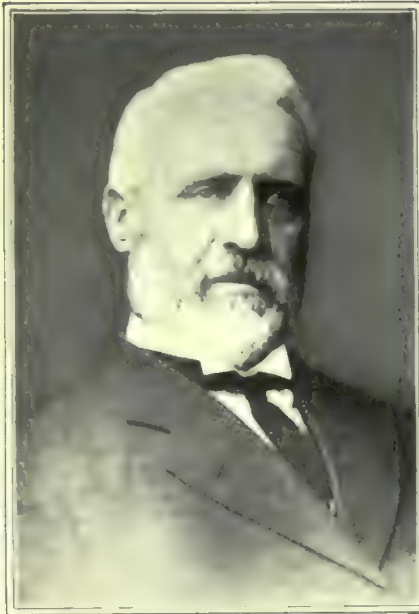
RIVAL COLONIES AND RACES

But to have was not to hold, as was soon to be seen at Port Royal, and as might have been gathered from the terms of any French charter which included the English settlements of Virginia and Maine within its scope. The Society of Jesus was now, however, nominally in control of the continent, through its fair devotee and as far as the fiat of a French King could avail. In Acadie, Father la Flèche was soon supported by Fathers Biard and Massé, and their labours carried the banner of their faith far and wide amongst the Indians. In 1613, Madame de Guercheville sent out a



PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

Top, left to right: Hon. E. C. Drury, Ontario; Hon. W. E. Foster, New Brunswick; *centre:* Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Quebec; *bottom:* Hon. G. H. Murray, Nova Scotia; Hon. J. H. Bell, Prince Edward Island.



PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

Top, left to right: Hon. John Oliver, British Columbia; Hon. H. Greenfield, Alberta; bottom: Hon. C. A. Dunning, Saskatchewan; Hon. John Bracken, Manitoba.

fresh expedition with men and stores and accompanied by a Jesuit priest—Father Quentin and a layman, Du Thet—and a settlement on the coast of New England was formed at a place which was named St. Laurent. The action was taken in defiance of the claims of England and met a very speedy ending. One day in the later spring a stoutly-armed vessel sailed into the natural harbour which, as its Captain had just learned from Indians, sheltered from sight of the sea Frenchmen who had dared to intrude upon soil claimed for the blood-red flag which waved at his mast-head. The settlement was promptly uprooted by the commander who, in the future, was to become wealthy and well-known as Sir Samuel Argall and always and everywhere as a bitter enemy of the French. He followed up this success by a raid upon Port Royal which he found defenceless, Bien-court—the gallant son of the adventurous Poutrincourt—being away from his command in an expedition against the Indians. The place was pillaged and burned to the ground and even the crops in the fields were destroyed. Argall returned in triumph to Virginia and the unhappy French colonists struggled through the ensuing winter by means of wild roots and the help of half-starved and friendly Indians. Poutrincourt, shortly after this event, died a soldier's death in France and his son, who had already inherited his ability and energy, obtained the rank of Vice-Admiral and remained in Acadie to hunt, fish, shoot, trade, and guard the remnants of his cherished settlement. Ultimately, he rebuilt Port Royal and in this as well as in his generally adventurous life, was strongly seconded by a young Huguenot nobleman—Charles de la Tour—who was destined to take an important part in the stern game of war and colonization which followed.

Meanwhile, as a result of Argall's raids, Great Britain began to press the claims upon the soil of North America which Cabot's discoveries seemed to give. By right of settlement the greater part of the Atlantic coast from Acadie downward was already British; by

right of discovery, and despite a record of colonization and exploration which now crowns French energy and enterprise with honour, claim was laid to the whole of what has become known as Canada and was for nearly a century called British America. In times of war between France and England this claim continued to be aggressively presented by British invasion or British expeditions; in times of nominal peace it was too often urged by Colonial invasion and New England raids, followed or preceded by French expeditions of a similarly lawless character.

In 1614, King James I. granted to a Plymouth Association all the lands lying between the 45th and 48th parallels and called the region New England. There was, of course, a New France already in existence and a New Spain was now taking unto itself much of the southern part of the continent. Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Sterling and Viscount Canada, a man of letters, and a patriotic Scotchman, resolved that there should also be a New Scotland. From the King he obtained, in 1621, a grant of the whole of Acadie under the general name of Nova Scotia, and including the Maritime Provinces of the present day. He began quietly by making a small settlement and then sending out ships yearly with trading and exploring parties. The younger Poutrincourt was now Commandant of Acadie in the name of the French King and, with Dela Tour, presented to the thrifty Scotchman a rather difficult nut for breaking by either the weapons of diplomacy or war. But the latter was a man of resource and had he been backed up by the weight of practical assistance from the Crown, as well as of its nominal patronage, he would have eventually built up a strong Scotch dependency. Charles I. renewed his charter in 1625 and also approved an undertaking which has been since criticized, very unfairly and ignorantly, by men who know nothing of the spirit of that age and judge everything by the somewhat mercenary and largely democratic spirit of the present time.

An Order of Knights-Baronets of Nova Scotia was established by which, in return for certain substantial contributions to the Colonization fund and the pledge of planting actual settlements on the lands granted by the Crown, each member of the Order was to be given an estate of eighteen square miles. Many a title has been accorded for less service to the State, present or prospective, than this and, given a reasonably fair selection of the gentleman upon whom the honour and the opportunity were conferred, it is difficult to see why abuse and sneers should be levelled at the scheme and its originator. About the same time the crafty Richelieu was inaugurating in New France the Company of the Hundred Associates with similar objects in view though with natural differences in detail. Something was done in carrying out the plan and soon a number of estates dotted the English maps of Nova Scotia which would hardly be found in a French map of Acadie. The settlements were not so quick in maturing, but a certain number of immigrants did come out despite the fresh war which soon began between England and France.

When Admiral Kirke arrived on the expedition which so triumphantly terminated in the temporary capture of Quebec, he bore down upon battle-scarred Port Royal and declared the whole country to be under the rule and government of Sir William Alexander's Company, or Order. Poutrincourt, the younger, had died some years before this but Charles de la Tour still held a strong position at Fort St. Louis, near Cape Sable. Here, in 1629, he shut himself up and defied the English, though his father, Claude de la Tour, was captured on his way with supplies and armament for Port Royal and was carried to an English prison. These survivors of the Huguenot aristocracy of the old world are very picturesque figures in the early history of the new one. The elder was a trader by profession and perhaps at heart. He was certainly far from possessing the many patriotic and gallant qualities of his son. To the English Court and

English statecraft he was felt, however, to be a great prize. The power of the family in Acadie was well-known, though it was forgotten, or unknown, that the greater influence settled in the person and around the character of its younger member.

Claude de la Tour was made much of in England, married to a lady of the Court, made by the King a Baronet of Nova Scotia, granted forty-five hundred square miles of territory on the Atlantic coast, and gradually won over to espouse the cause of England and to promise the support of his son—who was included in the titles and grants. But he had undertaken too much and when, in 1630, he arrived at Port Louis with British ships and colonists and the assurance of support to his plans, he was repulsed in his negotiations and in the assault which followed their failure, and was compelled to withdraw to Port Royal with his settlers and the wife who had been led to expect a triumphant entry into new and vast possessions and an early acquisition of territory for the Crown of England. She remained faithful to her husband, however, through good and evil report, through the sunshine of success and the shadow of sorrow. The latter unfortunately predominated and when, two years after this time, peace was concluded by the respective Sovereigns and New France and Acadie both handed back to France, the father had the humiliation of having to seek refuge with his son and to find himself stripped of both his reputation and his resources. Thence he fades from the canvas of history. Charles de la Tour had, in the meantime, won high credit for his refusal of English approaches and in 1631 became the French King's Lieutenant-General in Acadie with sufficient men and arms and supplies to surround the position with something more than an empty halo.

Then followed the despatch of Isaac de Razilly, a relation of Richelieu, with a definite mission to drive the Scotch out of Acadie; and with him were Nicholas Denys, destined to succeed L'Escarbot as a picturesque scribe, and d'Auluay de Charnisay, a French nobleman

of ability and intense ambition. Various minor struggles with New England ensued in which success generally rested with the French and where both De la Tour and Charnisay distinguished themselves. De Razilly died in 1636 and left his power in the divided hands of two antagonistic and ambitious men. De la Tour retired to a new fortress which he had built at the mouth of the St. John River, and for five years ruled, practically, over the Nova Scotia peninsula. Charnisay remained at Port Royal, which he had rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and maintained authority along the coast of the New Brunswick and Maine of the future, from Chignecto to Pemaquid.

JEALOUSY OF GREAT RIVALS

Each was jealous of the other's power and plans but, while De la Tour rested in proud contempt within the walls of his fortress, surrounded by his family and relatives, his soldiers, Indians and steadily successful fur-traders, Charnisay sought the seat of power and undermined his rival's reputation at the Court of France. In 1641 he was successful. De la Tour was deprived of his position and possessions and ordered to France under arrest. It was a desperate case. To go was to meet ruin at the hands of a Cardinal who hated the Huguenots; to stay was to court ruin as a rebel. But in the latter case De la Tour knew his friends would stand by him, and his followers fight for him; while chance might at any time reverse the conditions prevalent at Paris. He, therefore, stayed and his defiance resulted in a strife which filled the forests and coasts of Acadie with the sights and sounds of civil war during a number of years.

It was the war of a hero, and the fitting wife of a hero, with a man whose character has been revealed by the light of passing years, and of history, as so infamous in its indifference to honour and integrity as to defy the powers of restrained description. The real qualities of De la Tour were open to the world, and had obtained the respect of all who knew him. As so often happens in the history of countries,

he was the one man who, at this crisis, might have made Acadie a great and prosperous French state. But he was denied the opportunity by a fate that has ordained other ends for the region which two rivals were then struggling with such varied motives to possess and rule. Those of De la Tour were the ambitions of a patriot combined with much of the prescience of a statesman. Those of Charnisay were the self-seeking principles of a trader combined with the unscrupulous personal designs of a Philippe Egalité.

The conflict began by Charnisay attacking Fort La Tour at the mouth of the St. John, in the spring of 1643, and being repulsed with considerable loss. It continued through his close investment of the place and the arrival of reinforcements from France; and was marked by the escape of De la Tour and his wife to Boston through the close lines of the enemy and by their return in triumph with five ships full of strong and willing men from Massachusetts. It ended, for the moment, in the chagrin and amazement of Charnisay and his hasty flight to Port Royal. The result should have been a permanent one, with Port Royal taken and Charnisay captured. But the New Englanders had to be considered and De la Tour found that they were amply content with the booty in furs which they had gained and the terms which they had forced him to yield. Perhaps, too, their thrifty patriotism saw possibilities of injury to France and benefit to themselves in not too suddenly ending the war of the rivals. De la Tour, therefore, set himself to strengthen his defences and consolidate his resources, while his brave wife—whose conduct during the hardships of the siege, the escape, and the journey to Boston had already been heroic—started for France to obtain assistance from her Huguenot friends in Rochelle. Charnisay, meanwhile, departed for Paris, where he arranged to have his rival's wife arrested for treason. She escaped him, however, reached England in safety and after twelve weary months of peril and adventure arrived home at Fort La Tour.

She had brought some help back with her and her husband went to Boston to get more with the intention of this time finishing his foe. Charnisay heard of his departure and with cruisers and troops at once invested the fortress. The gallant wife did everything to supply her husband's place and, perhaps, she more than filled it. Supplies ran short and traitors were discovered. Instead of being hung they were mistakenly driven with contempt from the Fort and intelligence thus afforded Charnisay as to the state of the garrison. Fire was opened by his battleships, but it was replied to with a force and goodwill which destroyed one of his ships and drove back his men with heavy loss. For two months the heroic garrison and the gallant lady defied his blockade and laughed, apparently, at the assault which he was afraid to deliver. De la Tour, meanwhile, had returned from Boston and lay cruising as near as possible to the scene of the siege, but his single ship was no match for the fleet of his enemy. One night, in the month of April, Charnisay plucked up courage to once more defy the chances of battle with this woman who seemed able to resist all the men and ships he could bring against her. During three days the fresh struggle lasted, while every rampart was attacked at once and every weak spot seemed known to the enemy. But the starving garrison, though depleted in numbers and weakened by privation, seemed inspired with the courage of their leader and held their own with the fortitude of men who knew that they were fighting against fate, but that they were doing so for a woman who was worthy of their loyalty and the sacrifice of their lives.

At last a Swiss mercenary turned traitor and threw open the gates. Charnisay entered in triumph, but none knew better than he that victory was still far away. Then came the blackest and meanest deed in the history of the northern part of the continent. Afraid of this woman, afraid of being again repulsed by her leadership in the prolonged fight which must still follow, Charnisay asked for a truce

and offered honourable terms. With a woman's natural desire to save her brave followers, Madame de la Tour consented and the terms of capitulation were duly drawn up. Then, with the fortress in his hands and the chatelaine at his mercy, this mockery of a man tore up the document, repudiated his obligations and his honour, and, placing a halter around the neck of the brave woman who had beaten him in fair fight, forced her to watch the death struggles of her soldiers as one by one they were hung on the ramparts. Carried to Port Royal by the conqueror, the heroine of Acadie died of a broken heart at the end of three long and weary weeks spent, no doubt, in brooding thought over a broken home and butchered followers and a husband who was now a wanderer on the face of the earth.

A TURN OF THE WHEEL OF FATE

Charnisay, like the wicked of Scriptural fame, flourished to the full of his expectations during the next few years. Supreme in Acadie, confident of his favour at Court, fair of word and arrangement with New England, reaping riches from the fur-trade, successful in crushing his only remaining rival—Nicholas Denys, who had been his friend and schoolmate, but had become rich and strong in Cape Breton Island—this traitor and perjured murderer seemed well content with his fortune and fate and devoted a good deal of time to the Christianizing of the Indians. Suddenly, in 1650, as if in mockery of his fair future hopes and the brightness of his prospects, he fell into the little river at Port Royal and was drowned like a rat. De la Tour, meanwhile, had been treated with the respect he deserved in the parts of New England and the continent in which he had spent five years of a wandering life, and was now able to go to France, refute the falsehoods of his enemy and receive every reparation which the King could give.

He was made Governor of Acadie, the fur-trade monopoly was placed in his hands and, to ensure the permanence of his fortune, he



MISS AGNES MACPHAIL, M.P.
 Miss MacPhail, Progressive, Member for South Grey, and the first woman
 to be elected a member of the Canadian House of Commons.



Photo, British & Colonial Press
THE HON. MRS. RALPH SMITH
 Minister without Portfolio in the British Columbia Government, and the
 first woman member of any Government in the British Empire.



PORTAGE AVENUE, WINNIPEG

Looking from the corner of Main Street. Half a century ago Portage Avenue and Main Street were the two main trails used by Indians and fur traders in the vast unsettled West of Canada.

cut another knot of difficulty by marrying Charnisay's widow and taking the children of his great rival into his hands and under his protection. But it is easy to believe that nothing, to a man of his sensibilities and character, could compensate for the shattered home of his earlier happiness, or the death of the brave men who had helped to make and keep his earlier fortunes. Another turn of the wheel of fate was in store, however, for both the French Governor and the governed. England was now in the stern and successful hands of Cromwell and a large expedition, which had been sent to capture the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, was turned suddenly and without notice upon Acadie, through peace being patched up between England and Holland. De la Tour was easily overpowered under such circumstances and Acadie over-run. Boston and New England were at the back of the new move; Cromwell, who seems to have understood the great issues turning upon the apparently petty struggles of these rival settlements refused to intervene, or to restore Acadie to France; and De la Tour was seemingly crushed and ruined once more. But he was not the man to meet such a fate without effort. Going to England, he saw Cromwell and impressed him, evidently, by both his arguments and his personality. The stern Protector relented, and granted the whole region down into the centre of what is now the State of Maine to a Company which included De la Tour and Sir Thomas Temple. The latter was made Governor, the former soon sold out his great interests in the grant and, weary of tempting fate, retired to the comfortable obscurity of private life.

Until 1667, when Charles II. gave back Acadie to France in the Treaty of Breda, the land rested in reasonable quietude. From that time until the finger of fate placed its seal upon the country in 1710 and made it British, Acadie, or Nova Scotia as it was called in England, had many Governors, but no man of towering personality amongst them. And, though its place is so important upon the

pages of history, its white population during this period could always be counted by hundreds and only rose into thousands as a small and steady migration toward the end of the eighteenth century began to have a perceptible influence. The most striking figure in these last years of French rule was that of the Baron St. Castin—hunter and wood-ranger, fighter in a lawless fashion on behalf of law and order, warden of the marshes upon the Penobscot, friend of the Indians and guardian of Acadian soil against New England raids. With his Indian wife, with wealth gained by the fur-trade, and with influence at Port Royal maintained through his power over the Indians, St. Castin presents a most picturesque personality and one full of material for the romancist in these later days of the fiction historical.

Meanwhile, the Province shared in the ups and downs of Colonial rivalry and war. It suffered from the raid of Sir William Phipps and his Boston men in 1690; from the soldiers of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid; from the ever fluctuating boundaries and the devastation of Indian fighting on one side or the other. In these conflicts, St. Castin shared and at times triumphed while, in 1692, Iberville Le Moyne, the dashing darling of French-Canadian history, sailed into the Bay of Fundy, fought the British fleet in a drawn battle and captured the fort at Pemaquid. In 1710, the end of Acadie as a French country came when Colonel Nicholson, with English ships and Colonial soldiers on the way to again attempt the capture of Quebec, overpowered the little garrison of Port Royal and over-ran the Province. The war-scarred fortress was re-named Annapolis in honour of Queen Anne, and, although St. Castin and his Indians did their best for the Lilies of France and tried hard to again take possession of Pemaquid when Nicholson left, the struggle was useless. Although the expedition against Quebec had failed, England was in a strong enough position in Europe to dictate terms and by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to retain Acadie while only giving up to

France the Islands now known as Cape Breton and Prince Edward ; together with certain fishing privileges on the coast of Newfoundland.

Now began the evolution of the romantic and regrettable Acadian question. The people of French extraction, during the years of peace which followed, increased largely in numbers and certainly did not decrease in sentimental loyalty toward France. Their Mother-country was steadily strengthening its position in the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a view to the future re-conquest of Acadie. The vast fortifications of Louisbourg were designed by Vauban and built at great expense on the Island of Cape Breton. That place became the headquarters of French power and pretensions on the Atlantic, the home of French privateers, and the Mecca of Acadian hopes. It supplied the Acadians with a market for their products, kept them in touch with French sympathies and aspirations and plots, and prevented their peaceful acceptance of British rule.

CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF THE ACADIANS

They professed neutrality, refused to take the oath of allegiance without a proviso against being compelled to take up arms in opposition to France, and became the easy victims of emissaries from Quebec intent upon stirring up mischief ; the frequent allies of the ever-hostile Indians ; and the friendly spies of the Louisbourg garrison. Presently, the country came once more within touch of the swinging pendulum of European war and, in 1745, after one of the most memorable sieges of history—and an incidental French attempt to capture Annapolis—the mighty fortress of Louisbourg, the sentinel and guardian of French power on the Atlantic, was captured by William Pepperell and his gallant New Englanders. Three years later it was returned to France and during the eight years following continued to be a thorn in the flesh to English power in Nova Scotia—the Acadie of old. Along the unsettled borders of that vaguely defined region, the French of Quebec also maintained their claims and

a policy of pin-pricks and fretful irritation. They were helped by the sullen, silly attitude of the Acadians and by the ever-available information furnished by a friendly population of French and Indian and mixed extraction.

After the founding of Halifax, in 1749, and the steady accretion of English or Scotch immigrants, it was decided that something must be done with the Acadians, who would neither leave the country and join their friends or remain in the country as faithful subjects. They wanted to live at peace and in possession of their homes with the privilege of acting as enemies of British supremacy when it so pleased them. This was the real meaning of "neutrality" under existing conditions. Governor Cornwallis called the leaders into conference in 1749 without success and warned them without effect. A few were sensible and took the oath and kept it. The majority were not and still remained subject to the machinations of French authorities, or the schemes of French priests such as the notorious Le Loutre. This man, typical of the restless condition of the country and embodying fierce fanaticism worthy of his devoted followers amongst the Mic-macs, made himself the centre of discontent, of border warfare, of Indian outrage, of midnight raids. The Black Abbé, as he was called, dominated loyal and disloyal alike—the former by terror and the latter by a sentiment of shrinking respect for the intensity of his desire to restore French power.

The massacre of English people in Dartmouth by Indians under his supposed commands; the building of Fort Beauséjour on the Isthmus of Chignecto by Acadians working under his compulsion; the murder of Captain Howe near Fort Lawrence, when bearing a flag of truce, and by Indians known to be under Le Loutre's orders; are pages in the life-drama of a most extraordinary man. But the end was near. In 1754 the French Governor at Quebec absolved Acadians of any allegiance to England whatever, and declared that

they must join the militia of New France against the common enemy. Colonel Lawrence, Governor of Nova Scotia, naturally retaliated by proclaiming that any Acadian who had taken the oath and was caught fighting against the British Crown would be shot as a deserter. The French planned an invasion from Beauséjour, the English anticipated the movement and captured the fort which was promptly demolished.

A PATHETIC EVENT

Then followed the pathetic event which has been so widely discussed as a result of Longfellow's popular and charming version of the story. The qualities of the Acadians naturally lent themselves to poetic description and their sad fate has also brought them much of sympathy and the halo which time so often throws around the memory of great sufferings. But if the gentle, attractive, courteous character of the industrious Acadian deserves admiration, so also does his weakness in trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, deserve condemnation. If the beautiful villages of Minas and Grand Pré and the lovely little homes of the people win our sympathetic appreciation, so also should the continuous effort of the British soldiers to protect them and of the British Governor to throw around and over them the shield of British allegiance. It had now, however, become apparent that the Gordian knot must be cut, and the secret enemy within the gates be plainly dealt with. One last and vigorous warning was given that the oath must be taken and that the olive branch thus held out was final. They were told distinctly that British allegiance, or foreign exile, was now to be the Acadians' choice.

They chose the latter, though with an evident disbelief in its accomplishment, and an evident faith in their own immunity from punishment. Governor Lawrence at once made his arrangements, with sternness and secrecy. Colonel Winslow, and troops from New

England, supervised the operation which began suddenly in the summer of 1755. Within a few months over 6000 Acadians were sent from Minas, Piziquid, Annapolis and Chignecto to various points in the British Colonies to the south—a few to England and the West Indies. Every effort was made to keep families together and to preserve to the unfortunate their precious lares and penates. But there was necessarily much of hardship and suffering, much of romantic adventure and stern, unrelieved sorrow. The beautiful and historic village of Grand Pré was given to the flames and Nova Scotia was finally British to the core. Governor Lawrence, in his letter to the Governors of the other Colonies regarding the exiles, made this fairly reasonable explanation of his action :

“I offered such of them as had not been openly in arms against us a continuance of the possession of their lands if they would take the oath of allegiance unqualified by any reservation whatsoever ; but this they have most audaciously as well as unanimously refused, and if they would presume to do this when there is a large fleet of ships of war in the Harbour and a considerable land force in the Province, what might we expect from them when the approaching winter deprives us of the former and when the troops, who are only hired from New England occasionally and for a small time, have returned home.”

The deed, however, was done and seems to have been one of those incidents in a vast, tangled web of Empire-building where an isolated Governor did the best he could with a difficult situation. As time passed on and events made British power secure against either French plot or French assault, the Acadians were allowed to wander back to their old homes and to rebuild the altars of their sires, until, by the Census of 1891, in the Canadian Provinces of the Atlantic there were more than a hundred thousand loyal, light-hearted and prosperous British subjects of Acadian descent.

CHAPTER V

The French and English Wars

IT was a vast and splendid setting which nature provided in North America for the panorama of war between France and England.

Amid the gloomy aisles of endless forests, in a region thousands of miles in length and breadth, amid a myriad of lakes and rivers, and around the inland seas which empty through the St. Lawrence into the Atlantic, bodies of armed men marched to and fro and the sound of cannon echoed through wastes hitherto sacred to the freedom of the animal world and the wild vagaries of savage tribes.

RIVALRY AND WARFARE OF A CENTURY

Sometimes, as the hundred years of intermittent conflict passed away, war would break out between the settlements of New France and the far away Colonies on the New England coast; sometimes it reached the Canadian shores or passed in a course of devastation down the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys; sometimes the sound of English guns would be heard from the ramparts of Quebec, or the tramp of New England volunteers echo through the forests bordering on the Great Lakes; sometimes it would occur when the Mother-countries were nominally at peace; sometimes the war-whoop of the savage would be heard on one side, or on both, and the shadow of the scalping knife rest over the pioneer homes of French and English alike. Everywhere and at all times the issue was the ownership of a continent, as

“The flag of England and the flag of France
Waved in war’s alternate chance.”

The rivalry was inevitable, the hostility bitter, the conflict of diplomacy or of war continuous, the result concealed from view and its

importance hardly understood. For a time, indeed, it was uncertain. The French sailors and navigators were as brave and enthusiastic and determined as were the English; and Cartier, Champlain, De Monts and Poutrincourt rank easily with Kirke and Alexander, Gilbert and Raleigh. Men like Drake and Frobisher cared little for permanent colonization and thought more of destroying a Spanish town or capturing a French ship in southern seas than of founding a city or establishing a colony in the north. The French monarchs, fluctuating as was their interest in New France or in Acadia, yet did much more than the rulers of England to aid and encourage their infant settlements.

CLAIMS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

It is true that England never abandoned the wide and shadowy claims which rested upon the discoveries of Cabot, any more than France ceased to press those based upon the explorations of Verrazano. But in the former case the claims were used more as a lever for checking the enemy's ambition, or for obtaining equivalents elsewhere in peace negotiations, than because England really wished to establish an empire in the New World. Hence the result turned eventually upon the character of the actual colonists, their fitness for the rugged work of pioneer life, and the willingness with which the wild adventure, or uncertain trade, or the independence of the wilderness, might be sought for by the peoples of the home country. In this respect France at first took the lead, and, throughout a vast extent of country, its *voyageurs* and trappers and traders swarmed up the lakes and rivers and through the pathless forests, emulating the Indian in hunting prowess and carrying with them the flag of France.

North and south of the St. Lawrence, up to Hudson's Bay and down the region watered by much of the Mississippi, they led the way, and received the fluctuating support of great fur companies whose fortunes varied with events of state in Paris and the chances



ROAD-MAKING IN MANITOBA

Re-making an old road in the Municipality of St. Anne's, Manitoba.



RAILWAY BUILDING

Developing a branch of the Canadian Northern in difficult country.



Photo. British & Colonial Press

LUMBERING SCENE NEAR VANCOUVER, B. C.

In timber British Columbia has its greatest asset. The value of the manufactured timber annually exceeds \$30,000,000, and the forests are growing faster than they are being cut.

of war in America. The St. Malo Company in 1599; De Monts and Champlain for a number of years following 1603; the Rouen Company formed by Champlain in 1614, and its rival, De Caen, in 1620; the Montmorency, organized from the union of the two latter, in 1622; the famous Company of the Hundred Associates, which largely ruled New France between 1627 and 1663; the Habitants Company of 1645; the Du Nord, established at Quebec in 1682 for the purpose of Hudson's Bay trade, and others; found full scope for the longings of ambitious and adventurous spirits as well as for the aims of those who only desired a means of making money or perhaps of wielding power.

With the hunters and fur-traders—many of the former were of noble name and high rank—may be classed in this connection the Jesuits who sought the salvation of souls and the expansion of France in the wilderness of America. They were path-finders of empire as well as leaders of religion and they did much to forward the interests of the Most Christian King; and would have done more had they not at times introduced that element of sectarian ascendancy into secular councils which is always so disastrous to united action.

Opposed to these influences of zeal and energy and spirit there was nothing for a time but the slowly growing line of scattered settlements along the coast of the Atlantic and some slight English fishing interests on the Newfoundland coasts, although further south Spain was taking possession of Florida, Mexico, Cuba and other West Indian Islands, and Bermuda. Moreover, there was little of unity in thought or character between the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Cavaliers of Virginia; to say nothing of the Dutch settlements in New York which were to ultimately become English in allegiance and name. But there was the great factor of commerce and the greater natural gift of a colonizing spirit in the English people. It was not the kind of feeling which made migration to New France probable

so long as there were abundant chances of war and opportunities for a wandering life, but the sentiment which sent a steady stream of settlers from England in search of a home and with sturdy willingness to take the chances of conflict or the risk of an adventurous life as incidental to the main object. The French built fortresses and trained soldiers and excelled in all the arts of skilled hunting and in the fervour of religious self-sacrifice. The English founded homes, created villages, developed commerce and considered all the rest as incidental to a period which must in time pass away and leave them the possessors of a peaceful soil and free communities. With such characteristics the result, though hidden from human sight at the time, was inevitable when once that thin line of English settlement began to grow thick and overflow its borders north and east and south.

EVIDENCE OF GROWTH OF ENGLISH INFLUENCES

Argall's expedition into Acadie in 1612, and his conquest of Port Royal, formed at once a veiled evidence and a certain commencement of this process. Then came Sir William Alexander's grant in 1621 from King James I., of the whole of Acadie; his effort to establish a colony two years later; and the failure which followed as a result of new French settlements. Charles I. had confirmed this grant in 1628 and, as war had just been declared against France on behalf of the Huguenots, he despatched an expedition to capture New France—of which substantial territory, with its shadowy and far-stretching boundaries, Acadie was supposed to be in some sense a part. Admiral Kirke and his fleet arrived during the summer in the St. Lawrence and for the first time in history the English flag swept at the mast-head of an English ship between the shores of the great Canadian river. Champlain was in a deplorable condition in his newly-built citadel on the lofty rock of Quebec, but, though without supplies, with few soldiers, and with only a faint hope of support from home, he refused the demand to surrender which came from

Tadoussac and held on to his, as yet, poorly fortified capital. The English Admiral, however, encountered a large French fleet at the mouth of the Saguenay which had been sent to the assistance of Champlain, captured part of it and destroyed the rest. Satisfied with this success he returned to England but in the following year came out again and found the French settlement at Quebec on the point of starvation and under the necessity of surrender.

During the three years following, all New France was in the hands of the English and much profit was found in the fur-trade; while a Scotch settlement made satisfactory progress at Port Royal, in Acadie. By the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, however, this wide Acadian country was returned to France in exchange for a sugar island in the Pacific and for some arrears of money due the English King upon his wife's dowry. It was the beginning of a long and shifting panorama of war and nominal peace, of rivalry and struggle, of intrigue and cabal, of Indian massacre and conflict. Amidst it all the clear ambition of French leaders of the class of Champlain and Frontenac, or Vaudreuil and Montcalm, shone out over the troubled waters of war and corruption in New France and made for success in their common aim of a great French Empire in America. The prolonged struggle which ensued between the colonies of England and those of France did not run along the lines of the relation maintained by their Mother-countries. They, of course, dropped readily into the mould cast by European wars such as those of 1666, the King William's War of 1689-97, the Spanish Succession of 1702-3, the Austrian Succession of 1742-48, or the Seven Years' War of 1755-63.

But, preceding and following what might be termed the orthodox wars, were the irregular ones rising out of local differences and implacable racial rivalries. The first of these were the Acadian troubles already referred to and in which the natural instincts of the

different peoples found some play. During the civil strife which occurred in Acadie between De la Tour and Charnisay, with all its picturesque features and dramatic incidents, Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts illustrated the situation by supporting one of the local combatants. As he put the matter, in replying to some one who opposed this intervention on religious grounds: "Is it more safe, just and honourable, to neglect a Providence which puts it in our power to succour an unfortunate neighbour, *at the same time weakening a dangerous enemy*, than to allow that enemy to work out his own purposes?" In 1644, a short-lived treaty of amity and peace was arranged between Acadie and New England and ten years later the expedition intended by Cromwell for Quebec succeeded in expelling the French from St. John and Port Royal—with some help from Massachusetts. It was, in the land of the Lilies, a period of most deplorable complication, and it has been said that the trappers and hunters in the forests of Acadie during these years recognized at intervals as their Sovereign the Lord Protector of England, the future King Charles II., and Louis XIV., of France—sometimes all three!

As yet, however, the hostility between the Colonists of England and those of France had not reached the stage of almost savage bitterness which toward the end of the century began to characterize it and was so greatly intensified, if not primarily caused, by the merciless warfare with the Indians. In 1664, New Netherlands had been taken by the British from the Dutch and the city which the latter had founded re-christened as New York. La Salle and Father Hennepin had explored the Mississippi region and given the French strong claims to the vast territory reaching down through the heart of the continent. Meanwhile, both nations and both classes of Colonists were trying to obtain and retain the alliance of the Indians and to maintain their supremacy in the great fur-trade of the interior. At this time, also, it must be remembered, the French power vastly

overshadowed the English in America and included under the sway of Louis XIV. most of the Hudson's Bay country, Acadie, Canada proper, or New France as it was usually designated in a phrase which contracted and expanded a good deal from time to time, much of Maine, portions of Vermont and New York and the whole valley of the Mississippi. Little wonder therefore that the New Englanders dreaded the further expansion of those whom they looked upon as hereditary, if not natural, enemies.

FRANCE DECLARES WAR UPON WILLIAM III.

The chronic French war with the Iroquois—which reached acute stages from 1633 to 1645, from 1652 to 1654, and from 1661 to 1666—was again stirred up in 1687 by the differences of the Marquis de Denonville of New France with Governor Dongan of New York. It reached a white-heat in 1689 when France declared war upon William III. of England and it lasted with fluctuating intensity until 1700. The French-Canadian population at this time numbered about 11,000; that of the English Colonies was over 200,000. Both sides prepared for action and both sides sought Indian aid. From France came Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, a man who in energy, resource and determination was an army in himself. From 1689 to 1698 he acted as Governor of New France and carried matters with as high a hand as poverty of men and armament and troublous controversies within his own realm would permit. By his instructions from the King the Hudson's Bay territory was to be at once invaded and the Province of New York over-run. In the former case success came as a result of the brilliance and dash of Iberville Le Moyne. Meanwhile, the Iroquois had glided in their light canoes down the St. Lawrence, ravaged its shores and reached the very gates of Montreal. On the other hand the Abenakis took the part of the French and struck terror by their raids along much of the New England border.

During the succeeding winter of 1689-90 Frontenac despatched three expeditions of French troops, assisted by various Indian allies, into the heart of New York. Schenectady and the other positions aimed at were captured, and much of the country ravaged by these intrepid but merciless bodies of men. They had marched hundreds of miles through snow and ice into the centre of a hostile territory and the result illustrated once more the power of a great mind at the head of affairs in a time of peril. Frontenac simply compelled success and, with proper support from France at this and other junctures, might have changed the history of North America and of the world. This particular incident was, however, only a raiding incursion, and when Frontenac wanted to really invade New York in the following year, King Louis could not spare the troops and the Quebec garrison of a few hundred men was necessarily insufficient. If, however, Frontenac was unable to take the offensive the men of Massachusetts were, and an expedition was fitted out under Sir William Phips, which speedily over-ran Acadie, attacked Port Royal and annexed the country to his own Province. Frontenac retorted by worrying and harassing the frontiers of the English Colonies and was soon able to again take possession of his much-harried Atlantic country.

Meantime, William III. was being urged to take an active interest in the American struggle but, like King Louis, was much too busy in Europe. New York and Connecticut, therefore, undertook to supply a force for the over-land invasion of New France and the capture of Montreal, while Massachusetts got together a fleet of 35 vessels with 44 guns and 2000 men for the siege of Quebec by sea. The command of the latter armament was given to Sir William Phips—a Colonist of wealth, rank and romantic experiences in the vivid life of that time who had already distinguished himself in aggressive work. Owing, however, to miscalculation as to the season, various unexpected delays, and some repulses on land from the

French, the fleet eventually had to return home without accomplishing anything—despite the quaint remark of Cotton Mather that, during its absence, “the wheel of prayer in New England has been continually going round.” At the same time the land force, under General Winthrop, had to retreat from the banks of Lake George where it had delayed further advance until hearing something of Phipps. The latter was then sent to England for assistance and the making of some arrangements about Provincial charters. He returned with the promise of ships and his appointment as Governor of the United Provinces of Massachusetts, Maine, Plymouth and Nova Scotia; while Frontenac received word about the same time that King Louis would have sent a fleet to attack the English Colonies had his means permitted.

In 1693, the British fleet sailed, as promised, under command of Sir Francis Wheeler, but on its way disease broke out and over 3000 sailors and soldiers died. Eventually, the Admiral and his ships returned without doing anything. During the next three years the French Governor-General succeeded in checking and chastising the Iroquois and rebuilding Fort Frontenac, which had been previously destroyed by the Colonial forces. He then planned a regular campaign and it was opened by Iberville le Moyne with the capture and destruction of the Fort at Pemaquid, on the Bay of Fundy—perhaps the strongest possessed by the English Colonies in all North America. He then captured St. John's, Newfoundland, and with a few hundred men over-ran the Island. From thence he departed to the far Hudson's Bay territory, and in a short time had taken the principal forts, subdued nearly the whole of the country with a mere handful of men—of course the English population was itself very scattered and small—and returned laden with booty in furs and peltries and with a well-deserved reputation for skill and valour. Later on, in a second expedition to the same northern regions, he encountered two English

ships at anchor upon the inner shores of the Bay, lured the men into an ambuscade on land and destroyed the vessels.

But the end of the prolonged war had come for the moment and, by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, each nation returned to the other the places or territory it had captured. William III. had made his mark in Europe and had weakened the immense power of Louis the Great. In America, after a struggle extending up the Mississippi, around the shores of the Great Lakes, into the ice-bound regions of the north, and along the stormy shores of Newfoundland, matters were again demitted to their former condition. No peace made in Europe, however, could hold good amidst the conditions prevalent in America. The two great rivals were striving more and more strenuously with every passing year for supremacy in trade and for the control of trade routes on the St. Lawrence and the Hudson. To the French at Quebec, the natural policy and the one pursued by La Salle, by Frontenac and his great Intendant, Talon, by De Courcelles and by some of the later Governors, was to surround the English with a vast combination of French settlements and forts and to restrict their power and place to the small strip of soil on the Atlantic coast. At times, even more was hoped for, and Louis XIV. once gave instructions for deporting the English at New York in much the same fashion as was afterwards actually applied to the French of Acadie. Upon the other hand the English policy was naturally one of cooping the French up in the valley of the St. Lawrence and thus checking their enterprising expansion north and south. In this aim the English Colonies, of course, were tremendously helped by the bitter hostility of the Iroquois to the French name and nationality,

The Treaty of Ryswick only lasted five years and then the War of the Spanish Succession commenced, with England, Austria and Holland pitted against France and Spain. It was a glorious war for England though one of varied failures and successes in America.

British victories at Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies and Malplaquet rang through Europe like a long-sustained peal of thunder from a stormy sky, and the echo in North America indicated, at last, the line of ultimate success in the great struggle for a continent. At first, the war in the New World was the old story of petty raids, cruel surprises and Indian forays. Massachusetts' whale-boats harassed the Acadian coasts; a Boston fleet tried to capture Port Royal, but failed; Hertel was sent by De Vaudreuil, the Governor of New France, with a mixed war-party of French and Indians and succeeded in surprising and destroying the inhabitants of the little English village of Haverhill, on the Merrimac; schemes were laid for the invasion of New York, and rival preparations made for the conquest of New France; the Iroquois played off one nationality against the other and profited by the enhanced antagonisms.

AN AGGRESSIVE FRINGE OF BRITISH COLONIES

Finally, in 1709, Colonel Nicholson, an able English officer, organized an expedition of ships and Colonial troops for the capture of Quebec. When ready, however, the season was too far advanced and he led it to the coasts of Acadie, where for the last time Port Royal was taken and its name changed to Annapolis Royal. Acadie fell easily into his hands and, with the later appearance of fifteen men-of-war under Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker—bearing a number of Marlborough's fighting regiments for the capture of the great French fortress on the St. Lawrence—it really seemed as if the knell of French power had rung in America. In the following spring Walker sailed from Boston for Quebec and Nicholson marched overland to Lake Champlain.

But the former proved an utterly incapable officer and leader and, after a series of mishaps and mistakes, left half his ships on the reefs of the St. Lawrence and carried the shreds of a one-time reputation back to England. Nicholson had to return in rage and disgust

to Boston while the churches of New France were filled with pæans of gratitude over this narrow and unexpected escape at a time of great internal weakness and distress. In three years peace came at Utrecht and, this time, England returned nothing and received much. Acadie, Newfoundland, the Hudson's Bay territory and St. Kitts in the West Indies, were surrendered by France although Cape Breton—then known as Isle Royal—the Island of St. John (now Prince Edward Island) and other places in the Gulf at St. Lawrence were still retained.

It was really the beginning of the end and, instead of restricting and hemming in the English settlements, New France was now met on the north, the east, and partly on the south, by an aggressive fringe of growing British Colonies. She still, however, held the gates of the two great waterways and the mighty inland seas of the continent firmly in her grasp and guarded the possibilities of the boundless west. The future seemed by no means hopeless. Hence the plots amongst the Acadians; the building of a strong fort at Niagara and of a rival English one at Oswego; the creation of the great fortifications at Louisbourg and the preparations to hold the mouth of the St. Lawrence against all comers and to recover Acadie; the effort to colonize the far west and De la Verendrye's explorations in that direction; the building of a French fort at the head of Lake Champlain—the afterwards famous Crown Point. Peace in a sort of fashion lasted, however, until 1740, when the War of the Austrian Succession began and gave an opportunity to France and England to once more meet in deadly struggle. Nominally it was over the accession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria; practically it was an effort by France and Spain to crush the external empire of England and sweep to the pit of destruction her growing commerce. The event materially and immediately affected matters in America.

The French Governor of Louisbourg, in Cape Breton, quickly decided to capture Annapolis, and for this purpose invaded Nova

Scotia, took possession of minor settlements and laid siege to the English capital. For weeks he maintained his ground, but the commander, Paul Mascarene, was a vigorous and determined leader and the timely arrival of re-inforcements compelled the French to withdraw. In return for the courtesy of this attack Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, organized an expedition of 4000 farmers and merchants, together with a small fleet, for the capture of Louisbourg—then one of the most powerful fortifications in the world and held by trained and experienced soldiers under Duchambou, an officer of good reputation. William Pepperell, a man of immense courage and resourceful ability, but with no military experience, was appointed to the command. After swift preparations and rapid movements, he reached Canso, a place not far from the fortress, with his expedition and was there joined by Commodore Warren with four English battle-ships. Early on the following morning the army of volunteers was in front of a place which a French officer had once declared could be held by an army of women against assault.

Details of the siege which followed consist of incidents of steady and brave attack, of ceaseless cannonading and the continuous repulse of the garrison's sorties, of final assault and victory. The surrender was the occasion of wild acclaim and rejoicing throughout New England, of utter dismay in New France, of determinations at Paris to regain the all-important place. Two great fleets were despatched for this purpose. One, of thirty-nine men-of-war, met with almost countless misfortunes and had to return with only a remnant of ships and men. The other, in 1747, was met off Cape Finisterre, in the Bay of Biscay, and was utterly annihilated by Admiral Anson. In the succeeding year peace was formally made at Aix-la-Chapelle, and France, which had upon the whole been successful in Europe and had won from England the rich plains of Madras, was able to recover Louisbourg in exchange for its Indian conquest—to the intense chagrin of New England and New York.

The peace, however, was only nominal. The boundaries of Nova Scotia formed an easy and continuous subject of dispute in America, whilst Clive and Dupleix kept up an open war in India, with ultimate victory to the former. De la Gallissonière was now Governor-General on the banks of the St. Lawrence and all his activity and skill were devoted to the strengthening of French power. He claimed New Brunswick and Eastern Maine as French-Canadian territory, maintained forts along the frontiers of the Nova Scotian peninsula, marked a boundary line down the valley of the Ohio, and restricted English trade in all this immense region. The English, meanwhile, founded Halifax, brought out settlers to Nova Scotia, expelled the bulk of the Acadians for intriguing with the French authorities at Quebec, and captured Fort Beauséjour on the border of the Province.

FIGHTING IN THE FORESTS

Duquesne, who succeeded De la Gallissonière, pushed the claims and power of France in the west with equal vigour. After the failure of a Joint Commission which sat in Paris to try and determine the boundaries of the Ohio region, he built several new forts and strengthened the old ones, meanwhile winning the alliance of many tribes of Western Indians. To meet this aggressive policy, the Colonists south of Nova Scotia sent a notable protest by a youth named George Washington. He was courteously received but did not obtain satisfaction or practical result. Then they organized the Ohio Company for the purpose of trading in the disputed country—with or without leave—and built a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers. A French expedition promptly destroyed it and erected a stronger one which was named after the Governor at Quebec. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, with equal promptitude, at once sent a force under Washington to drive out the French. It was met by a small contingent which was cut to pieces.

Duquesne

but the whole expedition was shortly afterwards surrounded by the enemy in such numbers as to force surrender of the temporary intrenchments thrown up by Washington. The latter was allowed, however, to retire with his men and to return home with all the honours of war. Fort Duquesne was still safe in the hands of France.

In 1754, two English regiments were sent out under General Braddock, while France despatched a larger force under Baron Dieskau, at the urgent request of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was now Governor-General at Quebec. Both Powers protested against the thought of war, while Braddock proceeded to plan the reduction of Forts Duquesne, Crown Point, and Niagara. During the following summer he led an expedition of 2,000 soldiers and Colonial militia through the forests of the west toward Duquesne. In the defiles of the Monongahela valley, however, his force was surprised by ambushed Indians and a force of 200 Frenchmen, who, unseen and unharmed by answering bullets, poured down an appalling storm of shot upon the helpless troops. Braddock was killed, Washington had two horses shot under him and his clothes riddled with bullets and, finally, some 600 shamed and beaten troops escaped from the scene of disaster. An expedition projected by Governor Shirley against Niagara was at once abandoned, though Colonel Johnson of Indian fame gathered a force of Mohawk warriors and Colonial volunteers and advanced toward Crown Point. Baron Dieskau, with his French troops, encountered the invaders at Lake George, fourteen miles from Fort Edward—a new English fortification on the Hudson.

The impetuous French leader dashed his men against the temporary barricade of logs and English guns which barred the way, but in vain, and, after being himself severely wounded and captured, the repulse became an utter rout. Thus, within a few years, two European commanders of different nations, had been defeated

through refusal to understand or accept the peculiar conditions of American warfare. Johnson had, of course, retained his position and, without advancing further he proceeded to mark the victory by establishing a strong post which he called Fort William Henry. He was afterwards made a baronet and lived to impress his name deeply upon subsequent English relations with the Indian tribes.

At the close of the year 1755, therefore, and at the beginning of the Seven Year's War in Europe the French were triumphant in the west, beaten back in Acadie and checked on Lake George. In the final struggle for supremacy which now began, England had Frederick the Great of Prussia as an ally, and France, Russia, Austria and many minor States as antagonists. Out of this conflict she came gloriously triumphant. On the plains of Hindustan and throughout the wilds of America, her flag floated in final victory ; whilst the tireless Frederick maintained his grim and memorable contest in Europe. But the first years of the war in America were not very bright. Braddock's defeat had left the borders of more than one English Colony open and subject to relentless Indian raids. Local trouble and constitutional disputes—prophetic of a not distant future—came to a head in some of the Provinces and Pennsylvania, while squabbling with its Governor, refused to protect its own frontier. France, meanwhile, had scored instant and early success by sending out the gallant Marquis de Montcalm to command its forces ; England did the reverse by dispatching the Earl of Loudoun and General Abercrombie. The French leader and Governor had not more than reached Quebec, in 1755, before he began operations by capturing and destroying Fort Oswego—the English base for a projected attack on Niagara. Then he hastened up to Lake Champlain and entrenched himself in Fort Ticonderoga. By these rapid moves he secured the west for the moment and fastened the gates of entrance to the region afterwards known as Lower Canada, or Quebec.

Meantime, Lord Loudoun talked and did nothing. In 1757, however, he started for Halifax on the way to attack Louisbourg but, unlike the gallant Pepperell in a previous campaign, he wasted months of precious time in spectacular preparations—until the place itself was strongly re-inforced and twenty-two men-of-war were guarding the entrance to its harbour. Seeing Loudoun hundreds of miles away, where he was comparatively harmless, in his game of playing at war, Montcalm promptly sallied out of Ticonderoga and laid siege to Fort William Henry, with some 6000 men. Owing to the cowardice of the English commander at neighbouring Fort Edward, who had 3600 men under him, the garrison was ultimately compelled to surrender upon a pledge of safety against the Indians and with the right of marching unarmed to the nearby British post. But Montcalm was unable to bind his savage allies and, to his lasting sorrow, the glades of the forest suddenly rang with the Indian war-whoop and the soil soon ran red with the blood of English men, women and children. Short of calling out his own troops to shoot down the Indians, Montcalm and his officers did everything that men could do to check the slaughter; but the Commander's failure to defend his helpless prisoners with his whole force remains a stain upon an otherwise noble character and career.

END OF THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE

The end, however, of the whole historic struggle was now at hand. External as well as internal events controlled the result and perhaps the chief of the former was the accession of William Pitt to power in England at this moment of greatest triumph to the French in America. Almost in an instant the change came. Pitt, like all great rulers, or statesmen, recognized that the success of a war, a campaign, or a battle, frequently depends upon the men who lead rather than upon the soldiers themselves—important as the latter must always be in character and stamina. General Sir Jeffrey (afterward Field

Marshal Lord) Amherst, a skillful and cautious officer of much experience, Major-General James Wolfe, a dashing and enthusiastic soldier who had already won the keen appreciation of the Great Commoner, and Admiral Boscawen, a brave and experienced sailor, were despatched in 1758 with an army and fleet to reduce Louisbourg and capture Quebec.

Within the walls of the great arsenal of strength on Cape Breton now centered much of French power and *prestige* in the New World. Four thousand citizens lived behind its mighty ramparts and 3000 regular troops guarded what was now supposed to be an impregnable position. The attempt to take it was made, however, with a degree of dash and military and naval skill which marked the selections made by Pitt as an actual stroke of genius. Pepperell's original plan was to some extent followed by Amherst and, after a heavy siege during which occurred a constant interchange of courtesies between the leaders as well as the free exchange of shot and shell, the gallant Chevalier de Drucour was finally compelled to surrender the surviving half of his garrison and the still frowning walls of his fortress. With the surrender went all Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, while the great fortalice itself was levelled to the ground after months of labour. So well was the work of destruction done that, to-day, grass grows plentifully over the almost vanished line of earthworks, and the erstwhile scene of war and tumult and roaring cannon has become one of quiet pastoral peace and beauty.

The garrison was sent to England as prisoners of war and Amherst, through the prolongation of the siege, was compelled to defer aggressive action against Quebec until the next season. Meantime, in the west, Abercrombie had hurled 15,000 men against Montcalm in Ticonderoga, but the breastwork of stakes and logs and trees proved invulnerable even to the claymores of the Highlanders and the dogged obstinacy of English charges. After leaving 2000

dead in front of the enemy the English general retired again to Fort William Henry.

Elsewhere, Bradstreet was more successful and, with a force of Colonial militia, crossed Lake Ontario and surprised and captured Fort Frontenac, with its rich stores and a number of French lake vessels. A little later, in November, 1758, General Forbes compelled the surrender of Fort Duquesne, and in its place was constructed Fort Pitt—the famous Pittsburg of a very different scene and era. And now the final act of this great drama of moving war was to come on the stage of destiny. In the spring three English expeditions were organized. Sir William Johnson advanced upon and captured Fort Niagara. General Amherst marched to Lake George, forced the French to blow up Ticonderoga and retreat upon Crown Point, whence, through their ships, they still maintained supremacy on Lake Champlain. The English commander spent the summer in building ships to meet his enemy with—a sure but slow method of capturing victory which gave much pleasure to the active mind of the lately beleaguered Montcalm.

WOLFE AND MONTCALM

Wolfe and Montcalm, meanwhile, were preparing for their face to face and final struggle. The former's army before Quebec consisted of some 9000 carefully selected troops, with Moncton, Townshend and Murray as Brigadiers-General and with the co-operation of a strong fleet under Admiral Saunders. Montcalm had about 15,000 regulars and a thousand Indians. It was a tremendous undertaking for the English commander. The frowning and apparently impregnable ramparts of Quebec, bristling over the great cliffs of the St. Lawrence, and crowded with the gallant soldiery of France under the skilled leadership of a great general, might well have proclaimed it an impossible one. Wolfe's plan, at first, was to tempt his opponent

out to battle, and for this purpose he divided his forces and built various redoubts and fortified points from which he could harass the defenders with shot and shell and gradually batter down the walls of the city. And, though not successful in drawing Montcalm from his stronghold, he did seriously weaken his outer defences. Meantime, however, the summer was passing and Wolfe knew something of the winter experiences of others who had attempted and failed in the same task.

Spurred on by these and other considerations he made one desperate attack upon the Beauport lines, behind the trenches of which lay the serried masses of Montcalm. But it was useless and he withdrew after the loss of 500 of his men. Autumn came and hope grew high in the hearts of the besieged. Wolfe was ill, food was growing scarce, his men were becoming hopeless, the spirit of success seemed to have gone from the enterprise. Then came the forlorn hope and the secret advance up the Heights of Abraham. Discovery of the movement meant the annihilation of the English force; success meant the facing of an army twice its size and in the best of health and spirits. But the plan succeeded and, as morning broke on the 13th of September, 1759, the British troops stood upon the Plains and faced at last the army of France. Charging at the head of his Grenadiers Wolfe was fatally wounded and died with the sounds of success ringing in his ear. In the rout which ensued Montcalm was also mortally wounded and died on the following day. On the 18th of September the Lilies of France were hauled down from the great ramparts and the Standard of England and her Empire hoisted in their place.

This was practically the end. De Lévis succeeded to the French command and made a gallant effort to recover the lost ground. Upon the battlefield of St. Foye he defeated Murray, who had replaced Wolfe, and, had the expected French fleet arrived with re-inforcements before the English, might have put a different face upon

affairs. But the reverse was the case and he fell back upon Montreal. In September, 1760, De Lévis there found himself hemmed in by 17,000 British troops and, in the ensuing capitulation, De Vaudreuil, as the last Governor-General of New France, surrendered the whole country. The Treaty of Paris, on 10th February, 1763, closed the struggle of centuries, and by it a continent practically passed into the hands of England. Spain gave up Florida, and France surrendered everything in America except Louisiana, (which a little later she ceded to Spain), the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon and certain fishing privileges in Newfoundland. England was thus made mistress of the western world of North America at the moment she had become the dominant Power in the old eastern lands of Hindustan.

The American struggle had been a peculiar one. The civilized races engaged in it were alike brave and neither was naturally cruel. Yet, through their Indian alliances, the conflict had been often marked by uncivilized and barbaric actions. New France had been greatly hampered by indifference at home and, in later years, by the criminal corruption of its officials and general misgovernment—a situation which all the skill and force and honesty of Montcalm could not overcome or even greatly modify. The whole system of French Canada in the last half century of its existence had been steeped in corruption and charged with the weakness of certain disintegration. Still, with all the faults of their leaders, and despite these fatal difficulties, it had been a gallant and brilliant exploit for 60,000 Frenchmen—all that there were in New France at the close of the *régime*—to face an ever-increasing volume of English population and to hold, for over a century, the vast territory they had so well defended against Iroquois savages as well as English enemies.

Of course, the latter had their own troubles and, if their population in 1759 numbered a million and a quarter souls, it was none the less a divided and scattered people, with many indications of the

coming stress of internal storm and revolution. The end of the international duel, as fought around the walls of Quebec, was a glorious one, as had been a myriad instances of individual heroism and collective conflict during its progress. Beside it, now, all other contests of the time seem dwarfed in the immensity of the issues involved and in the vast field over which the contestants fought. In its result this war of a century and a half paved the way for the establishment of the Dominion of Canada as the American bulwark of the British Empire and of the United States as one of the great Powers of the modern world.

CHAPTER V:

Colonial Rivalry and Revolution

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL has said that the British conquest of Canada made the United States possible. It certainly removed from the Thirteen Colonies the northern shadow of military force and racial hostility which had so long menaced their homes and hampered their commercial progress and territorial expansion. It averted the possibility of France some day waking up to the real greatness of her position in North America, and so strengthening her continental resources as to enable the almost impregnable heights of Quebec to dominate the future of a large part of America and control the development of a powerful French state reaching down into the heart of the continent, and perhaps in time joining hands with Spain in Florida and Louisiana. It increased the growing spirit of independence amongst the English colonists and the feeling that they could do without British troops and British protection should occasion arise.

IMPORT OF ENGLISH CONQUEST OF CANADA

The victory of Wolfe at Quebec, therefore, which gave nearly a whole continent to Great Britain, really contributed in an indirect way to the loss of the Thirteen Colonies. The bonfires which then illumined the coasts and settlements of New England and lit the market places of New York and Philadelphia with the light of a great rejoicing were the last of their kind in American history and, in the capture of the army of Cornwallis at Yorktown, France obtained her revenge for the defeat of Montcalm on the Heights of Quebec.

With the close of the prolonged war against France in America, of which the Seven Years' War in Europe was really an incident so far as England was concerned, the English Colonies began to develop grievances and discover difficulties in their relations with the Mother-land. Had a spirit of consideration prevailed on either hand, had the Mother-country known more of conditions in the Colonies, or had the latter felt the loyalty towards the Crown which the Colonies in another century have felt, the Revolution would never have taken place. But it is usually forgotten that the people of these regions were, with certain exceptions, not monarchical in their convictions, nor particularly kindly in sentiment toward the institutions of the Mother-land.

THE CLASSES REMAINED LOYAL

The classes were so, and the classes remained loyal to the end and became the bone and sinew of the English-speaking population of early Canada and Acadie. The masses, however, had originally been largely composed of emigrants who had left their country for various reasons of extreme discontent—such as the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Puritans of New England—and had brought with them an innate republican spirit and a certain contempt for the forms of government under which they had admittedly suffered much. It only required the increased self-confidence of a pioneer life, and the friction of unpleasant controversies, to prove as tinder to the torch of agitation and as fire to the rumble of rebellion. Yet it must be said that, with all this ready material and with the now admitted grievances of the Colonists; with the Stamp Act and the taxation without representation question; with all the arrogance of British officers and the incapacity of British generals and statesmen; there was not in 1775 a clear majority in favour of actual war. A strong minority was opposed to it, while another section may be classed as indifferent; and there were many times, even after the

Declaration of Independence, when skilled statecraft and good generalship combined on the part of the British might have turned the rebels into a really small minority of the population. But many of the latter had strong convictions, a great leader in the person of Washington, and all the influences of such fire-brand oratory as that of Patrick Henry, the slave-holder of the South, when he cried to the heavens above him: "Give me liberty or give me death!"

However, the Revolution came, and with it results of the most important character to the great Province of Quebec, which had been recently expanded and re-organized by the Quebec Act of 1774. By this measure the limits of the Province had been extended to cover French settlers and settlements along the shores of the Great Lakes, between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, and from there and Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, as well as north to the Red River and Lake Winnipeg in the present Province of Manitoba. This policy provoked strong protests from the now disaffected English Colonies as did that part of the Act which provided for freedom of worship amongst the French-Canadian Catholics. By no means the smallest of the grievances alleged by the Continental Congress of 1774 was this establishment of a Roman Catholic Province to the north and its extension southwards.

The extreme Protestantism of New England was up in arms and the resentful rivalry resulting from a century of fitful war with the French along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was stirred into a storm which found expression in the course of an Address to the people of England passed by the Congress at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. After references to the arbitrary rule from which the French-Canadians were said to suffer—and which was absolute license in comparison to the liberty accorded them by France—the protest read as follows: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country

a religion that has deluged your island with blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world."

It was natural, therefore, in view of hereditary hostility and religious antagonism, that the call to arms in the following year should have found the French of both Quebec and Acadie indifferent to the issue. The new Continental Congress did its best to counteract the effect of the preceding religious denunciations, and printed an appeal to the people of Quebec to join with them in opposing British "tyranny" and in establishing the principles of true liberty throughout the continent. This document and other inflammatory literature was translated into French and largely circulated amongst the *habitants*; just as every species of revolutionary argument, and the anti-British ebullitions of unscrupulous demagogues like Thomas Paine had been permitted free and practically unanswered circulation throughout the Thirteen Colonies.

WASHINGTON APPEALS TO FRENCH-CANADIANS

On September 25, 1775, George Washington signed and issued a special appeal to the French-Canadians based upon similar lines of thought to that of Congress. This document, which seems in historic retrospect to have been unworthy of the usually dignified democracy of the American leader, dwelt upon the struggles of "the free-born sons of America;" the blessings of liberty and wretchedness of slavery; the "poverty of soul and baseness of spirit" in those who would oppose what had not yet risen out of the sphere of rebellion into that of revolution; the "cruel and perfidious schemes which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children;" the "tools of despotism" in England and "the slavery, corruption and arbitrary dominion" which would follow if the Mother-land of his own race should prevail in the coming struggle.

Such arguments need no critical consideration in these later days, but their continued iteration naturally had some effect upon Frenchmen who for centuries, at home and in the Colony, had been enemies of the England now so harshly denounced by her own sons. Fortunately, however, the Government of Quebec was in the hands of one of those men who fully deserve the designation of great and who prove the possession of characteristics and abilities which long-after generations mark with appreciation and admiration. Had General Sir Guy Carleton been given a free hand in the English Colonies he would probably have averted the arbitrament of war. Had he been given command in place of Sir William Howe he would in all human probability have suppressed the rebellion and captured Washington in the winter of his discontentment and wretchedness at Valley Forge. But destiny had other ends in view and this was not to be. Even as it was Carleton found himself hampered from time to time by the constant unfriendliness of the incapable Colonial Secretary—Lord George Germaine, afterwards Lord Sackville—and was eventually succeeded for a brief period by the showy and unfortunate Burgoyne. From 1768 to 1778, however, he was Governor-General and in command of a few troops maintained in Quebec.* To his energy and capability during this period is due the fact that Canada is to-day a country in itself and its people a British nation. Surprising as it may seem, Carleton had only a few hundred regulars under his command when the discontent in the Thirteen Colonies had developed into denunciation and their riots into revolution. And, when he sent to Sir William Howe for help in 1775 that officer was unable to forward troops because Admiral Graves would not supply the ships for transport—not an uncommon illustration of the mismanagement and incapacity which prevailed.

* New France became officially the Province of Quebec in 1763, and after the division of 1791 became known as Lower Canada.

The Quebec Governor could depend upon little aid locally. The English settlers were a mere handful and were naturally dissatisfied with the Quebec Act. The French Canadians were, at the best, neutral, and in many places threatened active hostility owing to the false statements of alien agitators. Yet the first act of the latter under successful conditions would have been to abolish the French religious privileges and immunities of which the British Government had been the grantor and was now the guardian.

CARLETON SAVES THE COUNTRY TO ENGLAND

War had now come again upon the continent which had seen so much of strife, and this time it was a struggle which should never have occurred. George III. and his Parliament had drifted from the mere assertion of a right to tax the Colonists into an attempt to enforce that right, and the attempt was made without vigour, without knowledge, without continuity of effort, without organization. The Colonists, themselves, had drifted out of discontented dependence upon Great Britain into a shadowy alliance and thence into practical independence. It was not the Colonial independence of to-day, based upon loyalty as well as liberty, and which seeks for means of closer union with the Mother-land, but it was an independence founded upon suspicion, regarding Imperial unity as subjection and British institutions as a form of tyranny. Canada, or the northern British possessions, had also been compelled to drift along without adequate forces for defence and only in Carleton's Quebec Act, in his policy of conciliating the French, and in his strenuous efforts to obtain more troops, had any statecraft been shown. Then the fight at Lexington took place, on April 19, 1775, that of Bunker Hill occurred two months later, the revolting Colonists captured the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and out of the general policy of drift had come the usual result of disaster.

The opening of the historic war-path into Quebec commenced in the fall of the forts just mentioned ; it was followed with the invasion of that country by General Montgomery at the head of 3,000 men and Colonel Benedict Arnold with 1,200 more. The advance was, at first, eminently successful and the American troops forced their way across the Richelieu, took St. John's and Chambly and compelled the Governor-General, with his small armed force, to leave Montreal at their mercy, and to retreat upon Quebec. There he displayed consummate skill, weeded out and expelled the rebel sympathizers, enrolled several hundred loyal volunteers and, finally, with 1,600 men-at-arms, awaited the American assault. Meantime, from different directions and through wintry wilds and varied difficulties, Montgomery and Arnold converged upon Quebec where, towards the end of November, they demanded the surrender of the city which was now the last spot in the Province where waved the British flag. But to this and other communications no reply was given. General Carleton had old-fashioned principles, and would have no intercourse whatever with men whom he considered rebels and nothing more. The invaders were greatly disappointed. They had not been able to obtain the active support of more than a handful of the French-Canadians while, by the payment of worthless paper money for supplies and a general indifference to the religious convictions of the populace, they had estranged most of the sympathy previously gained. Even General Washington's appeal to them as " friends and brethren " had by now failed of its effect. The French settlers, after all, had had enough of fighting, and neither appeals to love of liberty or to racial antagonism on the one hand, nor pressure by Clergy and Seigneurs on the other, would stir them from a practically general neutrality.

The intense cold of a Quebec winter was also added to the difficulties of the American commander as well as the certain prospect of a British relief fleet arriving in the spring. Choosing the speediest

apparent solution of an evil situation a desperate assault was decided upon and, amid the thick darkness of a stormy night, on the 31st of December, 1775, the American troops attacked the frowning ramparts in two distinct columns. The force under Arnold fought its way into the city, but was ultimately driven back and 400 out of its 700 men were captured. Montgomery's troops were met by a deadly fire and the General himself was killed while leading his men to the assault. The latter, it may be added, has been much praised as an officer and a man, and his death naturally inclines history to look favourably upon his memory. But a soldier, who, like Carleton himself, had served under Wolfe in other days, should have known better than attempt such a deed, brave as it undoubtedly was, and, as a man of presumed humanity, he should certainly have hesitated long before issuing a general order on December 15th, promising his soldiers the plunder of the city, in the following words: "The troops shall have the effects of the Governor, garrison, and of such as have been acting in misleading the inhabitants and distressing the friends of Liberty, to be equally divided amongst them."

After this repulse, the enemy simply maintained a strict blockade until they were greatly cheered by the arrival of re-inforcements in the spring. Almost simultaneously, however, British ships arrived in the St. Lawrence and the Americans were forced to prepare for retreat. In this movement Carleton followed them, captured their guns, and finally turned the retreat into a flight and utter rout. Shortly afterwards a small body of British regulars and Indians captured "The Cedars," a fort on the St. Lawrence, and, in June an American attack upon Three Rivers was repulsed by a small force of militia and regular troops. Meanwhile, however, three Commissioners had been despatched by Congress on April 27, 1776, to try and counteract the exertions of Carleton amongst the people and to increase the hoped-for efficacy of Washington's Address. The duty entrusted to them was

that of conciliating the French-Canadians, and for this purpose their *personnel* was certainly good. Benjamin Franklin, the most astute of American diplomatists, Chase, of Maryland, and Charles Carroll, a well-known Roman Catholic, made an excellent Commission. For a time they remained in Montreal and then, for their own safety, had to return home. British soldiers were now pouring into the Province, Montreal was evacuated, and soon the invaders were driven to the shores of Lake Champlain where, through the possession of a small fleet, they managed to hold their own until the autumn of 1776. Meantime, the British had also built a fleet and, after a hot fight, the American, or Continental, forces were driven from the lake and the ramparts of Crown Point blown up in their retreat. The inland gates of Quebec were thus once more in the strong hands of Carleton.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

In New York, New England and elsewhere, the war continued to drag its weary and bitter course for years after this fruitless invasion. The hollowness of the claim made by many public men in the revolted Colonies that they only desired the right to rule themselves, under the Crown, had been shown in this aggressive campaign against Quebec, and it received a final seal and proof in the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. Meanwhile, the British troops, outside of Carleton's sphere of operations, had been doing little except to hold New York. A vigorous military policy in 1775 might have averted actual war by over-awing the riotous, encouraging the loyal, and forcing into consistent allegiance many who affected to favour union while really working for separation. General Gage, who was in command of the troops seems, however, to have been undecided and incapable to the point of a practical abdication of British authority. In May, 1776, Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne arrived on the scene with re-inforcements and the first-named took command. Sir William Howe was a brave, but self-indulgent, frivolous and

incapable officer. During the year which followed his arrival and as a result of circumstances which made things comparatively easy, he won possession of all New York and New Jersey, defeated Washington at the Brandywine and captured Philadelphia.

Here the ball was at his feet. He had already made serious mistakes and delays which were deeply injurious to the Royal cause. But activity now might have been the fullest amends and have crushed the rebellion before the Burgoyne disaster strengthened the American spirit and the arrival of French troops added to the American military force. Washington, during this winter of 1776-7, was almost in despair. His small army was entrenched at Valley Forge in a fairly strong position, but one which Howe with his superior force and more disciplined troops might have successfully stormed, or else surrounded and starved the defenders into submission. There was no army to relieve them or to draw the British general away. The *prestige* of the revolution was gone, the mass of the people was sick of civil strife, the situation was so gloomy that even while Howe was idling away the weeks and months at Philadelphia, Washington could get neither money, men, nor supplies. One brilliant stroke might have settled the issue so far as force of arms could do it and time, with its possibilities of reviving statecraft and a more conciliatory spirit might perhaps have done the rest. But, instead of changing the destiny of empires and states, Howe preferred to spend this winter of vital opportunities and vast possibilities in the varied amusements of a gay military city.

Meantime, the tide had turned for ever. Burgoyne, by favour of the unspeakable Germaine, was sent to indirectly supersede Sir Guy Carleton by leading an army of 8,000 men, despite the wise protests of the latter, from Lake Champlain down the Hudson to New York. It is not necessary to tell here the story of the disastrous march which was ushered in by apparent successes such as the capture of Ticonderoga and the defeat of one opposing army. Suffice it to say that

the further Burgoyne penetrated into the enemy's country the more of them he had to encounter until, finally, surrounded at Saratoga by 30,000 Continental troops his own small and depleted force was compelled to surrender. He had sworn in his vanity that British soldiers never retreat. History declares that his misplaced obstinacy, combined with Howe's inaction, ruined the Royal cause and crowned with success the republican armies and their able leaders. Immediately upon hearing of this surrender and the evidence it afforded of possible American success, the Court of France accepted the overtures which Franklin had been long pressing, and not only recognized the independence of the United States, but formed an alliance with its provisional Government and prepared for the war with Great Britain which necessarily followed. Spain shortly afterwards joined the fray by a declaration of war. Holland followed suit, owing to some commercial dispute, and the hour of the American Republic had come at last.

In Canada, during the preceding period, Carleton had been firmly and faithfully holding his own. Many things had occurred which to his proud and confident spirit must have been more than painful, and it is not improbable that his recall in June, 1778, was in some sense a pleasure to him. Service under such a man as Germaine was galling beyond comparison to a Governor who was by nature both statesman and general. On October 28th of the same year, and before France had really plunged into the fray, the Baron D'Estaing, Commander of the French fleet in Atlantic waters, issued an appeal to the French-Canadians which touched their most secret sensibilities and might, under other conditions than those created by the Quebec Act and Carleton's administration, have had a most important effect. As it was no great harm was done. In this document, after addressing the people as "military companions of the Marquis de Lévis," and describing them as having shared his glories

and admired his genius for war, the French Admiral went on to ask them whether they could now fight against their former leaders and arm themselves against their own kinsmen. And he concluded a strong racial appeal by declaring, in the name of the King of France, "that all his former subjects in North America who shall no more acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain may depend upon his protection and support."

All these serious developments in Europe and America did not, however, disturb the pleasures and ostentatious gayeties of the supine Howe, and he idled on at Philadelphia until the spring came and then suddenly resigned his post and returned to England. Sir Henry Clinton, a man of ability and energy, succeeded to the command and was at once ordered to evacuate the Quaker City. The time for really vital action had passed, Washington had once more got his troops into shape, and the assistance of France had changed the whole face of affairs and the spirit of the people. Clinton, however, pushed the war with such vigour as was possible and seized Charleston, while Lord Cornwallis over-ran the Carolinas and Georgia and, by 1781, had much of the South under control.

Then came the great disaster at Yorktown. It was the result of French support to the Revolution, and, incidentally, was occasioned by the most miserable exhibition of incapacity seen even during this war. The evil genius of the military arm of Britain had been Howe and the evil genius of the naval arm was, in this case, the incapable Admiral Graves. The former had allowed Washington to slip from his grasp at Valley Forge; the latter allowed the French fleet to slip in and take Cornwallis in the rear at Yorktown. On the 17th of October, 1781, after fighting against impossible numbers for two weeks, he was obliged to surrender.

This practically ended the war. Lord George Germaine resigned his place in the Ministry at home after doing all the evil possible :

Cornwallis returned to England and afterwards distinguished himself as Governor-General of India; Clinton retired from the chief command in America and died in 1795 as Governor of Gibraltar; Sir Guy Carleton was sent out as Commander-in-Chief to supervise the evacuation of New York and to stamp upon the pages of history by that act a failure which might have been success had he sooner wielded the supreme power.

THE TREATY OF PEACE

On September 3, 1783, after prolonged negotiations at the Court of France, in which the British plenipotentiaries won the deserved condemnation of all students of diplomacy by their weak-kneed attitude of surrender and indifference, the Treaty of Versailles was duly signed. John Adams, Franklin and John Jay represented the United States, and their combined ability was enough for the most astute of the world's statesmen to have met successfully. As it was they had only to play with a puppet on the splendid page of diplomacy named Oswald—a weak, vain, ignorant man, without knowledge of American affairs and, judging by his correspondence with Lord Shelburne, the Prime Minister, without care as to the maintenance of British honour toward the Loyalists in the war, or of British territorial interests of any kind, so long as a treaty of peace was signed. His later colleague, Vaughan, was as bad as himself, and their successor, Strachey, came only in time to save Quebec and Acadie from being given away. King George's opposition to the terms of this Treaty and his sharp reproofs to Oswald should win the old monarch something of modern Canadian sympathy and appreciation.

Great Britain was not at this time by any means a wreck in either resources or public spirit. The union of the Powers against her had revived the national sentiment and, had a stern and vigorous statesman been at the head of affairs, the final result of the struggle might have been very different and, certainly, would have been so as far as the

boundaries of the new Republic were concerned. Her leaders, however, had decided for peace and they went into the negotiations in no huxtering spirit and with an evident hope of winning back American friendship by open-handed generosity. Franklin wanted the entire continent to be given up to the Thirteen Colonies and especially demanded the handing over of Quebec and its ill-defined territories. But this was too much even for Lord Shelburne, though Oswald declared himself quite willing and actually stated that he would use his influence to persuade his own Government to concede the claims of the American plenipotentiaries. Eventually, the whole of the rich Ohio valley and the southern part of what was then called Quebec, was handed over as a gift to the Republic and has since been carved into a number of the most prosperous States of the American Union—Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. On the east the fatal blunder was made of defining the boundary as the St. Croix River and thus inserting a wedge of alien territory between the present Provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia and depriving the Dominion of a winter seaport through the later concessions of Lord Ashburton—a worthy successor to Oswald and Vaughan.

For a time peace now reigned, though it was a peace marred by bitter feeling in the States and by memories of sorrow and suffering amongst the Loyalists who had migrated to the British country which still remained at the north. Looking back now it is not hard to make excuses for the statesmen (as distinct from the diplomats) who threw so much of valuable territory away in order to please and placate a sentiment which even yet they did not understand—a disruption the completeness and finality of which their successors had hardly grasped a hundred years afterwards. Nor is it difficult to see that the value of these regions was very little to the England of that day and, except from the sentimental standpoint of the Sovereign,

hardly worth the tremendous liabilities which had been incurred and the blood which had been shed. Very few men, great or little, are able to look a century ahead. Nor is it impossible, even while regretting the result for Canada's sake, to understand the feeling of many outside the United States who think that this gift of territory, and some of the later development of the Republic along military lines, was all for the best.

The die was cast, however, and henceforth the history of the growing Republic and the future commonwealth, though running side by side in a geographical sense, is entirely diverse in the evolution of institutions, in the creations of constructive statesmanship and in popular sympathies. The story of that development to the south of the boundary line has a greater place in the world's canvas of events, or literature, but that to the north has also possessed much of interest, much of instruction, much of political shadow, much of national success.

CHAPTER VII

The Loyalist Pioneers

THE United Empire Loyalists represent in continental annals the history of a lost cause and the foundation of a new commonwealth. In the former capacity popular ignominy has very largely been their lot in the pages of American history and sometimes at the undeserved hands of British publicists. In the latter capacity they have become enshrined in the records of self-sacrifice and toil and suffering which have gone into the making of Canada as they must go into the creation of anything worth having in this complex world of ours.

THE PLACE HELD BY THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS

Yet to the impartial student of history, of the workings of national sentiment, of the hidden springs which mould the character and control the action of individuals at a great public crisis, the place held by the American Loyalists was as honourable and consistent in their own country as it afterwards became in the British land to the north. To understand their later position, as well as their migration, a few words must be said here regarding the cardinal principles which actuated their conduct and stamped their character.

They were sincerely loyal to the King. The end of the eighteenth century was still a monarchical age and the Sovereign was to the great mass of his subjects still an object of personal allegiance—even in a certain limited sense to the republican-minded Puritan. He had not become, and no one as yet dreamed of his becoming, a constitutional ruler in the modern sense; an embodiment of the State and a sort of incarnation of the popular will. Even to-day, in the

British Empire, it is a question if the factor of personal loyalty is not powerful enough to hold the Sovereign in her place should she choose to take what might be termed an arbitrary course. A century ago it was a matter of duty, of patriotism, to myriads of the King's subjects to condone actions which they disapproved at heart because of this sentiment which surrounded the throne of the realm and environed the royal person with something more than mere respect.

PRINCIPLES, TRADITIONS AND GENERAL POSITIONS

The spirit of the Cavaliers and soldiers, the gentry and the peasants, who alike rallied around the amiable weaknesses of Charles I., and the virtues and vices of Charles II., was still abroad in the American land and found its place amid the gentry of Virginia as it did amongst some of the sturdy sons of New England. To these men, and it must be remembered they were in the majority when the Revolution began, the name of the King still embodied fealty to the State as it certainly required loyalty to the flag and institutions of their fathers. In itself this loyalty was an admirable quality and one which proved its inherent strength in the privations and sufferings which came to those who held it ;

"They counted neither cost nor danger, spurned
Defections, treasons, spoils ; but feared God,
Nor shamed of their allegiance to the King."

Nor was King George and his cause altogether unworthy of this sentiment—apart from the principle of personal loyalty. There was enough of greatness in the character of American leaders at this time, of justification in the complaints of Colonial politicians and the people, of excuse in the mistakes and ignorance of British administrators, to make it a matter of surprise that there has not been more magnanimity shown by the writers and speakers of the Republic to the honesty of purpose and purity of principle shown by this much-troubled monarch. It was the misfortune of George III. that

he represented a system of administration which the Thirteen Colonies had out-grown ; that he and his advisers had no precedents in Colonial self-government to guide them ; that his Ministers were often narrow and not very able men, and the one in charge of Colonial affairs—Lord George Germaine—the most criminally incompetent, vain and selfish personage who ever held power at a critical juncture ; that the Liberal leaders of the time were seriously open to suspicion and Charles James Fox, at least, an acknowledged ally of the French enemies of England ; that the King's own periods of mental blindness made a continuous and efficient policy very difficult.

Personally, these complications—to say nothing of a wild and wicked son who sought only means of hurting the King in heart and reputation—appear to deserve some sympathy rather than unstinted condemnation. It was to the King's credit, also, that he never swerved in his desire and intention to hold the Empire intact—as it was his bounden duty to do ; that in this policy his Parliament, by a great majority, was with him ; that the mass of the English people was devoted to him and those who knew him best were amongst his warmest admirers ; that when he wrote to Lord North on June 13, 1781 : " We have the greatest objects to make us zealous in our pursuit for we are contending for our whole consequence, whether we are to rank amongst the great Powers or be reduced to one of the least considerable," he voiced the sentiment of every ruler who feels the sense of duty to his country and people ; that though he naturally did not understand, any more than did the Colonists themselves, the modern principle of constitutional Parliaments in distant countries administered by a representative of the Crown, he yet was willing to offer seats in the Imperial Parliament to Colonial delegates and to repeal the not altogether unjust Stamp Act as soon as he found that the people would not submit to even that measure of taxation in return for the immense indebtedness incurred by England in their defence against France.

When we look closely and calmly at this picture of the King struggling against incompetent Ministers and politicians who cared more for parties than for empire, facing unavoidable periods of personal aberration, battling with foreign enemies who soon included France and Spain and Holland, as well as the revolted Colonies, it is impossible not to feel that George III., with all his mistakes and limited abilities, was as truly patriotic in his opposition to the Revolution as Lincoln was in his antagonism to a later Rebellion. History, when separated from the influences of national and perhaps natural hostility, will eventually throw a chaplet of credit upon the memory of the monarch who lived so sad a life and fought a losing struggle in the spirit of his letter to Lord North on November 3, 1781: "I feel the justice of our cause ; I put the greatest confidence in the valour of our army and navy, and above all, in the assistance of Divine Providence."

At the same time these considerations naturally did not commend themselves very strongly to men of democratic character who had been moulded in the melting-pot of war and privation and pioneer labour—to say nothing of hereditary affiliation in many cases to the Roundheads and Republicans of a preceding period in England. They chafed against commercial restrictions and the bonds of the Navigation Laws ; against the not infrequent insults of a rough soldiery and supercilious officers ; against the attempts to prevent smuggling and to collect taxes at the end of the bayonet. That a large minority finally revolted against all the complications arising out of this ignorant attempt of a free Parliament and its King to govern a free people three thousand miles away, is not altogether to be wondered at. The British authorities were without the machinery of suitable administration which might have made their effort at government successful, without the knowledge of local conditions which might have brought the distant Sovereign and his Ministers into touch with the

Colonial masses, without a capacity on the part of the King himself to select wise Governors and able commanders of the forces. The mistake of King George and the one for which he must stand condemned at the bar of history was his choice of subordinates and his refusal to follow at an early period the advice of Pitt. There is absolutely no excuse for the placing of Lord George Germaine in charge of Colonial affairs, or for the appointment of such officers as Graves and Howe and Burgoyne, and others who were placed in responsible positions in the Colonies from time to time.

POSITION OF THE LOYALISTS

The cause of the Loyalists was based, however, upon more than loyalty to their King and their home country. It was at first the product of political opinions to which they would seem to have had every right in a free land. If the agitators had the inborn privilege of supporting constitutional change and of urging action which the Tories of the time believed would overthrow all that they held most worthy of allegiance and regard, certainly the latter had also the right to oppose such proposals. If that right of opposition belonged to them at a time when Washington and Franklin, Jefferson, Jay and Madison, were all declaiming against the possibility of separation from the Mother-land coming as a result of their agitation, how much more was it theirs when rebellion came to a head and independence was proclaimed? With the feeling which they possessed resistance to rebellion became a sacred duty and was certainly as much a matter of principle as was the struggle of the Continental troops for what they believed to be "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But, as so often happens in history, might in the end became right; loyalty to the King became disloyalty to the new state which had risen out of the cramped Colonial conditions of the preceding time; failure to hold the country for England resulted in failure to hold anything for themselves. Yet the Loyalists put up a good fight



LOUIS JOSEPH, MARQUIS DE MONTCALM



MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE



DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

The memorable capture of Quebec in 1759 practically terminated the prolonged struggle between France and England for possession of the American Continent. Montcalm and Wolfe lost their lives in the struggle, but won lasting fame.

for the faith that was in them. The British Legion, the Royal Fencible Americans, the Queen's Rangers, the New York Volunteers, the King's American Regiments, the Prince of Wales' American Volunteers, the Maryland Loyalists, De Lancey's Battalion, the Second American Regiment, the King's Rangers, the South Carolina Royalists, the North Carolina Highland Regiment, the King's American Dragoons, the Loyal American Regiment, the American Legion, the Loyal Foresters, the Orange Rangers, the Pennsylvania Loyalists, the Guides and Pioneers, the North Carolina Volunteers, the Georgia Loyalists, the West Chester Volunteers, were amongst the Colonial regiments fighting on the King's side.

When the war was over they suffered confiscation of property, as in many cases during the struggle and before actually taking up arms, they had suffered indignity and outrage at the hands of that portion of a people which all war lets loose and which, in this case, was unfortunately too often encouraged by political leaders with other ends than those of patriotism in view. Apart from this aggressive element in the loyal part of the population there were numbers of peaceful and unoffending citizens who simply desired to maintain the law as it stood and to remain neutral in the strife around them. They were not of a type to be specially admired, but they suffered abundantly for their mistaken view of the situation. To drift and hesitate in days of rebellion is to invite danger and court destruction. Many of these people, as well as of the acknowledged Loyalists, were tarred and feathered, their property destroyed or taken from them, their dues in debts, or rents, or interest repudiated, their houses burned. Much of this occurred before the civil war actually commenced. After 1775, every form of penalty was imposed—death, or confiscation, or imprisonment—upon those who refused to support the republican cause. On both sides, as feeling grew more bitter, the treatment of the non-combatants became more cruel and, naturally, the Loyalist

element suffered the most. How intense was the feeling of their opponents may be judged by the declaration of John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, that he would have hanged his own brother had he taken the British part in the contest. When the Treaty of Versailles was being negotiated efforts were made to obtain adequate guarantees for the future safety of those who had adhered to the defeated side and the following words found a place on paper :

“ It is agreed that the Congress shall urgently recommend it to the Legislatures of the various States to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects and also of the estates, rights and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of His Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States . . . and that Congress should also earnestly recommend to the several States a re-consideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with the spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail. ”

It is the barest statement of historic fact to say that no serious effort was ever made to carry out this agreement. Persecution of various kinds was rampant, thousands were driven out of the country and were happy to escape with their lives ; while, on May 12th, 1784, the Legislature of New York passed an Act which recapitulated every possible way in which a Loyalist could have taken part in the war and enacted that all such found within the State should be adjudged guilty of misprision of high treason. Meantime, Sir Guy Carleton was at New York, and before he evacuated the place finally, did everything possible to transport the suffering Loyalists to British territory. Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Quebec, and John Parr, of Nova Scotia, did their best to receive and settle them on the vast vacant lands of the future Dominion. They came flocking in thousands to the Northern land where still floated the flag they loved so well—in ships and in boats, in covered waggons or on foot

—until there were eventually some 4,500 settled along the shores of the St. Lawrence, 28,000 in the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia of the future, a few in Prince Edward Island, some thousands in the present Eastern Townships of Quebec, and probably 10,000 in the Ontario of to-day. They came without money, with little food and few resources, with no experience in agriculture, and but small knowledge of the enormous hardships which they would have to face.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LOYALIST MIGRATION

This migration is one of the most interesting and striking facts of history. It was not the exodus of some great horde of people unable to earn their living in a European country, ignorant, uncultured, unprepared for the responsibilities of political life and action. It was a movement at least as significant as that of the Pilgrim Fathers. It differed from the latter in being the transfer of what may be termed, for want of a better designation, the prosperous upper class of the American community to a country which was a veritable wilderness. Both movements were made for conscience sake; but one was largely religious, the other essentially political, or patriotic. It has been said that the Loyalists brought to the making of Canada the choicest stock the Thirteen Colonies could boast. They certainly did contribute an army of leaders, for it was the loftiest heads which attracted the attention of the Sons of Liberty, of the Legislatures, and of those influenced by the very opposite motives of cupidity and an honest desire to purge the young Republic of all dangerous elements.

As amongst the Cavaliers of England, and, indeed, in almost all instances of civil strife in all countries, it was the most influential Judges, the most distinguished lawyers, the most highly educated of the clergy, the Members of Council in the various Colonies, the Crown officials, the people of culture and social position, who, in this case, stood by the Crown. There were many notable exceptions, but not more than enough to prove the rule. In this connection Professor

Hosmer in his *Life of Henry Adams*, has truly said that "the Tories were generally people of substance, their stake in the country was even greater than that of their opponents, their patriotism was no doubt to the full as fervent. The estates of the Tories were among the fairest, their stately mansions stood upon the sightliest hill-brows, the richest and best-tilled meadows were their fames."

Of course, they were not all of this class, nor did all the hundred thousand refugees of that gloomy time come to the British Provinces. As with the Huguenots of France, over a hundred years before, they scattered over all countries—many to Great Britain or the West Indies. Amongst the Judges and legislators, the clergymen and merchants, who poured out of the ports and over the frontiers of the Republic there were also large numbers of regular soldiers as well as of Loyalist volunteers, many yeomen or farmers, many handicraftsmen or mechanics. All divisions of religious faith were there. Numbers of Church of England people settled in Upper Canada under the ministrations of Dr. John Stuart. Here came also the energetic and faithful Francis Ashbury and the famous pioneer of Canadian Methodism, Barbara Heck, who led a band of loyal Methodists, to the shores of the Bay of Quinte. To the district of Glengarry, in Upper Canada, came a large and gallant body of Scotch Catholics, led by their priests, and destined to take no small part in the making of Ontario. To the same Province, a little later, migrated many of the peaceful Quakers and Mennonites of Pennsylvania. To the banks of the Thames came large numbers of the Mohawk Indians under the leadership of Joseph Brant—loyal survivors of the famous Six Nations. Such were the people, in a general sense, who poured into the northern British Provinces to found and establish a new British state.

Of course, the migration did not pass without comment, or action, in England. The infraction of the spirit and intent of the Treaty of

1783, and the weakness of the Shelburne Government in accepting its vague pledges as sufficient protection, provoked angry debates in Parliament and forced the resignation of the Ministry. As Lord North well said in the House: "What were not the claims of those who, in conformity to their allegiance, their cheerful obedience to the voice of Parliament, and their confidence in the proclamations of our Generals, espoused with the hazard of their lives and the forfeiture of their properties, the cause of Great Britain?" It was eventually decided to indemnify the Loyalists for actual losses, and a Royal Commission for this purpose was established in 1783 which, in the course of seven years, investigated 2,291 claims and paid out to the sufferers £3,886,087 sterling, or nearly \$19,000,000. Large grants of land in all the Provinces were also given to them, and, in 1789, the title or affix of "U. E. L." was granted by the Crown as a special honour to be borne by every United Empire Loyalist, and his, or her, descendant. Tools and implements and supplies of food were also issued from time to time.

HARDSHIPS OF PIONEER LIFE

The chief centres of these settlements were certain parts of Upper Canada, as the great and wild country to the immediate west of French Canadian Quebec was beginning to be called, the Eastern Townships of the present Province of Quebec, and the latter-day Province of New Brunswick. The other Maritime Provinces received a considerable number, also. To a great extent the experience of one family, or of one group of settlers was the experience of all. Log cabins, built in the wilderness, with a single room and a single window, were their homes; coarse garments spun from flax or hemp, or made from the hides of animals, were their clothing—intermixed on rare occasions with the silks and laces and ruffles and gorgeous colours which had perhaps flaunted in a colonial court, or graced the drawing-rooms of a colonial mansion; furniture was made from the roughest

of wood by the unskilful axe of the pioneer; the task of procuring enough of Indian corn and wild rice to eat, or the staving off of actual starvation, was for some time the principal occupation. Around them were the wild animals of forest life—wolves and bears and lynxes. In winter time there was always bitter suffering from a cold which then knew little cessation and from a snow and ice which seemed limitless in quantity and paralyzing to their energies. The latter condition also isolated their dwellings until horses and sleighs came, in better days, to help them bear this ordeal of life in the wilderness. Yet they were not absolutely unhappy. They felt deeply and fervently the principles which had driven them into the wilds and, from many a log hut dimly lit by the blaze of a smoky fire came the evening hymn of "God Save the King," and the sound of the clear-voiced hope that their privations and labours might end in the building up of a greater and better commonwealth than the one they had left:

"A vast Dominion stretched from sea to sea,
A land of labour but of sure reward,
A land of corn to feed the world withal,
A land of life's best treasures, plenty, peace,
Content and freedom, both to speak and do,
A land of men, to rule with sober hand,
As loyal as were their fathers and as free."*

So far as possible they had settled in groups and helped each other with the early and arduous tasks of clearing the forest and chopping the timber into logs—with axes ill-suited for the work and with results not much better suited for the rough and ready cabins which they had to build for shelter. During many years there were no villages, or shops, or newspapers, or roads, or churches, or schools, or any other conveniences of the cultivated civilization to which they had been accustomed. Those of them who might have gone into

* Lines by William Kirby, of Niagara

other occupations than planting and reaping grain, or clearing timber, and who knew something of industrial labour and the work which might have brought various comforts to the pioneers, were kept from doing so by the hard necessity of obtaining food from the soil. The original condition of humanity, the still savage conception of life in many countries, was here illustrated in its crudest form; and the stern necessity of existence was to obtain sufficient food during the summer to last through the long, cruel winter. As it was, famine came to Upper Canada in 1787-8, and severe hunger was added to the hardships of cold and the dangers of wild animal life around the settlers. Cornmeal was served out in spoonfuls, millet seed became a substitute for wheat flour, wheat bran was greatly valued, ground nuts were sought for and eaten, boiled oats and even bark and birch leaves were acceptable. Game and fish when caught, which was not very frequently, had to be eaten without salt, and tea and sugar were unknown for years—until the latter was replaced by maple sugar and syrup.

This season, however, was the climax of privation and trouble. Progress, thereafter, was sure and steady. More settlers came in and, as time passed, included a large number of what were called "later Loyalists"—Americans who were loyal at heart but had managed to keep from being publicly obnoxious to the Continentalists. They now took advantage of various openings and came across the frontier in huge caravans, with their families and flocks and home comforts. From 1792 to 1796 Lieutenant-Governor J. Graves Simcoe, of Upper Canada, encouraged this species of immigrant, gave new settlers large grants and did everything to encourage a still greater influx of population. Gradually the increasing migration had its effect upon the isolation of the pioneers and the absence of comforts in their homes. More varied occupations became possible. Carpenters and painters, shoe-makers and mill-wrights, started their industries. Better houses were erected, mills became more and more numerous, small

general shops were opened and supplied with goods, over hundreds of miles of waterway, from Quebec, while, above all, military roads were established under guidance of the energetic and far-seeing Simcoe and branched out from his village capital at York (Toronto) in various directions.

Cattle and horses were once more to be obtained and the sleigh-bells of the settlers were heard in winter ringing through the silent forest as they passed from one cottage to another. Log school-houses arose, here and there, with miserable little urchins perched on high seats without a back and with their legs dangling in mid-air, while receiving instruction from the crudest and rudest type of the travelling teacher. The process of progress was necessarily slow but it was now sure. As the years passed on to the period, in 1812-15, when their courage and loyalty were to be again tested, many of the Loyalist gentry had reached a position of comparative comfort once more; most of the poorer classes were able to live without actual privation. But there was no wealth or luxury, no development of artistic tastes and culture, except in the very simplest of forms.

Meanwhile, in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton, the Loyalists had come and taken possession. There were some slight differences in the nature of their settlements and those of Upper Canada. They seem to have stayed more together, to have avoided something of the painful isolation of their brother Colonists, to have benefited by their proximity to the sea-coast and to England, to have suffered less from cold and to have largely avoided the horrors of starvation. There were, of course, exceptions, such as the record of the first eight hundred settlers in Cape Breton reveals. Towns grew apace and the whole life of these Provinces became influenced in the most overwhelming manner by the influx of the Loyalists. New Brunswick received its type and character from them entirely, while Nova Scotia, though an old and historic



Courtesy J. Ross Robertson Collection

BRITISH DEFEATING AMERICANS AT DICKINSON'S LANDING

This engagement, on November 10, 1813, is identical with Hoople's Creek, a quarter of a mile west of where Dickinson's Landing is at present. The Americans came from Ogdensburg and were met and defeated by the Grenville and Dundas Militia.



Courtesy J. Ross Robertson Collection

H. M. S. "SHANNON" CAPTURING THE AMERICAN SHIP "CHESAPEAKE"

The capture of the "Chesapeake" by the "Shannon" was made on the 1st of June, 1813, after a cannonade of only five minutes.

region with a considerable Acadian population and the advantage of having preserved the military centre of Halifax during a hundred and fifty years, was largely affected. In the Eastern Townships of Quebec the Loyalists found local conditions more distasteful than distant hardships and, disliking the absence of constitutional rule, many migrated again into Upper Canada and joined their brethren in the great Lake country.

To all the Province these American refugees carried their views of government ; intense feelings of loyalty which had been bred into their very bones by persecution and exile ; strong belief in monarchy as the best and truest form of government ; a love of country which grew with the hardships endured so patiently ; a feeling that they had the right to control and guide, in days to come, the destinies, the affairs, the policy of the Provinces they were founding and maintaining through stress and storm. Out of this natural sentiment came many complications in the future and much political turmoil. But that is another story.

CHAPTER VIII

Early Constitutional Development

THE form of government in New France was at once autocratic and bureaucratic and ecclesiastical. The King interfered when he pleased and changed or adjusted matters as he saw fit. The Governors were usually soldiers and, in the face of constant danger from Iroquois or English, naturally ruled in an arbitrary manner, though often without that precision of plan and action which would have marked the able military administrator. Champlain and Frontenac, Denonville and Vaudreuil, constituted at times, however, the whole government of the Colony in their own persons.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN FRENCH CANADA

With the Governor-General was an Intendant who guided, more or less, the finances of the country and the matters of administrative detail. When the Intendant was a strong man and the Governor a weak one the former for good or ill controlled the State. Jean Talon, who filled the position in 1665-68 and for five years following 1670, was the creator of the constitution of New France—such as it was. A strong organizer, an honest administrator, he did as much good to the infant state as the last Intendant, the corrupt and crafty Francois Bigot, did harm. Intimately associated with these officials was the Bishop. At times he was the greatest of the three, and the most influential. Laval, St. Vallier and Pontbriand wielded in their day a combined ecclesiastical and civil power in French Canada which was not dissimilar to the place held by the Princes of their Church in mediæval Europe.

In 1663, Louis XIV. created what was at first called a Sovereign Council, and afterwards the Supreme Council, as the governing

body of his American possessions. It was composed of the Governor-General, who had charge of all military matters, the Bishop, who was supreme in all ecclesiastical concerns—and many which would now be termed civil ones—and the Intendant, who was President of the Council, with a casting vote and with complete control over police, trade, justice, and other departments of civil administration. With these practically supreme officials were associated six, and afterwards twelve Councillors, who were chosen from amongst the leading residents. Under this system, and up to the conquest, the Government of the colony fluctuated and merged into differing degrees of military administration, class supremacy, ecclesiastical control, and financial manipulation.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FRENCH MILITARY RULE

Its leading objects were the establishment of French military rule over as wide a space as possible between Hudson's Bay and the regions of the Ohio Valley and the Mississippi; the development of the fur trade, with profitable returns to the numerous French interests in that connection, the extension of religion to the Indians and the expansion of the power of the Church; the eventual hemming in of the English settlements upon the Atlantic by a background of French forts and military stations down through the heart of the continent. Constitutional machinery, in a popular sense, was not required for such objects, and in fact proved far from beneficial in this respect, and in even a restricted form, to the English Thirteen Colonies. The scattered local centres of the latter were governed in those days in a detached and hap-hazard way and with a democratic freedom which was not conducive to united military action or concentrated policy.

Under early British administration the change in New France, or Quebec as it was now termed, was very slight. From 1764 to 1774 the military influence was practically supreme, and the power possessed by

Lord Amherst, General Murray and Sir Guy Carleton was almost autocratic. In the latter year came the Quebec Act, and a general adjustment of the government to conditions which had developed amongst the French of the Lower Province and the new Loyalist settlers of the Upper Province as a result of the decade of British rule.

THE QUEBEC ACT

The origin of this important legislation was in the relations between the French majority in Quebec and the English minority, its evolution was in the mind and policy of Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester; its immediate result was the saving of British America to the Crown during the American Revolution; its ultimate consequence was the French Province of modern times with full liberty of laws, language and religion. At the Conquest, and by the Treaty of Paris, these rights had been formally guaranteed in a religious sense to the 65,000 inhabitants of Quebec (who by 1774 had increased to 150,000) in the declaration that "the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit" was to be allowed. In practice, also, the various religious Orders had been given full freedom of action and exemption from taxation. This generosity, however, was not altogether palatable to the small English population, while, on the other hand, the *habitants* did not understand the English Civil law though willing enough to accept English Criminal law. The result of a not very aggressive effort to substitute the laws of the conqueror for those of the conquered had been dissatisfaction and a great deal of confusion.

As the years passed on, too, the menacing storm-cloud of trouble in the Thirteen Colonies grew dark, and it became eminently desirable to conciliate the French-Canadians and correct every possible grievance. The territory which was administered at this time under the general designation of Quebec was considerably different from that of later days and was greatly restricted in extent—although it

became enlarged beyond recognition by the Quebec Act itself. By the King's Proclamation of 1763, Governor Murray had been authorized to "summon and call general Assemblies of the free-holders and planters" as soon as the "situation and circumstances" of the new Province would permit. Naturally and properly he was in no hurry to introduce the apple of political discord and the difficulties of an elective system amongst people imbued with French autocratic habits of government and utterly ignorant of British ideas and principles. He was also occupied with the more immediately important work of arranging the judicial and administrative functions of the new Government.

With the coming of Carleton, in 1768, a new constitutional stage in affairs was developed and conditions already indicated demanded the attention of a man who is one of the heroic characters of Canadian history. His policy during this period included the enlargement of the area of Quebec so as to bring within its bounds as much as possible of the regions once claimed by its French rulers; the centralization of government in its various phases under the control of the Crown or, in other words, in his own hands; the obtaining of Roman Catholic sympathy and the powerful support of the Church for British connection and government in the inevitable troubles which he saw to be coming from the New England and Atlantic Colonies; the amelioration of local conditions so as to make the French settlers satisfied with local laws; the avoidance of unnecessary or unpopular taxation. Fortunately for Great Britain and the Canada of the future he was given a tolerably free hand and would have held a still stronger position and a greater place in the history of the Continent if it had not been for the fatuous littleness of Lord George Germaine. In 1769, after a close study of the situation, he returned to England bent upon obtaining the legislation afterwards expressed in the Quebec Act. In the persistent work of the next few years he received

strong and substantial aid from Chief Justice Hey of Quebec, and from Francois Maséres, the Attorney-General of the Province.

By the terms of the Act the Province of Quebec was defined as extending southward to the Ohio, westward to the Mississippi, northward to the boundaries of the Hudson's Bay territory, and eastward to the borders of Nova Scotia. A Council was to be appointed consisting of such persons resident in the Province, "not exceeding twenty-three or less than seventeen, as His Majesty, his heirs and successors may be pleased to appoint." This body was to have authority to make laws for "the peace, welfare and good government of the Province, with the consent of His Majesty's Governor, or in his absence of the Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being." It was further provided that the Council should not have power to impose taxes on the people of Quebec except for ordinary local public works; that every Ordinance or law was to be subject to disallowance by the King within six months; that laws affecting religion, or imposing severe penalties of any kind, must have the Royal sanction before becoming operative; that the King should retain the right to establish Courts of law; that nothing in the Act should be construed as repealing or affecting the British enactments already passed for "prohibiting, restraining or regulating the trade or commerce of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America," The vital point of the whole measure was, however, in its religious clauses.

In the Montreal Articles of Capitulation, signed on September 8, 1760, by General Amherst and M. de Vandreuil, entire freedom of worship had been promised to Roman Catholics and the Communities of Nuns and Priests were to be maintained in their properties and privileges. The Treaty of Paris, three years later, granted "the liberty of the Roman Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada" and gave them permission to worship according to the rites of their

Church, "so far as the laws of Great Britain permit." This latter clause could, of course, have been read so as to invalidate all privileges and freedom of worship, but this was not done. Now, by the terms of the Quebec Act, not only was the former religious liberty maintained, but the Roman Catholic Clergy were authorized "to hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion," while "ecclesiastical persons and officers" were relieved from the necessity of taking the Elizabethan Oath of Supremacy and were given instead a simple oath of allegiance. Religious Orders and Communities were exempted from the guarantee of properties and possessions but with the exception of the Society of Jesus, which had been suppressed in 1773 by Pope Clement IV, "with their functions, houses, and institutions," the exception was allowed to remain inoperative.

Incidentally, and in order to appease the small Protestant population of the Colony where Roman Catholicism was thus practically established as a Church in alliance with the State it was specified that out of the dues and rights referred to above the King might provide for "the maintenance and support of the Protestant Clergy" in the Province. The principles and practice of the French Civil law were in some vague measure guaranteed to the inhabitants while those of the English Criminal law were expressly established. Such was the Quebec Act of 1774. It was by no means a perfect measure, nor did it give complete satisfaction either at the time or afterwards. But it carried the Province through a period of trouble and perplexity and created a substantial basis for fuller constitutional action along more extended lines.

The controversies surrounding this enactment in England were as interesting as they were extensive. On May 26, 1774, Sir Guy Carleton, Chief Justice Hey, Attorney-General Maséres and M. de Lotbinière had appeared before the bar of the House of Commons to

discuss and explain the proposed legislation. Carleton declared that there was no desire for an Assembly amongst the French-Canadians, that there were only 360 Protestant families in the country, all told, and that there was not enough representative men to warrant the creation of such a body. He did not favour a French Assembly. M. Maséres stated that the French in Canada had no clear ideas regarding government, indulged in few theoretical speculations and would be content with any form given them so long as it was well administered. Chief Justice Hey wanted to see the laws blended with those of England—in other words the abolition of special race and religious privileges. M. de Lotbinière seemed to think that if the French Seignorial tenure system was maintained and the Seigneurs admitted to some kind of a Council the people would be fairly satisfied.

In this connection the special reports of the British Attorney-General Thurlow, and Solicitor-General Wedderburn, had already been submitted to Parliament. Both the writers were eminent men. The former became celebrated as Lord High Chancellor and Baron Thurlow, the latter as Lord High Chancellor, Baron Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn. Thurlow believed in non-interference with existing Civil laws, customs, manners, private rights, minor public affairs and religious privileges. Wedderburn favoured the establishment of a Council with restricted powers in the making of laws, the retention of religious privileges, the protection of the priests, the toleration of Monastic Orders—with the exception of the Jesuits. Marryott, the Advocate-General, whose report did not appear until after the passage of the Act, very wisely urged the regulation of the Courts of Justice, the definition and declaration of the Civil law, and the regulation of the revenue. He believed in dual language in the Courts but did not approve of any formal establishment or recognition of the Roman Catholic faith. It should, he thought, merely be tolerated.

The debates in the House of Commons were stormy. Those were days of not only extreme sensibility regarding Colonies in general, of natural doubt concerning questions of loyalty and the ties of kinship, but of strong prejudice against Roman Catholicism, and of intense and very proper suspicion of anything touching French character and French friendship. It was the commencement of an era which racked men's souls and carried the British ship of state through varied seas of storm and stress. On June 8, 1774, when the measure came before the House, William Burke declared that instead of making the Colonists free subjects of England they were being sentenced to French government for ages. "They are condemned slaves by the British Parliament." Thomas Townshend described it as a measure "to establish Popery." Colonel Barre declared it to be "Popish from beginning to end." Mr. Sergeant Glynne believed that it was the duty of England not to be too tolerant of alien principles and prejudices, but "to root those prejudices from the minds of Canadians, to attach them by degrees to the Civil Government of England, and to rivet the union by the strong ties of laws, language and religion."

THE WORKING OF THE QUEBEC ACT

Parliament, however, passed the Act and the King signed it, despite protests such as that of the Corporation of London, which denounced it as subversive of the fundamental principles of the Monarchy, as establishing the Roman Catholic religion, and as failing to provide for the proper protection of the Protestant faith. During the seventeen years in which this legislation was in force it can hardly be said to have had a fair chance for efficient operation. It did the one great thing for which it was created in modifying French Canadian suspicions; and thus holding the people passive during the stormy period of the American Revolution and preventing them from falling into the swirl of French ambition and revolutionary ideas.

It won for England the powerful alliance and support of the Church of Rome in the Colony and the support of its adherents in the War of 1812—long after the measure itself had been replaced and extended by the Act of 1791. But it failed as a means for really efficient administration of Provincial affairs. It did not conciliate the natural and antagonistic feelings of the small body of the English settlers toward the large French section of the population. It did not sufficiently distinguish between the French and English laws and define which was to be maintained and which discarded. It did not teach the Judges how to bring order out of legal chaos and administer justice under a system which they did not understand the limits of. It did not make easier the complications which naturally arose when thousands of American Loyalists settled in the Upper part of the Province and found themselves governed by a mixed English and French system.

Meanwhile, Sir Guy Carleton had become Lord Dorchester and was sent back to the Province which he had done so much to hold for Great Britain and to mould into its existing shape. He arrived in 1786, as Governor-General of all British America, and seems to have seen at once that some modification in the Quebec Act was necessary under the new circumstances which had arisen. In response to a request from the Colonial Secretary for a report on the subject, Lord Dorchester declared that any change in the constitution should be gradual, that a firm and paternal administration was the best cure for present troubles, that the Loyalist settlement in the west was not yet ready for anything higher than county government, and that a Lieutenant-Governor of ability should be at once selected for the Upper part of the Province. In case the division of the Province of Quebec in a definite form were decided upon, he submitted certain suggestions as to the line of separation. In 1789 the policy was settled, and, two years later, the new Constitutional Act passed the British Parliament after its terms had been fully approved by Lord Dorchester.

By this new measure Quebec was divided into two distinct Provinces, with a Lieutenant-Governor, a Legislative Council and an Assembly in each. The Council was to consist of not less than seven members appointed for life by the Governor-General, or Lieutenant-Governor, and with hereditary functions under certain conditions. The Assembly was to consist of not less than fifty members in Lower Canada and sixteen in Upper Canada. The Governor had power to give, or reserve, or refuse the King's assent to any measure passed by the Council and Assembly, while the King-in-Council could disallow any Bill within two years of its passage. A Court of Civil Jurisdiction in each Province was to be established. The Governor was given power to allot lands and rent therefrom for the support of the Protestant clergy in both Upper and Lower Canada, and, with the advice of his Executive Council, to erect parsonages under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. No legislation under the Act was to interfere with Parliamentary prohibitions or duties regarding commerce and navigation.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT

Some of the local objections to this measure were natural ; others, in the retrospect of history, seem very curious. Adam Lymburner, a respected merchant of Quebec City, represented before the bar of the House of Commons the views of many English-speaking settlers. They wanted the absolute repeal of the Quebec Act and a new constitution which would limit the power of the French-Canadians and increase their own. They disliked the proposed division of territory, he declared, because if the policy were ever found to work injuriously the Provinces could not be re-united ; and because the new Province of Upper Canada " would be entirely cut-off from all communication with Great Britain," and there would thus be a gradual weakening in the existing ties of loyalty and attachment to the Mother-country. He opposed the clause conferring hereditary membership in the

Legislative Council, and concluded his evidence by declaring that the Falls of Niagara were "an insurmountable barrier to the transportation of produce" and that Quebec was nearly the centre of the cultivable part of the Province. On May 6, 1791, there commenced a debate in the Imperial Commons which has become historical on account of the controversy between Pitt and Fox and Burke.

It was then the day of blood and terror in France as well as of the dominance in the British Parliament of an eloquence which has never since been equalled. Naturally, this conferring of constitutional liberties upon the French of Quebec stirred up the friends and foes of the French Revolution in Parliament and caused some great speeches. Burke declared that a new light had arisen upon the horizon of France. The French Academies, uniting with French Clubs, had lit the blaze of liberty with the torch of sedition and had diffused the flame of freedom by the help of *La Lanterne*. He seemed to fear that there was an attempt in the proposed Act to graft some of the principles of the French constitution upon that of the Colony and he strongly advocated the adoption of British principles only.

Fox denounced everything and everybody and especially the clause of the Bill which applied the hereditary principle to the Legislative Council. Pitt, with all his powerful personality and influence, defended the measure and eventually carried it through the House. He expressed his wish to give Canada as perfect a constitution as possible—a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy such as they had in Great Britain herself. It is apparent from these debates that the British statesmen of that critical period were warmly appreciative of the loyalty of the French-Canadians during the American Revolution and of their conservatism in connection with the still more menacing storm in France. Pitt, himself, had an idea that the more the Colonies in British America could be kept apart the better

it would be for their loyalty, and he, therefore, strongly favoured the perpetuation of French laws, institutions and language in Lower Canada with that object in view. Union amongst the Thirteen Colonies had produced war and independence; union amongst the remaining British Colonies would certainly be dangerous! When such was the belief of England's greatest political leader in 1791 there is certainly some ground for excusing the mistakes of King George a quarter of a century before.

After the Bill had passed both Houses it was duly proclaimed by the King-in-Council on August 24, 1791, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada created. Lord Dorchester was, of course, still Governor-General, or Governor-in-Chief, as the title went for many years after this time. Major-General Sir Alvred Clarke was Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Province, Major-General J. Graves Simcoe of the Upper. Amongst those who were present at Quebec in December of this year during the inauguration of the new constitution was H. R. H. Prince Edward—afterwards Duke of Kent and father of Queen Victoria. Newark, afterwards Niagara, was the first capital of the infant Province of Upper Canada, and then York—afterwards Toronto—was founded by Simcoe for this purpose upon the shores of Lake Ontario and amidst a background of deep and gloomy forest. His earliest preference, however, had been a place on the Thames, in the heart of the western wilderness and far removed from danger of American attack, which afterwards became the City of London. Simcoe's first Assembly met at Newark on September 17, 1792, and the first Parliament of Lower Canada at Quebec on December 17th following.

The conditions prevalent in the two communities at this time were very different. The Upper Province was peopled by British Loyalists trained in Colonial self-government, so far as it was understood in those days, and saturated with faith in the freedom and

fairness of British institutions. They had English laws and their lands were held on free-hold tenure. They had a Governor who was one of those clear-sighted, determined characters so essential to a period and conditions when the mould of nationality is not formed and when much depends upon the initiative of those who possess authority. He was British and loyal to the heart's core, had fought in command of the Queen's Rangers of Virginia during the Revolution, and fully expected to fight in another struggle of the same kind. During his brief four years of power, he, in fact, warned the Home authorities that another war with the United States was inevitable before matters finally settled down. He prepared in such small ways as he could for the possibility, built roads throughout the wilderness suited for the transport of troops, issued a proclamation offering freer grants of land to all Loyalists still remaining in the States, and was successful in obtaining large numbers. Incidentally he did much, by pressure upon the Imperial authorities, to establish the Church of England in the Province and something to help education and to lay the first foundations of municipal institutions.

Lower Canada, on the other hand, was essentially a French Province. It had a British Governor, an Assembly after the English pattern, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Criminal law of England. But this was all. Lands were still held on the old French feudal tenure, although to suit incoming settlers the freehold tenure was allowed under special request. French law in civil matters was paramount as were French customs and language. The religion which has been identified with French-Canadian life was practically established as a State Church at the very time that its influence was being destroyed and its position utterly undermined in the Mother-land of the Canadian *habitant*. As in Upper Canada, however, a large portion of the wild lands of the Province was set apart for the support of the Protestant clergy. The people were ignorant, entirely untrained in

constitutional doctrine or practice, and really unable for some years to grasp the meaning of an elective Assembly. When they did so the results were not exactly beneficial.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES

Meanwhile, the Maritime Provinces were making rapid progress. The introduction of the Loyalists had given a new meaning to the staid and sober political conditions of Acadian life. As far back as 1758 there had been free institutions and the first representative Assembly formed on Canadian soil had begun to sit at Halifax in October of that year. The Province of Nova Scotia then included the New Brunswick of the future and the two Islands along the coast. But, with the coming of the great Loyalist migration, a re-adjustment was found necessary and New Brunswick, in 1784, became a Province with an Assembly and a Governor of its own—Colonel Thomas Carleton, brother of Lord Dorchester. It had prospered greatly under the heavy preferential duties which England imposed in favour of its lumber; and its rivers were choked with floating timber, its saw-mills crowded with products for ship-building and manufacturing.

In Nova Scotia a sturdy and able Loyalist, an old-fashioned and honourable Tory, in the person of Sir John Wentworth was Governor from 1792 to 1808. He helped Bishop Inglis to found the University of King's College and to vigorously uphold the union of State and Church. Incidentally, the war with France had caused a great display of patriotism amongst the militia and the enrollment of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment; while the presence of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent at Halifax, as Commander of the forces in British America, had made that city a brilliant social centre and, through the personal popularity of the Duke, had caused the name of the Island of St. John to be changed to Prince Edward. Population, meantime, had grown greatly throughout all the Provinces. In 1791 it was

about 20,000 in Upper Canada, 150,000 in Lower Canada, and 50,000 in the Provinces by the sea. By 1806 these figures had grown to about 70,000 in Upper Canada, 250,000 in Lower Canada, and over 100,000 in the Atlantic Provinces.

With the expansion of population, the influx of new people with fresh ideas, or old principles, and the friction of wider discussion, came controversies of serious importance and the seeds of a situation which was eventually to destroy the Act of 1791 and to re-create the constitutions of all the Provinces. Roughly speaking, the Constitutional Act was fairly successful in its operation in the Canadas up to the end of the century; workable with many jars and much friction during the ensuing decade; and thenceforward a complete failure. The pivotal point in its creation and application was the three-fold structure of Governor*, Legislative Council and House of Assembly. They corresponded, after a shadowy fashion, to the King, Lords and Commons of England. There was the Executive Council, which developed from a single advisory body of representative men into a strong Cabinet somewhat after the English style but without the vital points of responsibility to the Legislature or the adoption of a departmental system.

The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor was, of course, appointed by the Crown. The Legislative Council was appointed by the Governor, as was the Executive Council. The two Councils came in time to be so mixed up in composition and so strongly of one opinion in matters of policy, that they were practically one and the same body—the smaller one being really a committee of the larger. The Assembly, on the other hand, was elected by the people for a fixed term of years and naturally soon came into conflict with the Upper House. This was the form of government in all the Provinces, but

* The Governor-General seems to have been the real Governor of Lower Canada while in the other Provinces he rarely interfered with the Lieutenant-Governors.

its operation was very different in the French and English sections, and the reasons urged for its maintenance or change equally dissimilar.

In Lower Canada the Governors came out, generally, with an idea that the French-Canadians must be conciliated and their loyalty maintained ; but that no shred of Imperial supremacy should be surrendered. Upon their arrival they found that the English minority was enterprising, wealthy and undoubtedly loyal to British interests and ideas, but in continuous and bitter controversy with a French majority whose leaders every year became more anti-British, and more out of touch with the principles supported by the Crown's representatives, and, as they soon discovered, by the members of the two English-speaking Councils. In following out their instructions to conserve British connection they had, therefore, to practically renounce the hope of conciliating the French, or else to place themselves in a position of direct antagonism to the English. Sometimes they risked the latter alternative and the interests, or supposed interests, of England and the British element in the Colony were sacrificed at the shrine of a fleeting French popularity. Then there was confusion worse confounded.

In Upper Canada the difficulty took a slightly different shape. There was little trouble during the earlier years as all the population was Loyalist, of one mind in political thought, and intent chiefly upon building up its homes and strengthening its stakes in the wilderness. Later, when population grew greater and Radicals came from Scotland and Lancashire, Liberals from various parts of England, Americans from the States, who were intent upon business advantage and filled with republican notions, the situation altered considerably. These people naturally knew nothing of former conditions, and were antagonistic to the class government which they found in existence. That it was the best in administrative skill and knowledge which the Colony—little in population and great in territory—could produce ;

that the Councils were made up of men who had gone through the perils and privations of pioneer life without original hope of power, and who thoroughly believed in their right to rule the Province they had founded ; that it was desirable to proceed slowly and carefully in the making of a constitution ; for all these things the new-comers cared little. Collisions of opinion under such conditions were inevitable, and it was equally a matter of course and of right, as affairs then stood, that the Governor and the Loyalists should work together.

In the Maritime Provinces affairs remained without change, or serious agitation for change, until long after this period. The bulk of the settlers were either Loyalists, or Acadians, and in either case not inclined to active agitation against the governing powers. The Governors, upon the whole, were good administrators, intent upon developing Colonial resources. So it was that, while most of the powers of government remained in the hands of the Governor and Council in each of the Atlantic Provinces, people did not find themselves placed in any position of acute antagonism, or under the apparent necessity of energetic agitation. None the less, however, was the time merely postponed for beginning the long struggle which was to develop here, as elsewhere, between Governor and Assembly. That conflict commenced seriously in the Maritime Provinces after the War of 1812, and lasted through infinite variations, until 1848.

CHAPTER IX

The War of 1812-15

AS in the case of so many historic conflicts, the nominal causes of the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States were not the real ones. The Berlin Decrees of Napoleon Bonaparte and the retaliatory Orders-in-Council of the British Government, by which each Power sought to blockade the coast of its enemy and check its trade and commerce, naturally bore hardly upon neutral Powers. Especially was this the case with the American Republic, which had come to almost monopolize the carrying trade of the world during England's prolonged death-grapple with France. So far as the latter country was concerned, the blockade was a mere paper mandate, but in the case of England, with her immense and effective navy, the Orders-in-Council became a stern reality and were not a little injurious to American interests.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

Still, the action on the part of England was just in itself, as well as a matter of justifiable self-defence, and had there been anything approaching a general spirit of friendliness or kinship in the United States, to say nothing of sympathy with the Mother-country's continued struggle for the liberties of Europe, the policy would have been borne patiently or modified as a result of courteous representations. But, except in parts of New England, and in isolated instances elsewhere, this sentiment did not exist, and the irritation which still lingered from the days of the Revolution grew in force and fire as it fed upon the unfortunate effect of the war on American commerce.

So also with the question of the right to search neutral ships upon the high seas for deserters. From the United States' standpoint of the time and with any clear perception of the natural feelings of a young, proud and high-strung nation, under all the circumstances of the case, it is easy now to see how offensive the seizure of its vessels and the forcible removal of suspected seamen must have been. At the same time, had there not been the bitterness of a strong and preconceived hostility of sentiment, the reasonableness of England's position from her standpoint would have been far more generally recognized.

AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS

The latter country was engaged in a great struggle for national existence, and her very life depended upon the fleet whose strength was being steadily depleted by the desertion of its seamen to American vessels. Under such circumstances her exercise of a right of search, which had not been previously questioned with any degree of seriousness by other Powers, might at least have been met in a spirit of some compromise. To have refused to accept, or to have aided in returning, the deserters from ships of a friendly Power, under such conditions of extreme gravity, might have been thought a reasonable action. But it does not seem to have been even considered, and the unfortunately high-handed action of H. M. S. *Leopard* in capturing the *Chesapeake* and taking certain alleged deserters to Halifax Harbour, where they were tried and punished, complicated matters still further. And this despite the immediate apologies of the British Government and recall of the officers concerned. Then came the unprovoked destruction of the *Little Belt* by an American frigate in 1811. Jefferson's embargo, excluding British ships from American ports, also followed; though it was afterwards repealed from inability to enforce its provisions. And so things developed in connection with these two nominal causes of a sanguinary struggle.

First of all, the real reasons for the war lay deeper. There was, the still smouldering hostility of Revolutionary days in the United States. There was, still further, the natural sympathy of its people with France, as an old-time ally against England, and despite the apparent inconsistency of a republic supporting the ambitions of a military autocracy. There was, also, a lingering and longing desire to round off the country by the acquisition of British America; and the strong popular belief that it would be an easy thing to do in the event of war. There was the inevitable political complication of parties struggling for public support and, in the end, there was the spectacle of President Madison accepting re-nomination (and eventual election) upon an actual pledge to declare war against Great Britain.

These were the real causes of the struggle. England had no desire for it. Her every interest was in peace and her every effort was to preserve it. Canada, indeed, suffered during the early days of the war from actual instructions to the Governor-General, Sir George Prevost, to take things easy on the chance of an arrangement being patched up and the greatly burdened backs of the British soldier and sailor and taxpayer saved from the addition of a new conflict. At this time Wellington was still warring in the Peninsula, Napoleon was at the height of his power, and British money was being poured out like water to hold the allied nations of Europe from utter collapse. It was, in fact, the critical moment in the prolonged British conflict with a great soldier who seemed now to have a continent at his feet and 400,000 of the finest troops ever trained by genius and conquering skill ready at his hand. His only danger, the only check upon his colossal ambitions, came from the little country across the channel against whom the United States, on June 18, 1812, formally declared war.

If England, however, had reason to regret the addition of one more enemy and another conflict to the catalogue of her responsibilities

and difficulties, the scattered Provinces of British America had still more apparent cause to do so. From the Detroit River to Halifax there were spread along a thousand miles of border-line less than 5,000 British troops. The population of the whole vast region was only 300,000, men, women and children as against an American population of 8,000,000. The people of Upper Canada, where the bulk of the fighting was to take place, were only 77,000 in number. The result seemed so certain that Jefferson described it as "a mere matter of marching;" Eustis, the Secretary of War, declared that "we can take the Canadas without soldiers;" Henry Clay announced that "we have the Canadas as much under our command as she (Great Britain) has the ocean."

GENERAL BROCK THE HERO OF THE WAR

Much of the successful resistance of the Provinces to the ensuing invasion of their territories by eleven different armies in two years is due to the wisdom and courage of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock who, in 1812, was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada and Commander of the forces. Nearly every war, in every country, seems to produce some one central figure, and Brock is undeniably the hero of this important struggle—a war which decided the destiny of half a continent and affected the whole future of Great Britain and its then infant Empire. He anticipated what was coming, warned the British authorities of its inevitability, and strove with limited means and shadowy support to prepare for the time of struggle. Addressing the Legislature of his Province on February 4, 1812, and more than four months before the actual outbreak of the war, he described the situation of England and Upper Canada in stirring and historic words:

"The glorious contest in which the British Empire is engaged and the vast sacrifice which Britain nobly offers to secure the independence of other nations might be expected to stifle every feeling of envy and jealousy and at the same time to excite the interest and command the admiration of a free people; but, regardless of such

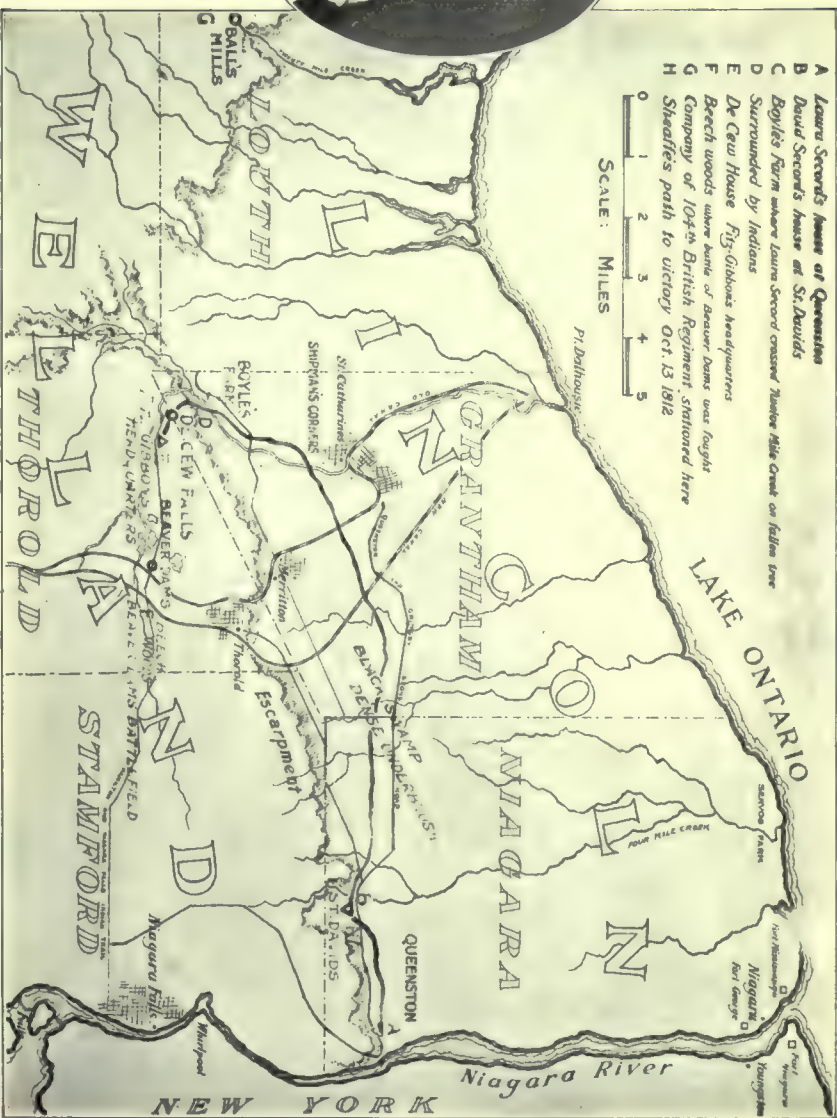
general impressions, the American Government evinces a disposition calculated to impede and divide her efforts. England is not only interdicted the harbours of the United States while they afford a shelter to cruisers of her inveterate enemy, but she is likewise compelled to resign those maritime rights which she has so long exercised and enjoyed. Insulting threats are offered and hostile preparations actually commenced; and though not without hope that cool reflection and the dictates of justice may yet avert the calamities of war, I cannot be too urgent in recommending to your early attention the adoption of such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country and defeat every hostile aggression."

Within the last few lines of this speech there is a hint at internal disaffection. It was, indeed, an unfortunate fact that American settlers in certain districts of the Province had elected to the Legislatures men who reflected their views and seriously hampered for a brief period the action of the Executive. Two of these so-called British legislators and citizens afterwards fled to the invaders' lines, and one of them, named Wilcocks, ultimately fell in fighting the country of his adoption and allegiance. But Brock knew that he could depend upon the mass of the people in his Province and that the loyalty of the men of 1783 and their sons would flame forth as brightly at this crisis as it had ever done in the days of revolution and migration. He told them truly, through an appeal to the Legislature, that the free spirit of a free people can never die and never be conquered, and that Great Britain would stand by them to her last man and her last gun in resisting the coming wanton invasion of British territory.

Under all these circumstances, therefore, when the news of the declaration of war reached Brock, through a private source, he knew that everything would depend upon swift and sweeping action. He promptly sent some regulars to try and hold the Niagara frontier, summoned the Legislature, called out the militia, and made such preparations as he could pending the receipt of official information regarding the action of the United States. It did not come, but on July 12th General Hull crossed the Detroit River, from Detroit to

Sandwich, with 2,000 men, and issued a braggadocio proclamation announcing protection to all non-combatants, declaring the certainty of conquest and relief from British "tyranny and oppression," and stating that if the British Government accepted assistance from its Indian subjects in resisting his invasion, "instant destruction" would be the lot of all who might be captured fighting beside an Indian contingent. Brock replied with a most eloquent, dignified and patriotic manifesto, and, on July 27th, met the Legislature with an address which was a model in sentiment and expression. By the 8th of August Hull had returned again to Detroit on hearing of the capture by Captain Roberts, in pursuance of orders from his chief, of the important American position at Michilimackinack.

One week later Brock, with 320 regulars and 400 militia from York and Lincoln, assisted by the gallant Indian chief Tecumseh and some 600 followers, was crossing the St. Clair in pursuit of his enemy. Hull had been startled, first by a summons to surrender, and then by seeing the little British army crossing the river—General Brock "erect in his canoe, leading the way to battle," as Tecumseh in graphic Indian style afterwards described the event. Before an assault could be made, however, Hull and his entire force of 2,500 men, including the 4th United States Regiment and its colours, surrendered. With the capitulation went the entire Territory of Michigan; the town and port of Detroit, which practically commanded the whole of western Canada; the *Adams* war brig; many stands of arms, a large quantity of much-needed stores, thirty-three pieces of cannon and the military chest. It had been a bold, a venturesome action on the part of Brock, and the result affected almost the entire struggle. It inspired the militia from end to end of the Provinces; it showed many of those having disloyal tendencies that it might be safer to at least appear loyal; it electrified the masses with vigour and fresh determination.



Courtesy J. Ross Robertson Collection

LAURA SECORD, HEROINE OF THE WAR OF 1812, AND PLAN OF HER HISTORIC WALK FROM QUEENSTON TO DECEW FALLS

The map shows the path travelled by Laura Secord, June 23, 1813, from Queenston Heights to Beaver Dams, twenty miles, through swamp and forest, to warn Lieutenant Fitzgibbon of the 49th, stationed at the cross roads between Beaver Dams and Decew's house, of an intended American attack. Through her heroic service an important British victory was achieved. Insert is a portrait of the heroine, Laura Secord (1775-1868).



THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, OCTOBER 13, 1813

Fought between 1200 American troops under General Van Rensselaer and 800 British and Canadian troops under Sir Isaac Brock and General Sheaffe. The former were defeated and the frontier saved from serious invasion.

Following this all-important action Brock turned to meet greater difficulties than were presented by the enemy in the field. He had to encounter the weakness and vacillation of Sir George Prevost, who, as Governor-General and Commander of the forces, was directing affairs from Quebec in the spirit of one who believed that hostilities would soon cease, and knew that the Ministry at home was anxious to do nothing that would intensify difficulties in that connection. An armistice, arranged by Prevost, neutralized many of the benefits derived from the capture of Detroit; orders from the same source prevented Brock from destroying American shipping on the Lakes which was in course of building, and which he foresaw might endanger the control of that most vital part of the situation; commands actually issued for the evacuation of Detroit, though they were fortunately capable of evasion; while the very documents and General Orders written by Prevost, were dispiriting in effect and unfortunate in terms.

But Brock turned to his militia, and, though refused the right of aggressive action which might have turned the whole tide of events, he proceeded with a system of organization which soon made his volunteer force as effective in health, spirit, drill and condition as well-equipped and experienced regular troops. And, through the summary measures of imprisonment, or practical banishment, accorded those who showed an overt inclination to the American side—coupled with the magnetic influence of his own character and strong, personal confidence in the result of the struggle—he obtained full control over the population as well as the Legislature.

He made every effort to give the volunteers an opportunity of getting in their crops, and all over the Province the women themselves helped by working in the fields. Throughout the conflict, indeed, the signal devotion of noble women was continuously added to a record of determined defence of their country by the men; and the

incident of Laura Secord walking miles through snake-infested swamps and a gloomy forest region to give a British force warning of the enemy's approach, was by no means an isolated instance of devotion. On the 18th of September, while his preparations were still in progress, Brock wrote his brother that in a short time he would hear of a decisive action and added: "If I should be beaten the Province is lost." This reference to the gathering of 8,000 American troops upon the border, for invasion by way of Niagara, illustrates the signal importance of the coming conflict at Queenston Heights. Their intention was to take and hold this strong position as a fortified camp and from thence over-run the Province with troops brought at leisure from the immense reserves behind. At the same time, General Dearborn with a large force was to menace Montreal from New York State by way of Lake Champlain, General Harrison was to invade the Upper Province from Michigan with 6,000 men, and Commodore Chauncey was to take a force across Lake Ontario.

BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

The first part of this programme commenced on October 13th, with an attempted movement of 1,500 U. S. regulars and 2,500 militia across the Niagara River. About 1,100 troops, slowly followed by other detachments, succeeded in getting over and climbed the Heights of Queenston in the face of what slight resistance could be offered by a British outpost. If the Americans could have held this position the result was certain and would probably have been much in the line of their expectations. Meantime, Sir Isaac Brock—unknown to himself he had been gazetted an extra Knight of the Bath one week before as a recognition of his victory at Detroit—had arrived from his nearby post at Fort George whence he had been watching matters.

But before he could do anything further than show himself to his troops, size up the situation, hasten up his re-inforcements and shout

out an order to "Push on the York Volunteers," to resist an American contingent which at this point was making its way up the Heights, he fell with a ball in his breast and with only time to request that his death should be concealed from the soldiers. The re-inforcements, under Major-General Sheaffe, arrived shortly afterwards and, with 800 men in hand, a bayonet charge was made upon the enemy which forced them over the Heights down toward the shore, many in their headlong retreat being dashed to pieces amidst the rocks, or drowned in attempting to cross the wild waters of the Niagara. The survivors surrendered to the number of 960 men, including Major-General Wadsworth, six Colonels and 56 other officers—amongst whom was the afterwards famous General Winfield Scott. The British loss was trifling in numbers, though amongst them was the gallant young Lieutenant-Colonel John McDonell, Attorney-General of the Province.

Considerable as was the victory, however, and important as was the result to Upper Canada, nothing could counter-balance the death of the hero of the war. The inspiration of his memory remained, it is true, and was lasting in its effect, but the presence of his fertile intellect, his powers of rapid movement, his genius for military organization were forever lost. Had he lived his name would probably have been a great one in the annals of the British army and the world. As it is, although his place is secure in the web and woof of Canadian history and in the hearts of its people, it has, in too many British and American records of war, been relegated to the position held by myriads of gallant officers who have simply done their duty and been killed in some obscure outpost skirmish. The vast import of the influences and issues decided by these first events of the struggle are in such cases disregarded or unknown.

Winter was now at hand and, after a futile invasion from Buffalo under General Smyth which was repulsed by a few troops commanded by Colonel Cecil Bisshopp, the scene of the conflict goes for a brief

moment to Lower Canada. Prevost had his difficulties there, as well as Brock in the other Province, but he was without the latter's vigour and determination. He had succeeded to the troubles of Sir James Craig's administration, and found a community which had been violently stirred by frothy agitations and by influences resulting from the peculiar racial conditions of the country. So great was the apparent discord that it had undoubtedly helped the war party in the States to spread the belief that the passive French Canadians of 1776 were now, at last, active in their antagonism to British rule. But when war was once declared the internal strife vanished as if by magic and the local Legislature showed immediate willingness to support the Governor in all necessary steps—and in this proved superior in its loyalty to the little Assembly at York which had allowed Wilcocks and his supporters to momentarily block procedure.

The Governor-General was authorized to levy and equip 2,000 men and, in case of invasion, to arm the whole militia of the Province. The members voted £32,000 for purposes of defence and at the next Session granted £15,000 a year for five years in order to pay the interest on the issue of army bills. It may be stated here that the Upper Canada Legislature, in February, 1812, also recognized the immediate need of money by authorizing General Brock to issue army bills to the extent of £500,000—two million dollars in the Halifax currency of \$4.00 to a pound which was so long and extensively used in the Provinces. The payment of the interest was guaranteed, and in January, 1814, the authorized amount of issue was increased to £1,500,000 currency—six million dollars. The financial arrangements of the war in both Provinces were, indeed, excellently made. No public officer was allowed to profit by the use of these notes and the payment of the interest was carefully attended to on a circulation of which the highest point appears to have been \$4,820,000. In December, 1815, it may be added, the bills were called in and

redeemed by Sir Gordon Drummond, then Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and acting on behalf of the British Government.

Meantime, to again refer to the campaign of 1812, some 10,000 men under General Dearborn had threatened the Lower Province from near Lake Champlain; but after a brief demonstration which was checked by the Montreal militia under Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry, the American forces all along the line retired into winter quarters and the Canadas found that they had come through the first campaign of the war without a defeat or the loss of a foot of soil. Some progress, however, had been made by the Americans in obtaining that command of the Lakes which Brock had been so wisely anxious to avert at the commencement of the contest.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

The campaign of 1813 was not quite so pleasant an experience. It opened successfully for the British and Canadian forces. On January 22nd, Colonel Procter with 500 British regulars and 800 Indians under the Wyandotte chief, Roundhead, crossed the frozen Detroit, and, two days later attacked General Winchester, who had about an equal number of men under him. After a severe battle in which he lost by death or wounded, 182 men, Procter won a decisive victory and took nearly 500 prisoners. The loss to the enemy in killed was between three and four hundred men. It was a dearly-purchased success, however, as it won for Procter a reputation which he sadly failed to live up to. Colonel George McDonell, who had raised a strong regiment amongst the gallant Highland Catholics of the Glen-garry settlement, on February 23rd attacked Ogdensburg, in New York State—from which some predatory excursions had come during the winter—and captured eleven guns, a large quantity of ordnance and military stores and two armed schooners. Four officers and seventy privates were taken prisoners.

In April, however, Commodore Chauncey with a fleet of 14 ships and 1,700 troops, sailed from Sackett's Harbour, on the New York coast of Lake Ontario, for York (Toronto) which was then a small place of 800 population, containing the Government buildings of the Province. Under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Pike the Americans landed on April 27th, but were for some time held in check by the determined resistance of two companies of the 8th Regiment and about 200 Canadian militia. The Fort, situated at some distance from the little town, was finally captured after an accidental explosion in which Pike and 260 of his men were killed. As the advance continued, General Sheaffe withdrew his small force of regulars from York and retreated to Kingston. The town then surrendered with some 250 militia, and, despite the terms of capitulation, was freely pillaged and all its public buildings burned. Even the Church was robbed of its plate and the Legislative Library looted. In this latter connection Chauncey expressed great indignation and made a personal effort to restore some of the stolen books.

Incidents of importance now came swiftly one upon another. On May 27th, Fort George, on the British side of the Niagara River, was captured by the Americans, and, two days later, Sir George Prevost was repulsed in an attack upon Sackett's Harbour. Early in June two American gunboats were captured on Lake Champlain, and on the 5th of the same month, Colonel Harvey—a soldier with some of Brock's brilliant qualities and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of all the Maritime Provinces in turn—attacked in the night a large force of at least 3,500 Americans encamped at Burlington Heights (near the Hamilton of later days) and captured a number of guns, two general officers, and over a hundred other officers and men. On the 24th of June Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, of the 49th Regiment, by a clever concealment of his numbers, forced the

surrender of 544 American soldiers under Colonel Boerstler, not far from Fort George and Queenston. He had only some 66 troops and 250 Indians in his command. During the next two months the British captured Black Rock, where they lost the gallant Colonel Bisshopp, and Fort Schlosser—both on the Niagara frontier. Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, was captured and the public buildings burned in memory of York. The latter place was taken a second time by the Americans.

Then came the disastrous British defeat on Lake Erie, where Captain Barclay, with six vessels and 300 seamen, was beaten by Commodore Perry, with nine vessels and double the number of men. Not only disastrous, but disgraceful, was the ensuing defeat of General Procter, near Moraviantown, by General Harrison who had driven him from Detroit and Amherstburg. Procter was retreating steadily with some 400 troops, and 800 Indians under Tecumseh, pursued by the American force of 4,000 men. The battle was fought on October 5th, and the natural result followed, with, however, the added loss of Tecumseh. The disgrace to Procter, who fled early in the day and was afterwards court-martialed, censured and deprived of all command for six months, was not in defeat under such circumstances, but in the utter lack of all proper military precautions, either at the time of conflict or during his previous retreat. The death of the great Indian chief was one of the severest blows to the British cause in the whole campaign. It was more important even than the fact that this victory placed the entire western part of the Province in American hands. The territory might be won back, the leader never. Tecumseh was, indeed, a savage of heroic mould, one who inspired victory, and who, when acting with men such as Brock or Harvey, was almost invincible. His Indians would do anything for him—even refrain from massacre or cruelty—and the fear of him felt by the Americans was shown in the unfortunate indignities offered to his corpse.

The next few months saw some events of bright import, and attention must now be transferred to Lower Canada. The French-Canadians earnestly and enthusiastically showed their love for the land of their birth and home by turning out in large numbers and fighting bravely wherever required—notably on the memorable field of Chateauguay.

ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE MONTREAL

By October an army of 8,000 men had been collected at Sackett's Harbour, N. Y., under Generals Wilkinson and Boyd, for the descent upon Montreal by way of the St. Lawrence. As these forces descended the river they were followed by a small and compact body of British troops under Colonels Pearson, Harvey, Morrison and Plenderleath, accompanied by eight gun-boats and three field-pieces which did much damage to the enemy. On November 11th, Wilkinson and his main army were with the flotilla near Prescott and on the way to effect a junction with an army under General Hampton which was to meet them at the mouth of the Chateauguay. General Boyd, with 2,500 men, was marching along the shore followed by 800 British troops under Colonel Morrison who had resolved to attack the enemy at a place called Chrystler's Farm. The result was one of the most complete victories of the war, the Americans losing many prisoners besides 339 officers and men, killed or wounded. The British loss was 181. Boyd immediately returned to his boats and joined Wilkinson. They then proceeded to the place at which the junction with Hampton was to be made and from whence they were to advance upon Montreal.

Meanwhile, Hampton had marched from Lake Champlain with 7,000 men toward the mouth of the Chateauguay. At this point, and amid the natural difficulties of forest surroundings, he was met on the night of October 25th by Colonel de Salaberry in command of 300 French-Canadian militia and a few Indians and supported by Colonel



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B.
The Hero of Queenston Heights.



COL. THE HON. C. M. DE SALABERRY, C.B.
The Hero of Chateauguay.



Courtesy J. Ross Robertson Collection

SIGNING THE TREATY OF GHENT, DECEMBER 24, 1814

This historic scene marks the end of the War of 1812. The treaty was the means of building up the cordial relations existing today between the two great English-speaking nations. Reading from left to right are—*British Delegates*: Anthony St. John Baker, Sec'y.; William Adams, Henry Goulburn, Admiral Lord Gambier; *American Delegates*: John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, Christopher Hughes, Secretary; James A. Bayard, Henry Clay. (Next to last in picture not named), Johnathan Russell.

McDonell with another French contingent of 600 men, who had made the most rapid forced march in Canadian history and had reached Chateauguay the day before the battle. The Americans advanced upon the hidden first line with 4,000 men, but, on driving it back, they met the second line under Colonel McDonell and, there, encountered the stratagem of buglers placed at considerable distances apart and sounding their instruments so as to give the impression of large numbers, while at the same time the bewildering yells and war-cries of some fifty scattered Indians immensely increased the uproar and tumult. The immediate result was the defeat of the American forces, their retreat on the following day and their consequent failure to meet Wilkinson at the mouth of the Chateauguay.

This failure involved the collapse of an elaborate campaign of 15,000 men for the capture of Montreal, through the timely gallantry and clever leadership of two little armies of about 2,000 men altogether. One of the curious incidents of the battle of Chateauguay was when Colonel de Salaberry—his first line of troops being forced back by overwhelming numbers—held his own ground in the darkness with a bugler boy whom he caused to sound the advance for McDonell—thus giving the latter an opportunity to put into effect the stratagem which led the American General to think he was opposed by several thousand men. A less pleasing incident was the mean and untruthful manner in which Prevost endeavoured in his despatches to take the whole credit of this victory to himself.* Despite this, the facts became known—largely through the intervention of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, who had often proved himself a friend to De Salaberry—and at the end of the war McDonell and De Salaberry were each decorated with a C. B.

In Upper Canada during this period there had been another glaring evidence of Prevost's incapacity. Frightened by the apparent

* Notably that of 31st of October, 1813.

results of Procter's defeat near Moraviantown, he had ordered the British commander at Burlington and York (General Vincent) to abandon all his posts and retire upon Kingston. Had this been done the Upper Province would have been practically in American hands. Instead of doing so, however, Vincent maintained his ground, and Colonel Murray, with some 378 regulars and a few volunteers and Indians, was given permission some weeks later to advance upon the enemy who, with 2,700 men under General McClure, was holding Fort George. On December 10th the latter evacuated the Fort, but, before doing so wantonly and cruelly burned to the ground the neighbouring village (and one-time capital) of Newark. It was a cold winter's night, and the beautiful little village contained chiefly women and children—the men being either away at the front or prisoners across the river. The unfortunate inhabitants were driven into the snow without shelter and in many cases very scantily clothed. British retribution was swift. The American Fort Niagara, just across the river, was promptly stormed and held until the end of the war, and the neighbouring villages of Lewistown, Youngstown, Manchester and Tuscarora were burned. These events closed the campaign of 1813, at the end of which the Americans only held possession of Amherstburg, on the frontier of Upper Canada, and, besides losing all the benefits of Harrison's success against the incapable Procter, had also lost Fort Niagara on the American side and with it the control of the frontier in that direction.

THE STRUGGLE OF 1814

General Sir Gordon Drummond, a brave and able officer, had meanwhile, become Administrator and Commander in Upper Canada, and this fact had much influence upon the succeeding struggle of 1814. This last campaign of the war commenced with another advance from Lake Champlain by 4,000 men under General Wilkinson. It was checked, and eventually repulsed on March 30th by a

gallant handful of some 300 men commanded by Major Hancock, at Lacolle's Mill—a small stone building on the Lacolle River, and about a third of the way between Plattsburg and Montreal. A little later Michilimackinac was relieved by Colonel McDouall, and in May Sir Gordon Drummond and Sir James Yeo, the naval Commander, captured Fort Oswego on the New York side of Lake Ontario, together with some valuable naval stores. Meantime, some minor defeats had been encountered by British detachments, and early in July Major-General Brown, with 5,000 troops, backed by 4,000 New York militia, which had been ordered out and authorized for the war, invaded Upper Canada from Buffalo. To meet this attack Drummond had about 4,000 effective regulars, depleted however, by the necessity of garrisoning a number of important posts. His difficulties in meeting the invasion were also increased by the seeming impossibility of making Prevost understand the situation and the need of re-inforcements. The latter could only see the menace offered to Lower Canada by the massed forces at Lake Champlain.

Fort Erie surrendered to the Americans on July 3d, and General Riall was defeated at Chippewa two days later, with the loss of 511 men killed or wounded. The victorious American advance was checked, however, at Lundy's Lane, where Sir Gordon Drummond, who had come up from Kingston with 800 men, assumed command, and on July 25th, within sound of the roar of Niagara Falls and in the most beautiful part of a picturesque and fertile region, there was fought the fiercest battle of the whole war, and one which continued during the greater part of a dark night. The victory is variously claimed, but the bare facts are that, after trying for six hours with 5,000 men to force a British position held by half that number, Brown had to retire to Chippewa with a loss of 930 men as against Drummond's loss of 870, and with his advance effectually checked. On the 26th he retreated to Fort Erie, and was there shortly after

attacked unsuccessfully by the British with a loss to the latter of 500 men. Until September, however, he was blockaded within the walls of the Fort.

The struggle with Napoleon in Europe was now temporarily over, and 16,000 trained and experienced British troops had been, meanwhile, landed at Quebec. Prevost advanced with a force of 12,000 of these troops to Plattsburg, where he was to co-operate with the British fleet on Lake Champlain. The latter was defeated, however, and the British general, with an army which, under Brock, might have menaced New York City itself, ignominiously retreated in the face of two or three thousand American soldiers.* So far as the Canadas were concerned territorially this practically ended the war. Despite Prevost's disgrace at Plattsburg, the campaign for the year terminated with the British control of Lake Ontario—although the Americans were masters of Lake Erie—and with their possession of several forts on American soil, to say nothing of a portion of the State of Maine.

In the Maritime Provinces the struggle had not been so severely felt. Major-General Sherbrooke was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and, through the vicinity of the British fleet at Halifax and the presence of a sufficient number of regulars, was able in 1814 to make a series of attacks upon the coast and frontier of Maine until the whole region from Penobscot to the St. Croix was in British hands. Sherbrooke had also been sending troops up to Canada whenever possible and the march of the 104th Regiment in February, 1813, through hundreds of miles of frozen wilderness, was of special interest as well as importance.

Elsewhere on sea and land the war had been equally varied. A number of naval victories were won by the United States as well as by Great Britain but, excluding the actions fought in Canadian waters,

* He was recalled and only escaped the condemnation of a Court Martial by death.

there seems in nearly every case of American victory to have been a great superiority on their part in men, guns, metal and tonnage. The purely British part of the campaign of 1814 included the capture of the City of Washington and the burning of its public buildings in revenge for the previous harrying of the Niagara frontier and the burnings of York and Newark. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to capture New Orleans. The terrible bloodshed of this last struggle of the war—over 3,000 British troops were reported killed, wounded or missing—was the result of ignorance of the fact that on December 24, 1814, a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent.

THE EFFECTS OF THE STRUGGLE

The immediate effects of the struggle are clear upon the pages of history. The Americans obtained not a foot of British territory and not a solitary sentimental advantage. Their seaboard was insulted and injured, their capital city partially destroyed and 3,000 of their vessels captured. The immense gain to their carrying-trade which had previously accrued as a result of England's conflict with Napoleon was neutralized, while their annual exports were reduced to almost nothing and their commercial classes nearly ruined. A vast war-tax was incurred and New England rendered disaffected for years to come. The twin questions of right of search and the position of neutrals in time of war which had been the nominal causes of the conflict were not even mentioned in the Treaty of Ghent. Some military and naval glory was won, but the odds were in favour of the United States throughout the struggle and, when England's hands were finally freed by Wellington's march upon Paris, the war ceased. In many of these conflicts, however, both on sea and land—notably in the famous duel of the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon* when Sir Provo Wallis, of Nova Scotian birth, laid the foundation of fame and fortune—United States soldiers and seamen showed all the courage and skill of the race from which they had sprung.

To Great Britain the war had been only one more military and naval burden. It added to her difficulties in fighting France, subsidizing Europe and holding the seas against the sweeping ambitions of Napoleon. But her struggle for life or death had been so prolonged in this connection and the shadow of its wings so dark and menacing, that the conflict in Canada did not then, and has not since, attracted the attention it deserved. While this was natural enough at that period, the time has now come when the position should be changed and the memories of Brock and De Salaberry, Morrison and McDonell, Harvey and Drummond, be given their place in the historic pantheon of Empire. Canadian difficulties in the struggle should be understood, the courage of its people comprehended, the results of the conflict appreciated. The conflict meant more than the mere details of skirmishes, battles and the rout of invading armies would indicate. It involved considerations greater than may be seen in the ordinary record of campaigns in which the Canadian militia and British regulars appear as able to hold their own in a prolonged struggle.

That a population of 500,000 people, scattered over widely sun-dered areas, should be able, almost unaided, to thus successfully oppose the aggressive action of an organized republic of eight millions was an extraordinary military performance and it is not unnatural that, in considering the record and the result, it has been chiefly done from the military standpoint. To the up-building of Canada, however, the war holds a place not dissimilar in national import to that of the Revolution in United States history.

It consolidated the British sentiment of the whole population from the shores of Lake Huron to the coasts of the Atlantic. It eliminated much of the disloyal element which was beginning to eat into the vitals of Provincial life in Upper Canada; and modified in some measure the force of the American spirit which remained in the hearts of a section of its settlers. It checked the growth of

Republicanism amongst the French of Lower Canada and helped to prevent the Rebellion of 1837 in that Province from being the rising of a whole people united in political sympathies—as were its leaders—with the great and growing population to the south. It made the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in the same part of the country feel once more as they did when the Continental Congress of 1775 attacked the Quebec Act that the only visible danger to what they considered the sacred rights and privileges of their faith came from the other side of the international line. It, for a time, brought Canadians of French and English extraction together in defence of their hearths and homes and laid in this fact an almost invisible foundation for that seemingly vain vision—the permanent Federal Union of British America for purposes of common defence, interests and government. It affected powerful religious organizations, such as the Methodist denomination, which were becoming dependent on American pulpits, supplies and polity. It affected social life and customs by drawing still more distinct the Loyalist line against innovations from the other side of the border. Finally, it greatly affected political development and assured the ultimate success of those who strove honestly, though sometimes mistakenly in detail, to preserve and promote the permanent acceptance of British, as opposed to American, principles of government upon the northern half of the continent.

CHAPTER X

An Era of Agitation

IN the early years of the century there began to develop in the Canadas—and especially in Lower Canada as Quebec had come to be called—the seeds of a violent constitutional agitation. It arose in the latter Province out of the well-intentioned but mistaken policy of giving the forms of free self-government to a people who knew nothing of the reality. To confer British institutions upon men of French origin was in itself an extraordinary proceeding ; but when it is remembered that these French-Canadians had been, in 1791, only a generation removed from the subjects of France in the most despotic of Bourbon days, and that they had changed very slightly since that time in either character, experience, or knowledge it seems still more so.

INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICIAN

The *habitant* of that period, and during the succeeding thirty years, knew nothing of government except in traditional memories of autocracy and in his present perception of the position of his Seigneur as having control of the land and its taxation and his Priest as having charge of his soul, his morals, and his pleasures. As time passed however, he began to see another influence—the politician or demagogue—and was assured that the English Parliament had given to the French-Canadians an Assembly by which they were to govern their own country ; but that the English in Lower Canada would not allow it full control. The tyranny of the Executive Council, which advised the Governor-General, and of the Legislative Council, which threw out any legislation of an advanced kind emanating from the Assembly, were portrayed to him in vivid colours.

The *habitant* naturally did not understand matters very clearly. He began to believe that it was a question of English against French and that the Assembly was a weapon granted by Providence with which to smite the tyrants whom an English King had placed in power. The French-Canadian peasant can hardly be blamed for this. He had not advanced in education as he had advanced in the responsibilities of government. The voter going to the polls of Lower Canada in 1800, or 1820, knew as much of the principles of self-government as his father had done in the days of Bigot or his grandfather under Louis XIV. He had no knowledge of even the rudiments of municipal control and management, to say nothing of the theories and precedents and principles and intricate practices of Parliamentary rule. He was plunged in an instant into a condition of affairs which it had taken centuries of evolution and struggle and civil war to reach in England itself; and it was little wonder if he failed to understand the workings of the system. Still less surprising was it that the whisperings of agitators and the traditions of racial feeling should have stirred him up to use his privileges in order to obtain more and to vent, at the same time, his prejudices against an alien authority which in certain phases, and despite the best of intentions, was naturally antagonistic to him.

RACIAL AND CLASS HOSTILITY

The English people in Quebec and Montreal comprised the governing class of the community and, in time, included a large mercantile and commercial element. The French on the other hand were essentially rural and agricultural in occupation and their material interests were therefore easily made to appear in antagonism to those of the urban centres. So that, as years passed on, within the circle of racial hostility there was to be found a smaller circle of class hostility. Both found expression in the Legislature and in certain newspapers of the rabid type. As the ensuing political appeals and

denunciations and explanations were in different languages they altogether failed to reach the other side and consequently intensified the racial feeling—especially on the part of the French masses.

The Seigneurs were not as numerous as in the days before the Conquest, but they were still a strong class in the community and with a tendency to lend their influence to moderate councils. The Governors, both before and after the period of military rule, did their utmost to conciliate the French gentry; and only a lack of forcefulness in character and ability in statecraft seems to have prevented the latter from sharing considerably in the government. More than one of the despatches sent to the Colonial Office during this period bear testimony to the paucity of capable and suitable French-Canadians from whom members of the Councils might be chosen. The inevitable result of all this was that men of British birth or extraction held the reins of power, and guarded, more or less securely, the avenues of approach to office.

Though the administrations of Lord Amherst and General Murray, General Carleton and General Haldimand, Lord Dorchester* and General Prescott—1760 to 1799—were more or less military in their nature, the Assembly, which was first organized in 1792, proved comparatively amenable to the necessities of the situation and was not yet filled with too great a sense of its power and opportunities. The first meeting of this body, however, gave some faint indications of what was coming. It passed a loyal Address to the King, which proved the first of a long series of similar Resolutions, which were introduced from time to time whenever some innovation was about to be proposed, or some old proposal to be renewed and pressed in varying degrees of violence. It preceded this action by the very natural selection of a French-Canadian as Speaker, and

* Guy Carleton, created Baron Dorchester in 1786, and appointed for the second time as Governor-General of British America.

followed it up by a Resolution demanding the use of both the French and English languages in debate and in the published documents of the Assembly. The membership of the House of Assembly, it may be added, numbered fifty at this time, and was almost entirely French, while the Legislative Council numbered fifteen, and was almost entirely English in composition.

Gradually, disputes between the two bodies developed, and by the opening of the century promised very clearly to produce a violent future. The Assembly claimed full control of the revenues, without knowing how to make the necessary constitutional changes, and without proposing anything practicable in the way of a new system. As things were the Governor was really responsible to the Crown—or the British Cabinet—for his administration of funds which came in part from excise and customs levied under Imperial enactment, in part from taxes controlled by the Assembly and Council together and in part from moneys contributed by the Imperial Government to the payment of salaries and for special purposes of military necessity.

It was a difficult enough problem had there been no racial antagonisms, or religious complications, or diverse languages. No party in Quebec, either in 1800, or in 1837 when the troubles had developed into rebellion, understood or demanded a full system of Ministerial government and responsibility such as the Province and Dominion have to-day. This point is of the greatest importance and is usually overlooked in the study of these times. Looking back now it is easy to see that the Council was intended as a "buffer" between the Assembly and the King's Representative; that it did not serve this purpose very long as the French masses soon came to consider the two identical; that there were no departments of government administering different matters and responsible to Parliament for the performance of duty and, especially, for the management of moneys; that there was no Premier responsible to the Assembly

for the composition of his Cabinet and the policy of his Province, and that none was asked for ; that the spirit which soon showed itself amongst the leaders of the French-Canadians was not one calculated to encourage the formulation from England of schemes for a Ministerial responsibility which was not understood and practised, even there, as it was after the days of the Reform Bill ; that no glimmering had yet come to either English Liberals or Tories of a Colonial Governor acting as the constitutional sovereign of a free people and yet representing in very real fashion the Crown of the Empire. These things can form no part of any written constitution, and could only develop out of passing years and growing experience.

THE PROBLEM AFTER THE WAR OF 1812

The problem, as it revived after the War of 1812, was very complex and can only be fairly and fully understood by entire disassociation from the stormy debates and feelings of the times, and from the prejudices perpetuated by much historical writing of a biased character. It may be taken for granted, and as a basis for any such study of the situation, that there was good in all parties to the prolonged dispute, in all the Provinces. The Imperial Government acted from the first without a selfish or unworthy motive, and despite the limitless trouble which the Colonial controversies necessarily created. It was always anxious to conciliate factions, always ready to concede every claim which seemed safe from the standpoint of the time, always desirous of sending good men to administer affairs in an honest and honourable fashion. But the mistake of the Colonial Office was in its failure to preserve continuity of policy, its misfortune was in being subject to party changes at home, its fault—a very natural one—was in not always understanding the situation clearly.

The Governors of the Colonies in British America were upon the whole a splendid class of men. No more honourable and able

administrators can be found in the pages of history than Lord Dorchester, Sir Frederick Haldimand, Sir J. Coape Sherbrooke, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir John Wentworth, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Major-General Simcoe, Sir John Colborne (Lord Seaton), Sir Howard Douglas or Sir John Harvey. There were exceptions, of course, but even where ability or tact was lacking there is not in all Canadian annals the case of a British Governor guilty of dishonourable or mean public actions—unless it be the conduct of Sir George Prevost in the War of 1812, when acting as a military leader. This is an excellent record in the making of a young country. Yet many of the Governors were intensely unpopular. In Lower Canada the feeling was largely racial, and applied to all who did not come out with the deliberate object of giving the majority everything that they asked for. In the other Provinces it was due to their identification with a party in the Colony—the party of pronounced loyalty and of the power which goes with the possession of office.

It is really hard to see how they could have avoided this. To nearly all of them, from Sir James Craig upwards, the French party in Lower Canada meant danger to British interests and supremacy; the Radical party in Upper Canada meant republicanism, American institutions, and annexation efforts which might involve war with the United States. To grant privileges to the more moderate and loyal opposition party in the Maritime Provinces which it was not deemed wise to give in the Canadas was, of course, impossible. But many of them were not wise in details of administration and in the treatment of opponents; while the fact of having no Premier, or responsible Ministry, left them open to all the ills of personal attack and political bitterness—often a sorry position for the Sovereign's Representative to be placed in.

The governing party in these years stood for much that Canadians now hold dear. In Lower Canada they believed in the protection

of the British minority in a British country and, judging by the debates in the French House of Assembly and the character of the conflict which eventually developed, the only way this protection could have been maintained in that period of constitutional ignorance and racial bitterness was by the policy of English administration and through the check afforded by an English Council controlling the legislation of a French Assembly. In the other Provinces they stood for a belief, ground into the very marrow of the Loyalist's bones by experience in the American Revolution, that the Governor should have considerable powers, should wield them consistently and firmly and should give no countenance to democracy. To the dominant party in these years democracy spelt republicanism and the latter involved everything which they most detested, which they had fought against long and strenuously and to avoid the results of which they had suffered all the privations of pioneer life. Moreover, they believed themselves, not without reason, to be the makers of English-speaking Canada and naturally resented the criticism of ignorant and indifferent new-comers and the free antagonism of Radical agitators from other lands.

VIEWS AND MISTAKES OF THE GOVERNING PARTIES

Their mistake was in being too autocratic and exclusive, in not trying to teach the incoming population more of the history of the past, in making the Government appear to the masses as not the representative of a great principle, which in large measure it really and honestly was, but as an oligarchy based upon privilege and formed from a class. On the other hand the people had much to complain of. In Lower Canada, French-Canadians were practically excluded from the Councils and the Bench. There were occasional irregularities in the administration of justice. There was much offensiveness in the autocratic bearing of English appointees to high position. There was natural antagonism between the agricultural and rural

interests of the French and the mercantile and city interests of the English. There was a not unreasonable and intense popular desire to control the purse-strings of the Province. There was objection to the officials holding several positions at the same time, to Judges sitting in the Legislative Council, to a Protestant Bishop sharing in the administration of secular affairs.

Yet the settlement of these matters was rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the position which the French majority in the Assembly assumed. When a Frenchman was offered and accepted a place on the Council, or the Bench, he lost all influence and reputation amongst his compatriots. When any trivial fault was found to be a fact in the administration of justice, it became the basis for wild and reckless onslaughts upon all the Judges. The exclusiveness of the English minority was well matched by that of the French majority and all the lavish hospitality and evident good-will of successive Governors could not bring the races together. Over and over again it was proposed by the Government that Judges should be made independent of politics and excluded from seats in the Councils, but the measure always broke upon the rock of the Assembly's concurrent demand to control the payment and amount of their salaries and, therefore, to control the actual appointments and the Bench itself.

In Upper Canada and in the Provinces by the sea, as new settlers poured in, they found a situation which was naturally not altogether palatable to them. Between 1800 and 1812 a large number of Americans came to Upper Canada. In 1816 disbanded soldiers and officers from the armies which had so long fought Napoleon migrated in large bodies to British America. In 1831, there were 34,000 new settlers, while in the four years preceeding 1829 there had been 160,000 of them. Into the Maritime Provinces came a large influx of Scotchmen and not a few Americans. These new-comers were of all schools of thought—Tory and Whig and Radical and Republican.

They were of all nationalities—English and Welsh and Scotch and Irish and Americans chiefly. They brought with them aggressive views very frequently out of touch with, if not bitterly opposed to, the opinions of the Loyalist rulers of the country. They found themselves with practically no voice in public affairs owing to the veto of the Legislative Council upon Assembly enactments and the entrenched position of the Loyalists behind a bulwark of *prestige*, custom, social influence, gradually growing wealth and the power of the strong and practically established Church of England.

Naturally, the Scotch and English Radicals, all the men who had left the Old Land from motives of discontent, the Irish Catholics and English Methodists and the American settlers generally, resented the situation and organized, as time went by, in opposition to it and to the men who ruled the Province. They had much of right on their side, but it was marred in immediate effect and in the eye of impartial history by violence of language and unnecessary fierceness of agitation; by leaders who professed a democracy not far from American republicanism in character; by a disloyalty amongst American settlers especially, which showed itself strongly in the stern struggle of 1812 and in the subsequent troubles of 1837; by an utter indifference to the undoubted services of the Loyalists to the country and empire; by demanding impossibilities without clearly knowing what they themselves wanted; by a desire to obtain office at least as strong as the much-abused wish of the dominant party to retain it. In the Maritime Provinces this analysis holds good except that the actively disloyal factor has to be eliminated from the purview as well as something of the violence of agitation and sentiment.

The details of the struggle in the two Canadas which led up to the Rebellion of 1837 and which were fought under the conditions already outlined must be briefly told, though in reality the story is a

long and complicated one.* In the Lower Province the racial complication ran through every measure proposed by the Assembly and opposed by the Council and must always be borne in mind in reading any narrative of the events of that period. The first important conflict began in 1808 with the arrival of Sir James Henry Craig as Governor-General. There had been mutterings of trouble before, demands on the part of the Assembly for fuller control of appointments and of the revenues, and plentiful denunciation of the Council as an alien and intrusive body. Strong accusations of disloyalty and of a desire for absolute French ascendancy had been the principal response. The strife was lulled for a time by the alarm of war with the States, but upon its temporary subsidence and the arrival of Sir James Craig it burst forth with redoubled violence. The new Governor was a brave and distinguished soldier, but obstinate, and without much tact or the faculty of conciliation. His tendency of thought was to fear the French, to dislike the placing of additional power in their hands, and to feel the full force of the arguments naturally brought before him by his English advisers. The great cry of the moment was the prohibition of Judges sitting in the Councils, and this took up the time of the Assembly to the signal detriment of the questions of defence which the Governor naturally considered as much more important.

The House was dissolved after several sessions of useless recrimination and abuse and came back with a stronger French membership than before. Sir James and the Council stood by the Judges, who were being very bitterly and unjustly handled, and refused to debar them from the body in which their presence was undoubtedly useful in those days of limited culture and independence of position, although

* Two bulky volumes are devoted to the Rebellion in Upper Canada by John Charles Dent, and to the Life of W. L. Mackenzie by Charles Lindsey; while F. X. Garneau has dealt at length with the Lower Canada troubles. These and many other volumes upon various branches of the subject are valuable to the student, but are nearly always overlooked in treatment thereof.

alien to the full and free system of to-day. Added disputes arose over the expenditures of the Government—a phrase which in this period meant the Governor and the inner circle of an irresponsible Executive—until in despair of obtaining either legislation or peace, the Legislature was again dissolved.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE GOVERNOR'S POSITION

What was the unfortunate Governor from this time onward to do? He could not give control of all the finances to the Assembly without establishing a Ministry responsible to that body, and this the Home Government could not grant as involving the handing of absolute power in the Province over to a French majority which every day showed itself more aggressive and more anti-British. Moreover, a not inconsiderable portion of the revenue still came from England, or from the army chest, which was more or less under the Governor's control. The election was of the fiercest character. Declamation and proclamation, secret meetings and treasonable newspaper comments, the seizure of *Le Canadian* and imprisonment of particularly violent politicians, followed, until the French press described the period as a "Reign of Terror." The Assembly came back with its French majority increased, Sir James received a rebuke from the Colonial Office—for getting into trouble at a critical time, it may be presumed—and, in the end, the Judges were disqualified from sitting in the Council. But the greater financial issue remained.

The American war now intervened and cast its mingled sunshine and shadow over everything. Loyalty, the power of the Church, a desire to retain their special privileges, antagonism to republican institutions, a measure of appreciation for British generosity, combined in differing degrees of force to throw the French-Canadians into the struggle with valuable results to British strength. Internal strife largely ceased during the next two years and the French Assembly, delighted over the success at Chateauguay, voted Sir George Prevost,

as the new Governor-in-Chief, all the grants of money he desired. But when the war was over (before, indeed, it could be called so) the old trouble revived and the Assembly demanded the impeachment of Chief Justice Sewell and Judge Monk on charges of official corruption which could never be proved and which appear to have been simply the product of a feeling that these men were the principal antagonists to the claims advanced by the popular body. Jonathan Sewell was the leader of the English element in Lower Canada and Chief Justice of the Province from 1808 to 1838. His probity was really above reproach, his character and honour of the highest, his culture and attainments and social qualities most marked. But he was an intense believer in the necessity of English supremacy in the Government of Lower Canada, a vigorous opponent of Roman Catholicism, an unfriendly critic of the French character and pretensions.

The impeachment was not, of course, agreed to by the Legislative Council, and the Governor very properly refused to take it up. The Chief Justice, however, went to England and defied his accusers to prove their allegations at the Colonial Office. They did not attempt to do so in any other court than that of the inflamed public opinion of the Province and Sewell, after being well received in London, returned to Quebec in natural triumph. He had made his visit memorable in a wider public sense by suggesting and pressing a scheme for the federation of British North America. But the time was, of course, premature. The trouble over the finances now revived. In 1809 the Assembly had offered to pay the expenses of the Civil List in return for a right to eliminate any salaries objected to. As this meant control of the officials by a partisan Assembly and a distinct infraction of the Governor's prerogative, as then understood, the Council had rejected the proposal. Now, in 1816, the Imperial Government suggested a compromise by which the grant of a stated sum was to be made each year—as is now the custom—without changing

the items of the grant. For a brief period this plan worked satisfactorily. In 1819, however, an increase was asked and refused. The Appropriation Bill, less the extra amount, was rejected by the Council and a dead-lock occurred which was followed by the new election consequent upon the death of King George III.

PAPINEAU A POPULAR ORATOR AND AGITATOR

The popular hero of the moment was now Louis Joseph Papineau. Brilliant in oratory beyond any other product of French Canada, splendid in physique and popular in manner, democratic in belief and aristocratic in appearance and birth, rash in utterance and policy, he was eminently the man to stir French passions and prejudices to a white heat and to play upon the ignorance and fancies of the people as a great musician plays upon the hearts of his hearers. He became, in 1820, Speaker of the Assembly and was in the fullest possession of his great personal powers. At the same time there came to Quebec the Earl of Dalhousie as Governor-General. He was a man of boundless hospitality and kindness, the most popular, perhaps, of Nova Scotian Governors of this period, the founder of Dalhousie College at Halifax, a well-known patron of agriculture and the arts. In Lower Canada he early established an Agricultural Association and the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; did everything in his power to continuously encourage improved methods of farming and a better system of education, and tried to get the support of the Assembly in this work; entertained the French and the English and endeavoured to bring them together in social intercourse; erected, largely at his own expense, the famous monument in Quebec to the joint honour of Wolfe and Montcalm. Dalhousie was, in short, one of the best Governors the Province ever had, yet he was, also, perhaps the best-hated.

He saw that until a permanent Civil List was voted and the permanent officials of the Crown taken out of the political arena, there

could be no peace, and this settlement he at once demanded from the Assembly as a right—in view of the understanding of 1809. Details of the dispute in all its varied phases are unnecessary here. Suffice it that the Assembly peremptorily rejected the proposal and that during the eight succeeding years of Lord Dalhousie's Viceroyalty bitterness and increasing hostility filled the air with clamour and complaint. Papineau led the agitation against the Governor in the House and in the country with an ever-increasing violence of thought and language until the Governor (acting within his legal prerogative and resenting some exceptional personalities of the Speaker) refused to accept him on re-election to that position.

Matters then came to a head, mass meetings were held and huge petitions sent to England. The Parliament there appointed a Committee to investigate the general Canadian situation and, in 1828, it reported that the wishes of the French Assembly regarding control of the Crown duties which were levied under the Act of 1774, should be acceded to in return for a permanent Civil List ; that Judges and Bishops in all the Provinces should give up their places in the Legislative Councils ; that the two Councils in each Province should be enlarged by the appointment of independent members—especially French Canadians in Lower Canada ; that Receivers-General should give security and Government accounts be examined by the Assembly's Auditors.

Dalhousie at once resigned and was succeeded by Sir James Kempt, with a special mission of conciliation in Lower Canada. Despite legislation along the line of the Report, he failed, however, to conciliate the still clamorous majority ; as did his successor, Lord Aylmer. Rebellion was now in the air, and Papineau was dreaming dreams of a great French-Canadian Republic, and preaching the blessings and benefits of the American system. From the Speaker's chair he thundered forth denunciations of monarchy and British rule.

On March 1, 1834, the Assembly passed the famous Ninety-two Resolutions. They spoke, of course, for the French-Canadian party, from which all its moderate leaders had now withdrawn, and reiterated every kind of baseless charge of corruption, fraud and tyranny against the British Governors and Councillors; demanded immediate and entire control of all lands and revenues; and asked, practically, that the Province, with its Government, its English minority, its moneys and its commerce be handed over to them. This document, with the weighty answer of the Montreal Constitutional Association and other English bodies, soon reached London. Lord Gosford, a man of conciliatory but weak disposition, was sent out as Governor-General and as Chairman of a Commission of Inquiry. The Report of the Commission was duly made in 1837, but, meanwhile, Papineau had effectually prevented it from being of any value and had impressed himself more and more upon the minds of the people. Rebellion, in fact, had become inevitable.

Meantime, matters had also developed in Upper Canada through a long process of conflict in politics and confusion in ideas. Men were fighting for equality of opportunities where there was neither equality of conditions, of service to the State, or of British sentiment—in days when the latter principle was everything to the original settler. They were striving for the acceptance of principles which they did not themselves understand the application of, which had not yet been fully accepted in England, and which were entirely unfitted at the time for the crude institutions, or peculiar conditions, of a pioneer community. The earliest subject of controversy were the Clergy Reserves. In Upper Canada, two and a half million acres of wild land had been set aside under the enactment of 1791 for the support of a "Protestant Clergy." It was a large body of land, but there was plenty more, and up till the thirties this point did not cause much discussion. The great question was the unfairness of excluding

Methodists and Baptists and Presbyterians from sharing in the grant. And, from the standards of to-day there was absolute justice in this complaint. Yet at that time the Church of England was, beyond controversy, the State Church of the Province and the correspondence of Simcoe and Dorchester and the Colonial Secretaries, in the years following 1791, indicate clearly that it was the intention of the Imperial Government to make Upper Canada a mirror of the British constitution and in doing so to give it an Established Church.

There was also much in the contention that this was the Church of the bulk of the Loyalists, that it was the pioneer of missionary work in the English Provinces, that the grants by Parliament and the large sums given by the London Church Missionary Societies were long the only support to religious observance and worship in the country. And the British Government honestly and naturally believed that the best way to encourage Christianity in this new land of vast spaces and few people was to give it a stable constitutional basis and a fixed financial support. Hence the origin of the Clergy Reserves, the consistent support given them by the Tories, and the encouragement afforded to the Church by successive Governors.

Inevitably, also, other denominations, as the population increased, did not like this establishment, and resented the combination of State and Church in one strong social, religious and political fabric. After a time it was tacitly admitted that the Church of Scotland had a right, as an established body in the Old Land, to share in the proceeds of the Reserves—proceeds which, by the way, were never large, and in the first years of the dispute almost infinitesimal. But the discussion dragged its way through the political field for many years after this period and the Rebellion itself. The material point was that, in some cases, these wild lands, which constituted the seventh lot in every surveyed township, lay unimproved amid surrounding cultivation. Toward the middle of the century this was an

important fact and a decided grievance; in the earlier part of the period it certainly could not have been either.

Meanwhile, in 1817, the first Upper Canadian agitator came on the scene. He was a Scotchman, named Robert Gourlay, erratic, headstrong, violent and ultimately insane. He came to the new country as a failure in the old one, found some grievances and imagined others, stormed the ramparts of the Government with vigour and some effect, and soon had a very pretty little controversy in progress. Of course, his conduct was deeply resented by the party in power. He was without stake in the community, or real knowledge of its conditions, and they looked upon him as an impudent interloper. He was arrested twice and acquitted, then held in jail for seven months on a charge of treason, found guilty by a partisan jury and expelled from the country. The whole affair was regrettable and his treatment unwise and unjust, but it must be remembered in excuse that just such men had caused the American Revolution and that failure to deal summarily with them in the beginning had made the British cause there a lost one. The Loyalists did not want a repetition of this issue in Canada—and they were living in the beginning of the eighteenth century, not the end!

CENTRAL FIGURES OF A TROUBLOUS PERIOD

The three central figures of the succeeding period were John Beverley Robinson, Dr. John Strachan, and William Lyon Mackenzie. Robinson was a typical Loyalist and Tory, proud of his family and his descent, cultured in attainment, manner and appearance, honourable in his public dealings, strict in his political code. He had fought in 1812, he had been a vigorous politician for years, and was, up to 1829, the practical ruler of the Province. From that date until 1862, he was its respected Chief Justice and died a baronet of the United Kingdom. Dr. John Strachan was a militant ecclesiastic of an old-time type. Strong and rugged in his views,

intensely earnest in his support of the Church of England and the Tory party, a vigorous and continuous fighter in every cause which he took up, a strenuous publicist in voice and pen and work, he was a great power in the land from the beginning of the century until his death in 1867. A member of the Legislative Council and a politician of pronounced weight, Bishop of Toronto for twenty-eight years, founder of the University of Toronto—as King's College and with Church associations—and then of Trinity University, he was, in brief, a man of the most marvellous energy and force of character.

Mackenzie was of a very different type. Enthusiastic and rash in temperament, fickle in his friendship and fancies, without defined standards of right and wrong, violent in his dislikes and prejudices, stubborn at times in pursuit of a given aim, he was a strange jumble of good and bad—a man as far from being the hero which some of his followers and journalistic admirers have made him, as he was from being the villain which his opponents believed him. Poor he always was; honest in his hatred of the "Family Compact," as the Tories were called from the relationship which many of their leading families naturally bore to each other in a limited community, he undoubtedly was; sincere in his vague aspiration after a liberty which too often assumed the form of license, he probably was. But the bitterness and abusiveness of his journalistic style have perhaps never been equalled, the dishonesty of his claim to loyalty was clearly shown in later days, the nature of his democracy found ultimate expression in the fiercest of annexationist proclamations and advocacy. Such were the leading men of this troublous period.

After the disappearance of Gourlay incidents of complaint and friction continued to recur. A British half-pay officer, named Matthews, lost his pension upon report of the Lieutenant-Governor, and for encouraging some strolling musicians to play American airs.

Judge Willis, an English appointee to the Bench, plunged into politics as an intense Radical and with bitter invective against the party in power, and was very properly removed. An inn-keeper, named Forsyth, put up a high fence at Niagara, in order to obstruct the view of the Falls and force people to pay for passing through his grounds to see them. Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Governor, naturally ordered its removal and upon refusal sent soldiers, who not only tore down the fence but destroyed a house which was built on the man's private property. Forsyth became a popular hero, the Assembly denounced the action of the Governor, the latter dissolved the House, and was ultimately recalled. His successor, in 1828, was Sir John Colborne, a Peninsular veteran of high character, great courage and strong convictions.

Gourlay and Matthews, Willis and Forsyth were now the heroes of the Radical party which had for some time past controlled the Assembly, as did the French in Lower Canada. Mackenzie was the leader of the violent wing and the invectives and charges of the press under his control grew so violent as to almost justify the arrest and imprisonment of Editors which followed. The fact is that abuse largely took the place of argument, and the attainment of office, or the holding of it, became more an object than the development of a new and workable system of administration. All was confusion of thought and policy amongst the Oppositionists, whilst the Government party were at least consistent and united in their antagonism to all change and reform. They were strong because of defined principles and objects; the Reformers—as Radicals and Liberals and Republicans had now come to be called—were weak through the absence of constructive ideas or plans.

In 1830, the moderate Reformers such as Marshal Spring Bidwell, Robert Baldwin, and the eminent Methodist preacher, writer, educationalist, controversialist and politician—Dr. Egerton Ryerson

—began to repudiate the leadership of Mackenzie. The new Assembly was, therefore, largely Tory in complexion. Absence of tact and the influence of failure now made Mackenzie not only aggressive but insulting, and the much-abused officials took advantage of their majority, and of a technicality, to expel the Radical leader. Four times he was re-elected by his constituents of York and four times expelled. He finally appealed to England, and the Colonial Secretary declared his expulsion illegal. Still, the obstinate and angry majority would not move from its position.

Mackenzie was now the idol of a large part of the people, the Papineau of the Upper Province, though without the eloquence of his prototype. He was elected the first Mayor of York (Toronto) in 1834 and in the same year received a letter from his friend and ally in England, the well-known Joseph Hume, in which the latter declared that the troubles in Canada could only terminate in independence and "freedom from the baleful domination of the Mother-country." The sentiment was not publicly disapproved by Mackenzie and from this time onward he entered distinctly upon the down-grade toward rebellion. The new House, however, had a Reform majority, Mackenzie was made Chairman of a "Special Committee of Grievances" and its Report, presented in 1835, was approved by the Assembly and forwarded to England as a strong presentation of the situation from the standpoint of the Reformer. Anxious, as usual, to conciliate, the Imperial Government recalled Colborne as they had done Maitland and Dalhousie. It was a repetition of the not infrequent folly of removing the instrument without changing the policy.

Only drastic measures of change could now have done any good and conditions in Lower Canada made a responsible Ministry out of the question—even if matters had been sufficiently advanced to warrant its establishment in Upper Canada. The new Lieutenant-Governor was Sir Francis Bond Head, a Liberal in Home politics, an

excitable and honest man, an administrator with fervent views upon the value of British connection, a natural ally of the Loyalist party in the Colony. There followed an immediate conflict. The Assembly was dissolved, Papineau wrote to Mackenzie a letter which was distinctly republican in tone, the Governor appealed to the people to support the throne, the connection with England and the institutions of their fathers, and the hottest fight in the early history of the Province resulted in a Tory victory and in the personal defeat of Mackenzie, Bidwell, Rolph and other leading Reformers. The issue was now clear and Mackenzie deliberately prepared for what he fan-
tastically hoped would be another Revolution—the birth of another American Republic.

CONTROVERSIES IN OTHER PLACES

Meanwhile, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, constitutional controversies had arisen, but they were milder in character than those of Upper Canada, though not dissimilar in origin. The division between classes was not drawn so sharply, the immigration of Americans was not so considerable as in the Upper Province, and there was no racial controversy as in Lower Canada. Between 1816 and 1828, Lord Dalhousie and Sir James Kempt governed in Nova Scotia with reasonable moderation and success. They devoted themselves to questions of material and educational development and the promotion of Church of England interests and influence. This latter point was, indeed, a cardinal principle of all the Governors of this period and in the administration of nearly all British Colonies. Their advisers constituted an oligarchy, but not an offensive one, and it was only in 1830 that a really severe controversy began between the Assembly and the Council upon a question of taxation. In the end, and after a general election, the latter body yielded.

Then came trouble over the management of local affairs in Halifax, a dispute with the Council which involved the freedom of the

press, and the rise in 1835 from obscurity into sudden fame of the greatest Nova Scotian of early history—Joseph Howe. A journalist by profession, he defended himself against the charge of criminal libel with an eloquence and force which submerged his opponents, carried the jury, won the masses of the people to his side, and made him a popular idol. Howe at once entered the Assembly, together with Reformers such as William Young, Huntington and O'Connor Doyle, and introduced his famous "Twelve Resolutions" condemning the constitution and procedure of the Legislative Council and inaugurating an active campaign against the existing system of administration. They were carried but subsequently withdrawn. Then came the accession of Queen Victoria and the Rebellion elsewhere—the latter being as strongly denounced by Howe as it could have been by a Beverley Robinson or a Jonathan Sewell.

In New Brunswick the struggle between the two Houses began with the century and the details are too trivial and wearisome to record in any general review of a situation which was very similar to that already described. Sir Howard Douglas came out as Lieutenant-Governor in 1824 and, during the seven years of his administration, there was a comparative calm. The lumber interest and ship-building industry had overshadowed agriculture and the new Governor devoted himself to promoting the latter and improving the very backward condition of education. To this latter end he founded the present University of New Brunswick. He also had to face the drought of 1825 and the terrible forest fires which terminated in the destruction of the town of Miramichi and a loss of four millions of dollars in goods and property and timber. Then came the boundary quarrel with Maine. Meantime, Lemuel Allen Wilmot had attained distinction as a Reformer and become as conspicuous in his own Province as Howe and Mackenzie and Papineau were in theirs. Sir Archibald

Campbell, the next Governor, found himself face to face with the old and familiar troubles of revenue control and Council combination.

Sundry reforms were inaugurated, the Executive and Legislative Councils were separated and, after vigorous opposition from the Governor the Colonial Office, in 1836, ordered the transfer of control over all revenues to the Assembly and advised that members of the latter body be called to the Executive. Sir Archibald resigned rather than accede to this mandate, but his successor—the judicious, wise and liberal Sir John Harvey—was only too glad to support the change. Thus, New Brunswick became the first Province to establish the principle of popular control over public moneys although the responsible Executive was again postponed by the Rebellion in the Canadas. Cape Breton, in 1820, had become finally a part of Nova Scotia and contributed to its public life an active and capable representative in the person of Richard J. Uniacke. In little Prince Edward Island there was no popular government at this time and not very much of an attempt at it. The estates of the Island were in the hands of English owners and its affairs were largely controlled by them through the Governors, while the bulk of the population were tenants of the distant land-holders.

CHAPTER XI

The Troubles of 1837-8

THE year which commenced the remarkable reign of Queen Victoria saw enacted in the Canadas a drama which had much influence upon the destinies of the future Dominion. The Rebellion which takes up so much space in Canadian history was not in itself a great event. Its two chief leaders were men of the brilliant irresponsibility of character so typical of similar spirits everywhere and the majority of its adherents were sincere and honest in their opinions. Its battles, however, were insignificant, its following, in a military sense, trivial, and its immediate results unimportant. Yet the event stands out in the mind of the Canadian public as the cause and origin of free government in this country. How far that impression is correct the facts alone will indicate and the story is certainly one of interest.

HOW THE TROUBLE BEGAN

By the early part of 1837 the events already described had reached a climax in both the Canadas while the issue in the Maritime Provinces had been greatly simplified by the absence of any actual sedition and by the strength of character and loyalty of sentiment of the great Nova Scotian orator and leader, Joseph Howe. In Lower Canada the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry had been made public after presentation to the British Parliament and was found to be largely academic in its nature. Lord John Russell, as Colonial Secretary, promptly followed it up with a measure authorizing the Governor-General to take £142,000 from the Provincial Treasury and thus pay the arrears of salary and other

indebtedness which had accumulated during the five years in which the Assembly had refused to vote supplies. At the same time it was intimidated by the British Government that the proposal of the French for an elective Council was inadmissible as it would give the absolute control of the popular side of the Government into the hands of one race; and for practically the same reason the establishment of a responsible Executive Council was declared to be undesirable. Not even the Liberals of England were prepared to place the full power of rule in the hands of a racial majority which talked and legislated as did the followers of Papineau.

THE EXCITEMENT INCREASES

The result, however, was deplorable. The Montreal organ of the rising tide of rebellion—*The Vindicator*—declared that: "Henceforth there must be no peace in the Province—no quarter for the plunderers. Agitate! Agitate! Agitate! Destroy the revenue! Denounce the oppressors! Everything is lawful when the fundamental liberties are in danger." Meetings of the wildest character were held on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu. Papineau paraded amongst the people whom his oratory stirred into a white heat of patriotism and racial pride, and seemed for a time to really hold the Province in the hollow of his hand. Lord Gosford finally awoke to the apparent seriousness of the issue and in the late spring issued a proclamation of warning against the dangers of sedition and the folly of the course which was being pursued. Derision and shouts of "Long live Papineau, Our Deliverer" was the popular response. The organization of societies called "Sons of Liberty" was the reply of the young Frenchmen in Montreal and elsewhere; demands involving the practical withdrawal of British authority from Lower Canada was the answer of the Assembly. The House was at once dissolved and, amidst strong appeals from the Church and the hasty organization of the British minority, the rebellion commenced.

Owing very largely to the influence of the Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy the ensuing insurrection was not a general one. Bishop Lartigue, of Montreal, issued a memorable *Mandement* on October 24th to the people of his Diocese and was supported strongly in its presentation of views by Bishop Signay of Quebec. This document denounced the rebel leaders as "evil-minded men"; declared that "both human and divine laws rise up in condemnation of those who by schemes of sedition and revolt endeavour to shake allegiance to Princes;" pointed out the horrors of civil war and the dangers of seed sown in the days of the French Revolution; condemned unbridled liberty and eulogized the rights of authority. There is no doubt of the wide influence exerted by these opinions and by the command to avoid open participation in the rising. Though the clergy had taken no pronounced part in keeping the people away from the sound of Papineau's burning eloquence and the temptations of his policy—perhaps it would have been impossible to do so—they now did everything in their power to hold them back from the extremity of insurrection and even suggested to the Executive Council the discussion of a compromise. But it was now too late to avert bloodshed and a year or more of factious disorder.

Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, events had been proceeding with similar rapidity though not with the same degree of seriousness. There, the minority in favour of actual violence was very small, though very noisy. Mackenzie was not as big a man in either brains or body as was Papineau and the class he had to draw upon for sedition was infinitely smaller than in Lower Canada. His newspaper, however, was clever in its insistent bitterness and continuous denunciation; while the real abuses which existed gave excuse for strong opposition to the powers of the day though in Upper, as in Lower Canada, they did not give sufficient ground for rebellion.

On July 31, 1837, Mackenzie published in his paper, *The Constitution*, a document which he called the Reformer's Declaration of Rights and it affords a pretty clear statement of his position. It was, in the first place, based upon the style of the American Declaration of Independence and had much the same end in view although it was much more violent and infinitely less dignified than the apparent source of its inspiration. It teemed with references such as that to the "baneful domination" of Great Britain and the "mockery of human government" under which "we have been insulted, injured and brought to the brink of ruin." Many moderate Liberals laughed at it. Ryerson, Baldwin, Bidwell and other Liberal leaders sharply denounced it. Sir Francis Bond Head looked upon it as the mere froth and foam of an agitation which must come to a head—and the sooner the better. Mackenzie went on with his wild work of drilling small bodies of men and organizing "vigilance committees" to carry afar the doctrines of his "Declaration" with its list of grievances, its repudiation of British allegiance, its pronouncement in favour of the rebels of Lower Canada and its fervent sympathy with American institutions.

The Lieutenant-Governor responded to these menaces with a quiet contempt and a perfect assurance in the loyalty of the masses of the people for which he has been frequently condemned. So strongly did he feel the futility and farcical nature of the whole movement that he sent all the regular troops in the Province down to Lower Canada, where they appeared to be greatly needed, and expressed his intention to depend upon the loyal volunteers and militia of the Province—a dependence which was certainly not misplaced and a policy which seems to have been justified by the result. He believed that some sort of a rising was inevitable and that until it took place, and the steam of existing discontent was blown off in the fiasco which must follow, there would be neither peace nor order in the land. The

sooner it took place the better, therefore, and the less British troops had to do with its suppression the better also for future loyalty amongst the people as a whole. In this he was right, and in the belief that the Province would never prosper until certain agitators were removed from the sphere of popular influence, he was also right. Such was the situation in the two Canadas when the flash of folly, which has been termed the rebellion of 1837, took place.

BEGINNING OF THE REBELLION

The rebellion began in Lower Canada in October, 1837 and the centre of disaffection was the country along the banks of the Richelieu. At St. Charles, the half-armed, partially drilled, and utterly deceived *habitants* gathered in force. At St. Denis, nearby, was a similar body under Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a Montreal physician who had early enrolled himself under the inflammatory banner of Papineau. Sir John Colborne, who had come back to Canada as Commander-in-Chief, sent expeditions to scatter the rebels at these points. St. Denis was attacked by a force under Colonel Gore which, amid circumstances of considerable difficulty, was temporarily repulsed. St. Charles was easily occupied by Colonel Weatherell, and the rebels scattered like chaff. Meanwhile, a small body of loyal cavalry had been attacked between these places and Lieutenant Weir captured by a French contingent. In trying to escape he was shot and then hacked to pieces under conditions of extreme brutality. His murderers were afterwards tried but acquitted by a French jury. News of the success at St. Charles soon reached St. Denis, and the French there melted away without giving fresh trouble to the British troops.

At St. Eustache, north of Montreal, a few rebels made a brave and determined stand under Dr. Chenier; and not until the church in which they were fighting had fallen in blazing ruins about their heads did the deluded peasants try to escape. It was then too late,

however, and nearly all died—including their leader to whom, many years afterward, the French people of Montreal raised a statue. This was the end of the actual insurrection, although Nelson and Côté and a few other leaders crossed the American frontier, issued proclamations announcing a new republic and, in 1838, gathered together large bands of raiders for the purpose of invasion. On the Beauharnois Canal they destroyed a steamer and, taking advantage of Lord Durham's leniency during his few months' administration, nearly provoked another rebellion. At Laprairie, Nelson succeeded in getting 2,000 men together, but Colborne at once sent a large force against him and, after an encounter at Odelltown, he fled back to the States. Colborne was now Governor-General, and was determined that there should be no more doubt as to the substantial difference between loyalty and treason.

Courts-Martial were established—the Habeas Corpus Act being meantime suspended—the principal rebels were tried, forty-nine of them condemned to transportation and eighty to death. Only eleven actually suffered the extreme penalty and they were selected from men who had deliberately attempted to raise rebellion a second time after having been once pardoned, or who had committed personal crimes in addition to acts of treason. Papineau, Nelson, O'Callaghan and Brown, who had fled to the States at an early stage of the rising, were convicted of high treason. Papineau went to live in France and in 1844 was allowed to return to Canada without attracting attention—only to find his influence gone and his reputation a mere shadow of the greatness which had fled forever in the flame of his own folly.

The object of the whole agitation and action in Lower Canada had become clear as the rebellion approached, and Lord Gosford, writing to the Colonial Secretary on September 2, 1837, had declared that: "It is evident the Papineau faction will not be satisfied until the English Government have put it in a position to carry its projects

into execution, viz.: the separation of this country from England and the proclamation of a republic." The farce of constitution-mongering and claims for a system which the leaders did not understand and only wanted for employment against British influence and authority was now over; and the bubble created by brilliant rhetoric playing upon French passions and prejudices was pricked by the stand of the Church and the sound of British cannon. The hierarchy indeed, took strong ground in their condemnation. "What misery, what desolation," exclaimed the Bishop of Montreal, "is spread broadcast through many of our fields and homes since the scourge of civil war has ravaged a happy country where abundance and joy reigned, with order and safety, before brigands and rebels by force of sophistries and lies had led astray a part of the population."

The responsibility for what occurred rests with the men thus characterized by their own Church; with men such as Papineau, Côté, Nelson, O'Callaghan and Chenier. As Dr. N. E. Dionne, the cultured Provincial Librarian at Quebec has well said: "All these are the true culprits and, I dare say, the only culprits."* But the ignorant suffered for the machinations and the crazy ambitions of the cultured. Blame must also be laid upon men who afterwards became prominent and loyal citizens, but who in their youthful days succumbed to the brilliancy and fascination of Papineau and fell victims to his folly—men such as Sir George Etienne Cartier, the Hon. A. N. Morin, the Hon. D. B. Viger, Sir L. H. Lafontaine, and others who followed their leader to the verge of rebellion and then shrank back from the full fruition of his policy.

In Upper Canada, during this period, the insurrection had been equally futile and still more feeble. When the rising commenced in Lower Canada matters were in readiness, as far as they could ever be under the hopeless circumstances of the case, in the

* Article in *Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country*, vol. 3.

Upper Province. A series of two hundred meetings had been addressed by Mackenzie in fiery and uncontrollable language; drilling and rifle shooting had been freely practised; and, in November, 1,500 persons had volunteered for active service who were stated to be efficiently trained. Arrangements were then made to march a force upon Toronto, to seize the Lieutenant-Governor and 4,000 muskets which were kept in the City Hall under the protection of a small guard of volunteers, and to proclaim a republic with Dr. John Rolph—a clever, adroit politician who had so far kept upon both sides of the fence—as Provisional President.

THE RISING IN UPPER CANADA

It was thought that after this had been consummated the rest of the Province would accept the new constitution without further trouble. A more vain and silly project, upon the surface, was never hatched in a treasonable brain. The excuse for it, however, is that help was expected and promised, and afterwards given when too late, from the States. Meanwhile, on December 4th, after gathering at a place called Montgomery's Tavern in such force as they could muster, the rebels marched upon the city only to take alarm at the appearance of a picket of volunteer troops and to hastily retreat. During the next few days, however, their numbers increased to some 1,000 men, armed with guns, scythes, pitchforks, axes and anything they could lay their hands upon. Colonel Moodie, a Peninsular veteran, and a much respected citizen, attempted to ride through their lines with the soldier's characteristic contempt for a mob in arms, and was shot dead. But Toronto was now ready for them; every man of influence and nearly every citizen was shouldering his musket, from the Chief Justice down; and loyal militia, including the gallant "Men of Gore" as the Hamilton volunteers were called, were pouring in from all directions. On December 7th, Colonel (afterwards Sir A. N.) McNab, marched out to attack the rebel force. It was

under the command of Samuel Lount, a blacksmith by occupation, and had been drilled for some time by Colonel Van Egmond, an old-time officer in the French army under Napoleon. The Lieutenant-Governor offered the insurgents a last chance to surrender and to give up the mad attempt at rebellion. It was refused by Mackenzie and the 500 militia under McNab, dressed in homespun but none the less inspired with traditions of Britain's thin red line, advanced to the attack. After a single hot exchange of fire and a slight skirmish the fight was over and the rebels scattered.

Like Papineau, Mackenzie fled at the first shot and, after various adventures, reached the American frontier. At Navy Island, above Niagara Falls, he established his mockery of a government, and soon sympathizers from both sides of the line were flocking to join him. At Toronto, militia and volunteers continued to arrive in such numbers as to actually embarrass the Governor and to most fully prove the wisdom of his belief that the Province would stand by him when the inevitable rising took place. Some of them were sent under McNab to watch the rebels at Navy Island and, incidentally, seized a steamer called the *Caroline* which was supplying Mackenzie with munitions of war, from under the guns of an American fort and sent her blazing over the Falls of Niagara. Many months later, after the sympathies of the border cities of the United States had exhausted the supply of men and arms and material available for the insurrection, the President issued a proclamation warning the people against attacking a friendly State. Mackenzie, meantime, had left Navy Island, and was arrested and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment by an Albany (N. Y.) jury.

But conspiracies in American cities went on, so-called Hunter's Lodges were organized and drilled in large bodies of men, and invaded the Canadian Provinces at different times and places during the ensuing two years. It was a desultory and guerilla warfare which

lacked organization and a leader with brains, but none the less did it cause the Governments of Upper and Lower Canada much worry and expense and the border settlements much of suffering and natural fear. From Ogdensburg, Buffalo and Detroit expeditions were sent, one numbering 1,500 filibusters and rebels, but all were routed, or driven back by the mere report of advancing militia. At Prescott, across the St. Lawrence and near Kingston, a band of raiders under the Polish refugee, Von Schultz, were attacked in one of the stone mills of the neighbourhood, in which they had taken refuge and, after a vigorous resistance, were captured by a British and Canadian force. The occasion of the succeeding trial was notable for the defence of Von Schultz by a young lawyer named John A. Macdonald and for it being his first case. The leader, however, and eleven of his followers were convicted and hung.

The most notable of these incidents was the last. In December, 1839, there marched through the crowded and cheering streets of Detroit a band of 450 raiders on their way to capture the Canadian town of Windsor on the opposite side of the river. They did so, burning a vessel and some houses, capturing a small guard of militia and murdering a peaceful citizen who refused to join their ranks. Then they marched to Sandwich and met their fate in the person of Colonel John Prince—a Loyalist of the Loyalists, a stern soldier of the old school, a man with an utter contempt for rebels, and one who cared nothing for the fickle fancies of public opinion when a matter of duty appeared before him. With 200 men he met and routed the invaders and, in consequence of finding the body of a respected surgeon named Hume who had been wantonly killed by the rebels, he ordered four prisoners to the front and had them shot. It was stern justice and afterwards met with condemnation from the many people who seem to think that invasions and wars and rebellions can be put down with rose-water. Colonel Prince cared nothing for this kind of



Photo. British Co. Colonial Press

THE FISHING INDUSTRY AT LUNenburg, NOVA SCOTIA

Showing the immense spread of codfish on fakes, which are spruce boughs, on the ground.



THE FISHING FLEET AT LUNENBURG, N. S.

Every year there sails a great fleet of fast, trim boats to garner the harvest on the "Banks." It is a picturesque town and the principal fishing port on the Atlantic coast of Canada.



BUFFALO ON CANADA'S WESTERN PLAINS

When extinction threatened the buffalo, the Government placed a few hundreds in a great National Park near Wainwright, Alberta; they have since increased to several thousands.

clamour, nor did Sir George Arthur, the new Lieutenant-Governor in place of Sir Francis Bond Head. When the final trials were over the latter deliberately allowed the law to take its course and two of the rebel leaders—Lount and Matthews—who had failed to escape to the States, were executed as a result of their conviction and sentence.

RESULTS OF THE RISING

This was the end of the trouble in the Upper Province. It had never been a serious rising as regards numbers, or influence, or possible result. It had brought good out of evil by creating a re-action against the irresponsible utterances of demagogues which were as injurious to the country, even from the standpoint of present beliefs, as was the irresponsible government of men who were at least honourable and honest. It had shown the rock-bottom of popular loyalty beneath all the froth and foam of foolish public speeches. It had separated the moderate and loyal Reformers, or Liberals, who were willing to work and wait for changes which were bound to come in time, from the fantastic advocates of independence and republicanism. It had made clear the fact that a rebellion upon American soil is not always successful, and it had once more shown how right the Loyalists were in fearing American influence upon Canadian politics and government. It had proved that nothing was to be gained by violence and that the best way to obtain honest reform was not by abusing an honest opponent but by presenting to the people a plain and loyal policy in opposition to the clearly understood Toryism of the dominant party.

The Rebellion did not bring about responsible government. The Imperial authorities had already admitted the principle in New Brunswick and it was only the personal opposition of Sir Archibald Campbell and the coming menace of insurrection elsewhere that delayed its adoption. In conjunction with the preceding violence and disloyalty of Papineau and Mackenzie and their associates, the

Rebellion retarded rather than advanced the consummation of popular government. The whole correspondence of this period between the Governors and the Colonial Office reveal a sensitive desire to conciliate Canadian Frenchmen and Canadian Radicals. The recall of Governor after Governor indicates still further the strength of this feeling, and there is little doubt that had the agitation for responsible government been conducted with moderation and based upon a genuine conception of what was wanted the desired result would have come, not only without rebellion and with pleasure on the part of the Home Government, but without the years of friction which were still to follow.

So far as Great Britain was concerned concession after concession had been made. The constitution, under the terms of the Act of 1791, allowed the union of Church and State, but the principle was not pressed except by the personal influence of the Governors and did not ultimately prevail. The exclusive privileges claimed by the Church of England were not maintained. The connection of the Judges with the Legislative Councils was severed. Obnoxious laws were repealed and minor causes of complaint removed. The Indian administration under Imperial auspices was admirable and large sums were paid from the British Exchequer for Indian maintenance. The expense of keeping large military forces in the country as a result of the unpleasant feeling in the States was borne as cheerfully as had been the enormous cost of the War of 1812. Popular rights of public meeting had been fully granted despite the opposition of the governing class. A tax had been placed on wild lands so as to prevent their being held by speculators. Commission after Commission had come out to try and solve a situation which the men on the spot did not fully understand and which the Colonial Office can hardly be blamed for not finding as clear as daylight.

In the Maritime Provinces the only effect of the Rebellion had been to produce an echo of the loyalty shown in Upper Canada by

the masses and in Lower Canada by the Church and the classes. Major-General Sir John Harvey, in New Brunswick, had offered his Legislature and Sir John Colborne to lead the militia of the Province against the rebels, if help should be needed, and declared to the latter that he could depend upon New Brunswick to a man. The Legislature afterwards expressed its thanks to Sir Francis Bond Head and the gallant volunteers of Upper Canada for what they had done in suppressing the insurrection. The Nova Scotia authorities also offered men and money.

Now, however, that the serious troubles were over others seemed inevitable. The constitution in Lower Canada had been suspended, the two Provinces were under the government of strong military men such as Colborne and Arthur, the Upper Canadian Tories were triumphant at the polls and apparently entrenched in power for a long time to come, the French-Canadians were silent and somewhat sullen, the English Radicals and American Republicans were scattered and broken in influence. This situation clearly could not last long and it required a man of exceptional ability to re-organize affairs and to straighten out the complicated issues of the time. That man came in the person of Lord Durham.

CHAPTER XII

Lord Durham and the Union of the Canadas

ONE of the most picturesque and, perhaps, the most commanding of figures in Canadian history is that of John George Lambton, Earl of Durham. Of high political reputation at home and with a future in which the Liberal Premiership was supposed to be within his reach ; of attractive and striking personality and with an Earldom won by services to the state ; he flashed like a meteor over the disturbed scene of Canadian affairs in 1838. Within a period of six months he illumined the prolonged record of Canadian controversy and agitation with a brilliantly comprehensive Report in which he laid down the principles of Colonial constitutional government for the first and for all time ; provided the policy upon which the administration of a great Empire is to-day based ; earned a reputation which is world-wide in extent. Then he returned home in a sudden burst of passion to die a disappointed death within a few months and without realizing the great place he had made for himself in the annals of his country.

THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE

Delicate in health, sensitive and high-strung in temperament, imperious in conduct and manner, he was eminently fitted to shine in some great Eastern pro-consulate where power would have been in his own hands and the petty pin-pricks of political enemies and critics would not have continually wounded his personal feelings. He was not suited to the conflicts of public life, and despite his position and brilliant abilities could never have really reached the position which his friends had hoped for him. Yet, for Canada, strange as it may

seem, he was, at the moment of his coming, the right man in the right place.

The popular respect for the Queen's Representative which was usually shown, if not always felt, had been somewhat injured by the prolonged and savage attacks of Papineau upon Dalhousie and Gosford, and of Mackenzie upon Sir Francis Bond Head, and Lord Durham provided a splendid and stately setting for the position. Too many of the Governors-General had received scant support in their policy from the Colonial Office, and their limited powers, or quickly changed instructions, had prevented continuity of administration and system. Lord Durham came, it was announced, with full authority to settle the country, to assuage animosities and to prevent further trouble—by the strong hand if necessary.

HIS POLICY AND SHORT ADMINISTRATION

The Tories and Loyalists were pleased with his dignity of demeanour, his great reticence, his stately ceremonial wherever he went, his evident earnestness and unremitting industry. The Liberals and discontented section were charmed with his reputation for Liberalism, his refusal to come under the control of the dominant party, and his keen investigation of grievances. The French were more easily and naturally impressed by the splendour of his hospitality and vice-regal state than perhaps any other part of the population.

Hence it was that when Lord Durham landed at Quebec on May 29th, 1838, as the special High Commissioner of his Sovereign and as Governor-General of all British America, he entered upon what seemed to promise a pre-eminently successful administration amid conditions of admitted difficulty. He re-organized temporarily the government of Lower Canada; but without the constitution which had been suspended by Sir John Colborne. He had with him an excellent staff, chief of whom was Mr. Charles Buller, and these men joined in conducting the inquiries which were initiated in every

direction. With restless energy he, himself, travelled over the country, investigated every possible grievance, wrote innumerable despatches and charmed everyone with a boundless hospitality. A meeting of the Lieutenant-Governors of the various Provinces was called and much was learned from the discussions and explanations which followed; while Lord Durham, with an eye upon the far-distant future, which then seemed as impossible as a federation of South Africa seems difficult to-day, suggested the federated union of all the Provinces as a policy which would ensure peace and progress.

His great trouble, however, was with the prisoners who crowded the jails of the country and with the rebel leaders who had escaped and might return at any moment to renew disturbance and promote discontent. Complete amnesty he deemed unwise and, as it eventually turned out, his alleged harshness was not sufficient to prove a necessary warning. The less important prisoners were freed upon promise of good behaviour, but with the ringleaders who had escaped to the States he could do nothing except prohibit their return under penalties. From the general amnesty he also excluded eight prisoners of whom the chief was Dr. Wolfred Nelson. There being no trial by jury in the Province of Lower Canada, as a result of the suspension of its constitution, no possibility of such a thing under existing popular opinion, and no law covering the state of the case, Lord Durham took the matter into his own hands as Judge and jury and, with a legitimate belief that his full and yet vague authority entitled him to discretionary action, banished these eight rebels to Bermuda on pain of execution for high treason should they return.

Then came the complication which seems to have been inevitable whenever a strong ruler in Colonial history has struck out a strong policy for himself and, therefore, come into conflict with a weak or ignorant Colonial Minister at home. Lord Dorchester and Lord Dalhousie in Canada had already suffered in this way and Sir

George Grey and Sir Bartle Frere are memorable instances in South Africa. Such weakness is not likely to exist or to be influential again, under present conditions, but it served to ruin the happiness and the life-work of this sincere and sensitive statesman. His action was irregular but could easily have been made regular. The Governor of Bermuda claimed that he had no authority to hold the prisoners. The antagonists of Lord Durham in the British Parliament, and chief amongst them the brilliant, bitter, and erratic personality of Lord Brougham, inveighed strongly against the policy as illegal and unjustifiable; the Imperial Government unfairly and unwisely weakened under an attack which should have been honestly and vigorously met, and disallowed the decree; Lord Durham threw up his office with indignation, issued a proclamation declaring that he had been unsupported in his necessary punishment of notorious rebels, and returned home without waiting for a recall or for the receipt of his resignation in London. It was not statesmanship to give way to such a sudden sentiment of rage, however justified by the supineness of those who should have stood by him. But the action was little more than a spot on the sun of his real success. He had practically done his great work. His Report on the condition of British America was well in hand and, doubtless, was largely added to during the long, slow voyage home and a reputation thus secured in the pages of history greater than that won by all brilliant vagaries of a Brougham or the gay and almost forgotten *bonhomme* of a Melbourne.

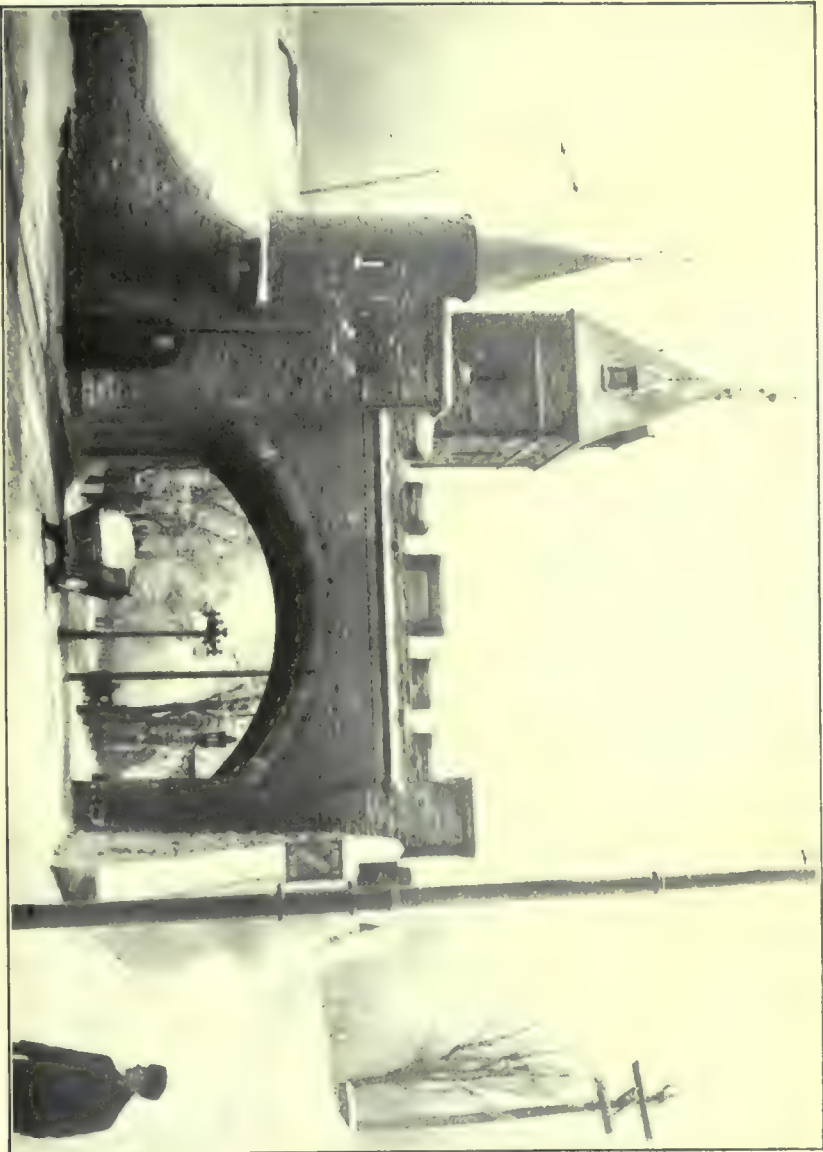
Still, he had to encounter the coldness of official sentiment as shown in the refusal to accord him the usual salute on the arrival of his ship and to chafe under the ignorant criticism of clever men in the Houses of Parliament. He had to face a situation which his proud spirit could not brook, which the kindly reception of the populace could not counteract, which the knowledge of being in the right could not assuage; and within a few months the delicate, warm-hearted, impulsive and

brilliantly capable nobleman had passed away leaving a document which is enshrined in the annals of liberty and constitutional rule. It was communicated to the British Parliament on February 11, 1839 and composes, with its numerous appendices and subsidiary reports, a most elaborate study of the early political history of British America—a voluminous and most valuable summary of conditions and sentiments and tendencies in the Provinces. As a result of six months' labour and experience it is marvellous in scope and character ; as a correct and impartial statement and prophetic picture of the future, it is still more so.

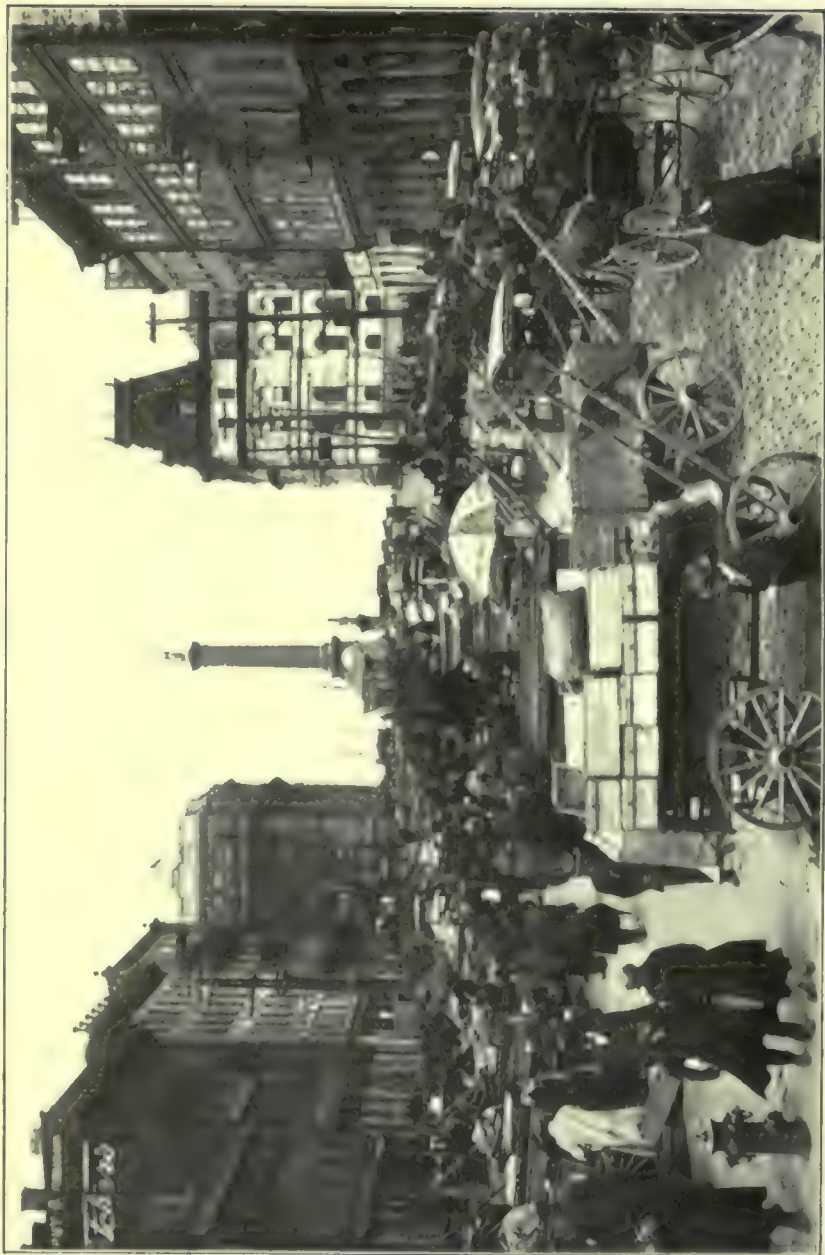
THE DURHAM REPORT

Of course, all Lord Durham's conclusions and assertions were not accurate ; and mistakes are to be found and sins of omission and commission easily proven. Sir Francis Bond Head, Bishop Strachan and Sir John Beverley Robinson, from the standpoint of the Loyalist and Tory, found much to criticise and certainly did their duty up to the hilt. The French Canadians found reason for copious denunciation and to this day the name of Durham is hardly one to conjure with in Quebec. It was quite impossible to please both Tory and Liberal in Canada and his advocacy of responsible government might be justly expected to antagonize the former. It was also impossible to please the French at this juncture and especially when recommending the union of the Canadas. Yet, the strength of his statements regarding the population of Lower Canada was the one great error in the Report. It did not invalidate the value of his recommendations, or control greatly his conclusions, but it had the effect of weakening the influence of his whole policy in the French Canada of the future.

He seems to have felt intensely the unworthiness of the attitude assumed by the French Assembly. From its point of view he declared the English were a foreign and a hostile race ; settlement and



ST. JOHN'S GATE, QUEBEC.
This was part of the old fortifications. At one time the entire city was walled, and many of the walls still stand.



Photo, British & Colonial Press

BONSECOURS MARKET, MONTREAL

Here may be seen the French-Canadian "habitant", as he has been for Centuries; thrifty, jolly, and intensely religious. In the background is the Nelson Monument.

immigration were to be checked as tending to the possible aggrandizement of these aliens ; taxes were not to be imposed for purposes of development, or for such objects as the improvement of Montreal harbour, because the expenditure might benefit English interests ; applications for banks and railways and canals were to be put aside for similar reasons ; the Feudal tenure must be supported and persisted in because it was a French institution ; a tax on immigrants should be advocated and largely supported ; while any measure retarding English purposes or checking English investment would be certain of approval. All this was true enough, but it hardly justified the following conclusion : " Nor do I exaggerate the inevitable constancy any more than the intensity of this animosity. Never again will the present generation of French Canadians yield a loyal submission to a British Government ; never again will the English population tolerate the authority of a House of Assembly in which the French shall possess, or even approximate to, a majority."

However, good came out of error, and the very strength of Durham's belief in the disloyal sentiment of the French race in Lower Canada led him to seek a solution of the problem in the merging of the French in that Province with the English in the other Provinces. Failing the immediate fruition of this far-seeing policy of a federal union, he pressed the proposal to unite Upper and Lower Canada. He believed that this policy would cause parties which were divided on racial or sectarian lines to be re-constituted upon questions of general development and local interest. The one race would balance the other, one church influence would be offset by another, and new combinations and conditions would change, for the better, the whole surface of society. It might not be so at once and, during the existing generation he did not anticipate much difference or change in the sentiment of Lower Canada, but in the end the result was reasonably certain.

His analysis of the constitutional issue was masterly. He caught up all the vague threads of thought upon the subject as they floated through the controversies of years ; sifted the discussion of extraneous matters which had clouded the real issue ; cleared the air of many misunderstandings upon the one side and of dense prejudices on the other. He enabled the Liberals to eventually evolve in some clearness the principles they were so blindly groping after and the Tories to understand the policy free from many of their natural suspicions though not from their equally natural aversions. He enabled the Colonial Office to perceive that there might be some workable and loyal method of enlarging the scope and character of Colonial institutions without encouraging republicanism and secession.

The presentation of the policy was its own recommendation. It involved a re-constructed system in which, by steady stages of development, the Colonies were to have complete self-government—including a Legislature with the same powers in Provincial money matters as the British Parliament had in Home affairs and a Ministry responsible to the Legislature for the conduct of public matters in the same way as the Imperial Government was at home. It does not appear that Lord Durham expected all this to be achieved in a day, or a session, in any of the Provinces ; to say nothing of it being done in the stormy season which must follow the union of the Canadas. But upon the point of its necessity he was firmly convinced: "I know not how it is possible to secure harmony in any other way than by administering the Government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain. I would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown ; on the contrary I believe that the interests of the people of these Provinces require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised. But the Crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions ; and if it has to carry on the government

in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence." *

The ceaseless struggle between Executive and Legislative functions and bodies must be changed into harmonious and combined action. "While the present state of things is allowed to last the actual inhabitants of these Provinces have no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possess, no stimulus to industry." The Report gave, indeed, a most gloomy picture of existing conditions and especially so in its comparison of the progress on the American side of the line with the stagnation on the Canadian border. To summarize the Report, as a whole, it may be said that he deprecated the continuous and injurious political agitation, denounced the character and motives of the French Canadian leaders and many of their people, proposed union of the Canadas as a partial cure to the evils in the Lower Province, urged the creation of responsible Ministries in all the Provinces as a panacea for constitutional troubles, proposed the building of the present Inter-Colonial Railway from Halifax to Quebec as a means of drawing the Provinces together, and advocated the establishment of municipal institutions as a means of guarding local interests and advancing political experience and knowledge.

RESULTS OF THE REPORT

Though the writer of the document was put to one side by the dictate of destiny his opinions were at once embodied, to a considerable extent, in an Act of the British Parliament which Lord John Russell introduced in June 1839. Sir John Colborne, who had been acting as Governor-General since the departure of Lord Durham, was now replaced by Mr. Charles E. Poulett Thomson, M. P., and returned home to become eventually Lord Seaton and a Field

* The Durham Report, page 106.

Marshal in the army. Mr. Thomson, who was soon to be known as Lord Sydenham of Sydenham and Toronto, was a Liberal in politics and a shrewd, careful and diplomatic administrator. He rapidly made himself familiar with the complicated situation and got into touch with interests and personages hitherto far removed from the purview of the Governor-General's attention, although of great importance in the settlement of affairs. He arrived at Montreal in November and found the situation somewhat simplified by the fact that the proposals contained in Lord J. Russell's Bill did not have to run the gauntlet of French approval—excepting that of a few Seigneurs included in the Council which had governed the Province under Durham and Colborne during the previous two years. This body readily accepted the principle of union with Upper Canada which it declared of "indispensable and urgent necessity."

In December, he achieved the exceedingly difficult step of passing a favourable motion through the Legislature of Upper Canada which, at this time, was fully under the control of the Tory Loyalists in both its branches. They were still smarting from the evils of the rebellion period, still triumphant over the vindication of their fears and dislike of Mackenzie and his associates, still more certain of the disloyalty of the French Canadians than they had been before, confident as ever in the necessity for a strong British administration of the Provinces without too much regard to Radical, or Liberal or Republican susceptibilities. Yet they were now asked by the Governor-General, on behalf of the Crown and the Home Government, to forego the advantages of their present triumph; to accept a union which meant an influx of French votes into the joint Assembly sufficient to paralyze their power as a party; to support by this action a system of responsible government which, though not included in the legislation, was bound to follow it, and which they were conscientiously bound to oppose; to make a way ready, in short, for the victory

of men who were nothing less than rebels in the eyes of such political leaders of the time as Draper and McNab and Strachan and Sherwood.

That they finally consented to the union and supported an Address to the Crown in its favour is a tribute, in the first place, to the genuine unselfishness and sincerity of much of the loyalty of that period and, in the second place, to the ability and tact of the Governor-General. The former element in the settlement has not been remembered and appreciated as it deserves, the latter gives Lord Sydenham a high place in Canadian history. Finally, Lord J. Russell, re-introduced his measure in the British Session of 1840, and it came into operation in the now United Province of Canada, on February 10, 1841. The Act provided for a Legislative Council of not less than 20 members, and for a Legislative Assembly in which the old Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada would each be represented by 42 members—this number being unchangeable except by a two-thirds majority in both Houses. The qualification for the Assembly was a freehold valued at £500 over and above all liabilities.

The English language only was to be used and the limit of time for the duration of the popular body was four years. Of course, it could be dissolved by the Governor-General at any time. Provision was made for a consolidated revenue fund on which the first charges were to be the expense of collection, management and receipt of revenues, the interest of the public debt, the civil list and payment of the clergy.* The last-mentioned item shows how close were the relations of Church and State, even yet, and the arrangement regarding the Civil List finally disposed of that much-vexed question. After these payments were made out of the fund the balance was at the disposal of the Legislature. All votes, resolutions and bills

* Sir J. G. Bourinot, *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada*, 1888.

connected with the expenditure of public moneys had to be first recommended by the Governor-General.

As to the administration of this new system, Lord Sydenham's position was a great advance upon that of his predecessors. In December, 1839, he had anticipated its creation with the statement that he had "received Her Majesty's commands" to direct the Government of the Province in accordance "with the well-understood interests and wishes of the people." Subsequent despatches from Lord John Russell, which were duly communicated to the Legislature, embodied instructions to the Governor-General to "maintain the utmost possible harmony," and to call to his counsels those only who had the "general confidence and esteem of the inhabitants of the Province." Certain heads of departments were also to retire from the public service as often "as sufficient motives of public policy" might suggest the expediency of such a course. This was progress in the direction of popular government though it was still a very vague and uncertain stage in the movement. It was certain to come in the end, but Lord Sydenham's supposed objection to a radical course at this juncture did not afford any prospect of its being unduly hastened and, certainly, his advisers at Quebec and Toronto were not anxious to promote any sudden change. Such was the general situation when Lord Durham's great proposal of union was put into form and shape and the first Parliament of the new Province was about to meet.

CHAPTER XIII

The Hudson's Bay Company and the Far West

THE romance of history can give no more striking theme or richer subject for the pen of the word-painter than is afforded by the annals of the oldest institution of British America—the Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay. Founded in 1672, as the result of an exploratory journey through the unknown wilds north of Lake Superior by Radisson and DeGroseillier—two Frenchmen of energetic courage—and their discovery of a water route through Lake Winnipeg to the vast inland sea, of ice-bound appearance but great promise; chartered by Charles II. and governed in its early years by such men as the gallant Prince Rupert, the Duke of York who lives in history as King James II., and that astute politician and great soldier, the Duke of Marlborough; having rights and privileges most far-reaching and complete, extending over a vast and ill-defined territory, providing exclusive control over trade, lands, mines and minerals, the making of laws not repugnant to the laws of England, and the raising of armed forces for self-protection; possessed of all these and other opportunities and powers it would have been curious had some important result not followed its establishment.

In one respect the Hudson's Bay Company imitated its more famous prototype in the East Indies. It saved a vast region to the Crown and people of England and the future Canadian commonwealth, which would otherwise have drifted into the hands of France during the century of conflict with that would-be American Power and, perhaps, have remained there as not being thought worth any

very strong action. Or, if rescued from a possibility which the discoveries and trade and pioneer activities of New France rendered natural, it would probably have fallen to the United States during those days of British indifference to territory, or empire, or external power, which we know of as the period of Manchester school supremacy—a time when, if the British part of the world outside the United Kingdom had been thrown into the scale against a few million pounds of commerce, a few speeches upon the beneficence and God-sent greatness of free-trade, or the dread possibilities of war, the Empire would too often have risen so high in the air as to disappear from the real consideration of the subject.

THE GREAT WILDERNESS OF THE FAR WEST

It was a great region which the Company came to rule over. It stretched from Lake Superior to Hudson's Bay and far away to the frozen north and west; over countries hardly trod by the most adventurous of trappers or familiar even to the most experienced of Indian wanderers. It extended over the prairies and in time reached the Selkirks and the Rockies; it came to the far shores of the Pacific and into the Island of Vancouver, down the coast and over the Oregon and Washington of the future; it expanded north into the wilds of Russian America and the Klondike and Alaska of a later time. The growth and extension of the Company was, however, a slow and natural one. In the earlier days of its history the wars of the French and English reached the gloomy shores of the great Bay, as they did to the furthest southern point of the continent. Between 1670 and 1697, the Company lost £215,000 through French incursions—a very large sum in those days. And so matters continued for nearly a century. But, despite the issues of loss or gain, of war or peace, the Company kept on its way and built forts, traded with the Indians, fought the French if need be, increased its stock, and managed to make profits so large in some years as to far more

man counterbalance incidental losses. Everywhere throughout the wilderness its traders journeyed from fort to fort, meeting the Indians in picturesque pow-wow, and exchanging articles of trivial value but pretty appearance for almost priceless furs, or for the more common ones which were then so exceedingly plentiful without being deficient in value. Everywhere they found the element of adventure, the weird entertainment of savage life, the pleasures of a wild liberty, the joy of the chase over boundless regions teeming with game and animal life.

While the mastery of the continent remained at issue between England and France the Company was not subject to much external interference or control, outside of the raids upon its territory already mentioned. In 1720, it was, therefore, able to treble its capital stock for a second time and to continue paying its share-holders comfortable dividends. But, after the supremacy of England became an undisputed fact, attention was naturally directed to the monopoly of the Company, to the natural riches of the region it controlled, and to the possibility of sharing in its profitable trade. Individual traders first drifted into the country, and then came the organization of the North-West Company at Montreal, in 1774, with such untiring and energetic men as Stuart, McGillivray and McTavish as its pioneers. In 1798, the "X. Y." Company was formed but amalgamated seven years later with its Montreal rival. Meanwhile, the Americans had come in to increase the competition by the formation of the Mackinaw Company, and in 1809 the famous South-West Company was organized by John Jacob Astor. A little later he formed the Pacific Fur Company, and up to 1813 maintained a tremendous struggle with his various rivals. In that year, however, he gave in to the Nor'-Westers and sold the whole business to them for some \$80,000.

During the next few years the competition and jealousy of the two great remaining Companies were intense. The Hudson's Bay concern was, for the time being, outstripped by its opponent in energy,

knowledge of the country and establishment of trading posts. Owing to the system of partnership by which officers had the opportunity of becoming personally interested in its business, the North-West Company obtained better men than did the other, and, moreover, benefited largely by the employment of French-Canadian *voyageurs*, trappers and traders—men accustomed to the wild life of the West, able and willing to obey their superiors, despite occasional lapses into recklessness, and with pronounced knowledge of the peculiarities and habits of the Indians upon whose assistance much depended. The older Company, on the other hand, preferred to employ hardy and vigorous North-of-Scotland men, who, though reliable and honest, were too unbending in their intercourse with the natives, and therefore unpopular. This trade contest did much incidental good in opening up the country. The fur-traders of the two Companies pushed their explorations and traffic in every direction—away to the Peace River and Athabaska and the Great Slave Lake, over the Rockies into New Caledonia, or British Columbia—and amongst them all none was more active or successful than John Stuart, of the Nor'-Westers.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE AND OTHER EXPLORERS

But the greatest name amongst the many who endured unknown hardships and met every form of peril, in order to provide the modern map of a vast civilized region, is that of Alexander Mackenzie. Between 1789 and 1793, this intrepid traveller discovered the great river which bears his name and followed it to the Arctic seas. He explored the Peace River to its source and was the first white man to penetrate the Rockies and the Selkirks and pass through those mighty barriers to the Pacific Ocean. On the coast of the Pacific, at Dean Inlet, there are still to be seen inscribed on a rock the words: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, 22nd July, 1793." He lived to be knighted by his Sovereign and to appreciate in some measure the greatness of his own work. Mackenzie was, during this

period, a member of the North-West Company, but others who contributed to the general process of exploration were so mixed up between the two great concerns that it is hardly necessary to differentiate here. David Thompson explored the Nelson, Churchill and Saskatchewan Rivers, and was the first to follow the Columbia through the rugged passes of the Rocky Mountains to the coast.

Alexander Henry, Gabriel Franchère, Ross Cox, Alexander Ross, D. W. Harmon and John McLeod did splendid service. Robert Campbell discovered the Pelly River and traced it through varied wanderings to the far Yukon. He afterwards made a famous journey through the wilds of the West and over 9,700 miles of territory in a dog-sled, or on snow-shoes. Simon Fraser, in 1806, discovered and explored the great mountain river of British Columbia which bears his name. In 1828, Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, traversed in a canoe the same turbulent river from near its source to the ocean into which it enters—carrying his frail craft when the whirlpools and boiling waters were too strong for even his skill. He made other long and important journeys throughout the great regions which he governed.

Meanwhile, explorations and discoveries had been also made by adventurous spirits not connected with these Companies. In 1731, Pierre Gauthier de la Verendrye had led a French expedition up into the then unknown prairies of the West and discovered Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis. Between 1769 and 1772, Samuel Hearne had journeyed over a thousand miles in canoes and on foot to the west of Hudson's Bay, discovered the Great Slave Lake, and traced the Coppermine River to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean. Shortly after this time Captain Cook had touched at Nootka Sound, on the coast of Vancouver Island, and then sailed north to Behring's Strait. At the very time that Mackenzie was writing his inscription on the shores of the Pacific, Captain Vancouver was exploring the same region from

the sea and sailing around the island which bears his name. In later years Sir John Franklin, Sir George Back, Dr. Rae, Sir John Richardson, P. W. Deane and Thomas Simpson, led in the overland search for the North-West Passage; and their discoveries, surveys and records afford not only a striking picture of peril and privation, but a most valuable fund of information regarding the then unknown wilds of the farthest north.

As this work of increasing knowledge and promoting trade proceeded through varied phases of personal adventure and commercial rivalry attempts were naturally made to establish settlements. The great effort was that of Lord Selkirk in the ten years following 1811.

LORD SELKIRK AND HIS WORK

He was an extraordinary man in many ways. Proud and independent in sentiment, stern and uncompromising in determination, vigorous and enthusiastic in policy, he was well fitted to be a pioneer of colonization. Fairly successful in early efforts in Prince Edward Island, failing in the attempt to create interest in settling a great estate which he had bought in Upper Canada, he finally turned his attention to the North-West and resolved to write his name large in the making of that country. After studying the position of affairs there and in Montreal he made up his mind that the Hudson's Bay Company were the eventual masters of the situation and decided to throw in his lot with them. He purchased, in 1811, a controlling interest in its stock—some £40,000 out of £100,000—and obtained from the Directors, amongst whom were many of his friends or relatives, a grant of 116,000 square miles of territory on the condition that he should establish a colony and furnish the Company with labourers as required. This was practically the founding of the present Province of Manitoba.

Lord Selkirk at once brought out a ship-load of the Duchess of Sutherland's tenants and after varied difficulties and dangers reached

the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers where, near the site of the present City of Winnipeg, the Red River Settlement was established. During the years that followed these, colonists, and others who joined them from time to time, suffered in every way in which it is possible for pioneers to have trouble. The Nor'-Westers considered the soil to be theirs and every means of annoyance in the power of a strong corporation to inflict, were freely used, as occasion arose, till they culminated in a skirmish in 1816 when Governor Semple, who was acting for Lord Selkirk, and a number of his colonists, were killed by an armed band of Nor'-Westers.

It was a typical incident, though an unusually violent one, of the conflict which was waged all over the North-West during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century between the two great Companies. In this case, however, it aroused the lion that was in the Earl of Selkirk and, though just recovering from illness, he obtained a force of eighty soldiers and a couple of small cannon. With this troop he rushed around the Great Lakes from Montreal and through the wilderness, captured the chief agent and several partners of the North-West Company, and sent them to York for trial on various charges of murder, arson and robbery. Of course, they were not convicted at such a distance from the scene and under the irregular conditions of their arrest; but the lesson was a good one and for the next few years, until the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed its rival in 1821, there was more of peace and quietness in the vast region of their rivalry.

Lord Selkirk had to suffer from subsequent verdicts for false imprisonment, but in the meantime he had discounted further interference with his cherished settlement. He could not, however, control the obstacles offered by nature and, though he over and over again brought his settlers supplies of food, seed-grain and implements at his own expense, they yet had to suffer untold hardships from exceptional cold, from floods and famine, and from a unique plague of

grasshoppers which extended over two years and destroyed every vestige of crop and growing food product. Eventually, the colonists and their determined patron succeeded and, though the progress was slow, it was more and more sure as the years went on. When Lord Selkirk died in 1820 he could see that this success was at least probable though it is doubtful indeed if the Father of Manitoba could have anticipated the vast golden wheatfields of the future, the whistle of the locomotive over the wilderness of his time, or the roar of traffic in a large city where he had sheltered in their humble huts the first shivering settlers on the banks of the Red River.

As the years passed the settlement grew in size and importance and Fort Garry became the head-quarters of the Hudson's Bay Company which, in 1836, purchased for £84,000 the land granted to Lord Selkirk in 1811. Gradually the population was added to by French trappers and hunters and by Half-breeds who came from the unions of the French with Indian women and, in time, constituted a population of thousands. Sir George Simpson assumed control of much of the Company's affairs after its absorption of the Nor'-Westers and, from 1821 for thirty-five years, he was the leading spirit of the North-West. He organized the interests of the Company, explored and extended its vast territories, reconciled conflicting conditions and established a vigorous personal control over everything. During this period travellers and explorers were sure of assistance and support at every fort or factory of the Company, while its business steadily grew in volume and profits. A network of trading posts was constituted right across the continent and, when the Governor retired in 1856, the Hudson's Bay Company, with 152 regular establishments and over 3,000 permanent servants, dominated the religious, political and social life of the North-West.

Steady progress had also been made in monopolizing the fur trade of the Pacific coast. Forts were established, routes laid out and maintained, Indians conciliated and employed. In 1847 the Governor of

the Company in London informed Lord Grey, Colonial Secretary, that it was willing to "undertake the government and colonization of all the territories belonging to the Crown in North America, and receive a grant accordingly." While creditable to its ambition and self-confidence such an extensive proposal could hardly commend itself to the authorities; but in the following year a more moderate one which involved the management of New Caledonia and the grant of Vancouver Island for ten years under a pledge of colonization, was accepted after considerable debate in the House of Commons.

The leading spirit of the Company in what is now the Province of British Columbia and the States of Washington and Oregon, was, during these years, the vigorous and intrepid Sir James Douglas. Like Simpson, in the central regions of the West, he rose out of the amalgamation of 1821, became Chief Factor of the Pacific region in 1842, established a trading post where the City of Victoria now stands, on Vancouver Island, and, in 1851, became Governor of the Island under the Company. In 1859 the Imperial authorities took over this region owing to the Company not having kept its agreement to colonize but Douglas was maintained in his position as Governor of the island as well as of the mainland which was now to be known as the Province, or Colony, of British Columbia.

INTERNATIONAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE COMPANY

Meanwhile, the Company had been subject to various international difficulties, or complications, as a result of the advance of its interests and influence into regions north and south of British Columbia—or New Caledonia, as it then was. In 1833, it had taken advantage of the clause in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825 which provided for the free navigation of streams running through Alaska from their source in British territory, and had pushed forward a trading post to the Stikine River, besides fitting out a brig for the protection of its property. Governor Wrangel, of Alaska, promptly objected to these

proceedings on behalf of the Russian Fur Company; appealed to the authorities at St. Petersburg and obtained a promise that the free navigation clause should be terminated in the following year; and then, without waiting for a legal excuse, forced the British Company's vessel to retire from Russian territory under penalty of immediate destruction. The British Government was at once appealed to, £20,000 damages claimed, and a diplomatic difficulty precipitated. Eventually, after a conference had been held in London, the question was settled between the two fur companies themselves, the British one obtaining the lease of Alaskan privileges and rights for a rental of 2,000 land otter skins per annum and a large supply of provisions at moderate rates to the Russian colony. The arrangement proved satisfactory and was renewed at intervals until Alaska became a United States possession. The boundaries of Hudson's Bay territory, or the Company's indemnification for losses sustained in war, had also found a prominent place in the Treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht with France, and in the Convention of London with the United States, in 1818.

The most important of these international questions was that connected with the Company's claim to the region of land now occupied by the States of Oregon and Washington. Had it been sustained all that great country would have become British territory, the San Juan difficulty would have been averted, the rise of Provincial coast cities such as Vancouver would not have been checked by the competition of Seattle and other places, and the mining interests and resources of British Columbia would have had a fuller freedom of development.

But, by the Treaty of Oregon, these important claims were abandoned on the part of England, the country claimed was given up to the United States, and a splendid heritage of the future surrendered for present peace and quietness. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, claimed indemnity for its rights of occupation and trade and, finally, in 1863, a commission composed of Alexander J.

Johnson, on behalf of the United States, and Sir John Rose, on behalf of Great Britain, met at Washington and awarded the company \$600,000. This was paid, after repeated representations, in two instalments—July, 1870, and February, 1871.

By this time, however, the knell of the Company's ruling power had been struck and it had ceased to be a governing and creative factor in the making of the Empire. The period of its greatest influence had been the middle of the nineteenth century when it wielded more or less authority over a very wide, though undefined, region now belonging to Great Britain and the United States. It then boasted a capital and assets of over \$7,000,000, a complete monopoly of trade, and an influence over 150,000 Indians which was absolute and, upon the whole, wielded with wisdom and kindness—especially in the restraints imposed upon the sale of liquor. But at this time, the Province of Canada had begun to see openings for trade and development to the north and west and to feel some jealousy of the power held by the Company. The arrangement regarding Vancouver Island was closely watched both at Toronto and London, as was the growth of the Red River Settlement; while the coming lapse of the twenty-one years' grant of exclusive trade given to the Company in 1838 was borne carefully in mind. As a result of these conditions a Select Committee was appointed by the Imperial House of Commons, in 1857, "to consider the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the license of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which it possesses a License of Trade."

Mr. Gladstone, Lord J. Russell, Lord Stanley, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Edward Ellice, Mr. Robert Lowe and other well-known public men were appointed to this Committee and, after careful and voluminous inquiry, it was declared in the final Report that the desire of Canada to annex a portion of this vast region for purposes of settlement and development was just and reasonable; that the Red River and

Saskatchewan districts should be ceded to that Province upon equitable conditions ; that the Company's rule on Vancouver Island should cease ; that in view of the danger to the Indians from any system of open competition in the fur trade and because of the probable indiscriminate destruction of valuable fur-bearing animals under such conditions, the purely trade monopoly of the Company should be preserved for the present. In 1862 the Hon. (afterwards Sir) W. P. Howland, and the Hon. L. V. Sicotte, members of the Canadian Government, proceeded to London for the purpose of pressing the annexation project upon the Imperial authorities. During the early part of the succeeding year, Sir Edward W. Watkin, an energetic capitalist who had been previously interested in the Grand Trunk and Intercolonial Railway enterprises and who had visions of a British transcontinental line, organized a Company which took over the assets of the old Hudson's Bay corporation, reconstructed it with a capital of £2,000,000 sterling, and proceeded to negotiate, cordially and comprehensively, with the Canadian and British authorities.

Sir Edmund W. Head, lately Governor-General of British America, was Governor of the Company and favoured a complete sale of rights and ownership. Various negotiations followed between the British and Canadian and Company authorities, including a fruitless mission in 1865 by the Hon. George Brown and, finally, on December 14, 1867, after the confederation of the older Provinces into a Dominion had taken place, the Hon. William McDougall introduced in the new House of Commons a series of resolutions upon the subject. They declared that the Dominion of Canada should be extended to the shores of the Pacific ; that the colonization of the North-West, the development of its mineral resources, and the extension of trade within its bounds, were alike dependent upon a stable government ; and that the welfare of its sparse population would be promoted by the extension of Canadian government and institutions over the entire

region. In the following year Mr. McDougall and Sir George Cartier went to England to try and arrange terms and, in 1869, the arrangements were finally consummated between the Governments concerned.

Canada had claimed the whole region as of right ; it now accepted the territory upon condition of paying £300,000 sterling to the Company. It granted at the same time, a twentieth of all lands surveyed for settlement in what was called Rupert's Land, and gave certain guarantees against undue taxation. The Company, on its side, retained possession of its historic trading-posts and maintained its influence with the natives and its special facilities for the fur-trade. Though the trading monopoly was lost, and the progress of settlement and railways in time changed the nature of much of its business, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to be, and is to-day, a great power in the commerce and up-building of the North-West.

It was truly an Imperial heritage which the new Dominion thus acquired. Its lakes were like great seas, its rivers ran in some cases 2,000 miles from the source to the sea, its fertile and unknown wheatfields were to prove practically illimitable, its atmosphere was found to be bracing and full of a tonic which can be found nowhere else. Its seasons were beautiful and pleasant in their warmth, healthy and strength-giving in their cold. Upon its vast plains the flowers of spring-time bloomed with peculiar beauty ; over head the summer sun blazed in a strength which forced the crops to a rich and rare fruition. The rivers and lakes were found to teem with fish, the plains, near the Rockies, to be pre-eminently protected from storm and suited to the raising of cattle, the surface of the soil to cover vast coal preserves, petroleum fields and, in the far north, untold wealth in gold and iron and copper. But most of these facts were unknown or unappreciated in 1869 and a period of storm and stress and slow development had to be faced before they reached the consciousness of the Canadian people and the knowledge of the world.

CHAPTER XIV

Struggles for Responsible Government

NEITHER the troubles of 1837, nor Lord Durham's famous Report, nor the Union of the Canadas in 1841, nor the promising administration of Lord Sydenham, had brought into play or practice the real principles of responsible government—principles which involve a Prime Minister selected by the Queen's Representative ; a Cabinet chosen by the Premier and, together with him, responsible to the House of Commons ; a series of organized departments of administration, each in charge of a responsible Minister. Even the Liberal leaders and most advanced Reformers had failed as yet to plan out such a complete programme and, without every one of the conditions named and including a defined conception of the Governor-General's relation to the Imperial Government on the one hand and to the Colonial Parliament on the other, no system could hope to be satisfactory.

THE CRUDE IDEAS OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Lord Sydenham had the brains and the tact and natural statecraft to have worked out some result which might have averted years of turmoil and much dissatisfaction ; but he was carried away by an accidental fall from his horse which ended in death on September 19th, 1841. He was not supposed to be entirely in favour of the crude ideas of responsible government which were then in vogue but he would undoubtedly have found a conciliatory way out of the difficulties which developed later and reached such a height in the early days of Lord Elgin. His successor, as Governor-General, was Sir Charles Bagot, a man of ability who had held the Ministership to Washington

in days when it was perhaps the most difficult diplomatic post in Her Majesty's service. He followed, somewhat tentatively, in the steps of Lord Sydenham and died in March 1843, without having had any serious friction with his advisers. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who came out in his place and under appointment by a Conservative Ministry at home, was a very different man from either of his predecessors and proved to be the centre of one of the most stormy periods in Canadian politics.

THE TORY LEADERS

Meanwhile, events had shown the action of the Tory party in supporting the Union to be well described as one of self-sacrifice. They were aware that a House to be elected under the auspices of a French majority in Lower Canada, using the privilege of the polls for the first time since the days of the rebellion, and in Upper Canada under the *prestige* afforded to their opponents by supposed instructions from England to grant responsible government, could not but contain a majority opposed to them and to their principles. Naturally, such was the case, and the House which was met by that staunchest of Tory leaders, the Hon. W. H. Draper, as head of the Executive Council of the new Union, was largely Radical and French. The Ministry, if it could even yet be called by that title, was composed of Mr. Draper, Hon. R. B. Sullivan, Hon. S. B. Harrison, Hon. Dominick Daly, Hon. C. R. Ogden, Hon. J. H. Dunn, Hon. C. D. Day, Hon. H. H. Killaly, and, last but not least, the Hon. Robert Baldwin.

Such a combination of determined Tories with only one prominent Liberal, in the person of Baldwin, and without a French representative, naturally could have little place in the confidence of the new Assembly. Its very composition shows how slightly and how vaguely the real principles of responsible government were understood. The fact is that the Governor-General was still his own Prime Minister and still the tenacious holder of power which he believed to

be essential to the interests of the Mother-country and British connection. He could not believe that it was a part of his duty to surrender the prerogatives of the Crown, in relation to appointments and the composition of his Executive Council, to any Minister or body of Ministers who must under the existing circumstances of the case be responsible to a party in the Assembly which sympathized very largely with the objects of the late insurrection, and some of whose leaders seemed opposed to the principles of British connection which the Governor-General was sworn and bound to guard.

It was a difficult situation to face and Lord Sydenham in his brief period of power had temporized and had, no doubt, planned ways and means to meet it which he was never able to carry out. Sir Charles Bagot did a little more than this when the inevitable conflict between his Draper Executive and the House took place and Baldwin resigned office ; he formed an Executive under the joint leadership of L. H. Lafontaine and Baldwin himself. It was a Liberal Ministry with a fair French representation and, with the experience of after years in the minds of both Governor and Ministers, might have lasted some time. But such conditions could not, of course, exist and, meanwhile, Sir Charles Metcalfe arrived on the scene.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE AS GOVERNOR

The new Governor had served his apprenticeship in the rule of millions of men in India and of lesser communities in the West Indies. He was a strong-willed, self-sustained, patriotic and conscientious man, devoted to the service of his Sovereign and with something of an older-time spirit of sincerity and loyalty. But he was hopelessly out of touch with democratic aspirations, without sympathy for anything which seemed to touch, or threaten, any element of the Royal prerogative and was, naturally, therefore, inclined to the views of the Tory party. As a Governor responsible to the Crown he did his duty freely and manfully ; as a Governor responsible to the

people he failed entirely. Yet, like so many of his predecessors, he was not greatly to blame, certainly not to be condemned with that fierce and free assurance which characterizes the political writers of that time, and frequently of the present, when commenting upon his character and career. To him the Crown meant England and the Empire. As a servant of his country and the Representative of his Sovereign duty lay to him in what would best conserve their interests; and, like preceding Governors, with the possible exception of Lord Durham, he conceived those interests and a united future to turn upon the maintenance of every power or prerogative still held by the Crown.

In deliberately assuming such ground he was mistaken from all the standpoints in the experience of an after-time, but he was neither unpatriotic, nor wicked, nor guilty of tyranny, nor worthy of the wholesale abuse poured out by the Liberal and Radical papers and politicians of the next two years upon his devoted head. There was no doubt as to his attitude and opinions from the first. Sir Charles arrived in 1843, and promptly declared that he intended to keep the patronage in his own hands, and to make official appointments without the advice of his Executive Council. Certain vacant positions he proceeded to fill at once, and the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government immediately resigned office. Mr. Draper re-assumed the reins, a general election followed and the Governor and his Tory Council were sustained by a fair majority. During the ensuing two years a loud and continuous discussion went on throughout the two sections of the Province, and much light was thrown on the issue, despite the virulent tone adopted by many of the disputants. Sir Charles Metcalfe, meantime, was raised to the peerage—a slight compensation, indeed, for his determination to do what he deemed his duty at all hazards and despite the endurance of a cancer which was eating into his face and slowly but surely destroying his life. He would not

accept the relief of retirement and was upheld during many months of intense suffering by a belief that he understood the situation in Canada and was in a position to better maintain the authority of the Crown than any possible successor. From his point of view this was undoubtedly a fact, and the appreciation and admiration of those opposed to responsible government was his to the fullest degree—including the support of such a keen observer and slashing polemist as Dr. Egerton Ryerson.

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S GOVERNORSHIP

But there are limits to human endurance and toward the close of 1845 Lord Metcalfe returned home to die. His successor, for a brief period, was Earl Cathcart, and then in 1847 came the Earl of Elgin. Like Lord Durham this really great administrator possessed the rare faculty of grasping all the threads of a tangled situation at once; of bringing a chaos of conflicting views and honest sentiments and almost patriotic antagonisms into concrete form under the eye of a clear and impartial mind. He was able to see that although Lafontaine may have played with the burning brands of sedition in its earlier stages and Baldwin have nursed a moderate sympathy with many of the grievances of the rebels, yet they were now men of maturity of judgment, honesty of purpose, and sincere loyalty to British connection. He was able to understand that while Draper was in apparently bitter antagonism to the wishes of a somewhat fluctuating majority of the people and McNab an earnest and avowed opponent of popular government, yet the one was an honourable, patriotic and able man and the other a citizen of whose sincerity and undoubted services the country had every reason to be proud. He was able to grasp the existence of a love for liberty amongst Liberals which was above and apart from the much-feared principles of American democracy; a love for power amongst the Tories which was superior to and distinct from the mere desire for office and position.

Moreover, the Liberals were again in power in England and willing to risk a possible loss in British prerogative and nominal power in return for some release from burdensome responsibility and for a measure of real peace in the Colonies. His instructions were therefore more elastic, his powers wider and the room for exercising natural ability and faculty for statesmanlike observation, much greater than had been the case before. While these facts stand to the credit of English Liberalism at this juncture they do not relieve it from suspicion as to the motive underlying the action. That it turned out well and promoted loyalty while broadening the bounds of liberty is true, but that it was part of a general tendency to loosen the ties of Imperial unity and encourage the development of Colonial independence, is also true, and is amply proved by Lord Elgin's published correspondence during this period.*

It was now the early stages of the Manchester School ascendancy and, while good in this particular instance came out of an evil which would have wrecked the Empire in its complete development, yet justice should be done to some of the Tories who opposed responsible government in England because they feared independence as well as to the Liberals who granted it because they did not greatly dread the possibility of independence. Hitherto British politics had only occasionally been exhibited in matters of Colonial administration and then only in details. Upon the broad principle of maintaining the Governor's prerogative and refusing full responsible government Home-parties had been united. Now they divided, for a time, only to combine in some twenty years of practical indifference to all Colonial affairs—a policy of letting the Colonies do much as they pleased.

Lord Elgin was supposed to be a Conservative in politics, but people had come to discount any probabilities based upon individual preferences of this nature. Sir Francis Bond Head had been heralded

* Walrond's *Life and Letters of the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine*

as an English Liberal and had most strenuously supported the Canadian Tories; Sir Charles Bagot was a Conservative but had held the reins with considerable fairness; Lord Metcalfe himself had been announced as a Liberal in English politics. The new Governor-General was, as a matter of fact, either above these distinctions or had made up his mind to be uninfluenced by them. And he found one factor greatly in his favour. Preceding Governors had found Canadian affairs a hopeless jumble of conflicting policies and ideas with only one clearly defined principle visible upon the stormy surface—the Tory one of opposition to democratic innovation. The Liberals had not known exactly what they wanted, or if they did, in an occasional and individual case, understand what was required and how it was to be worked out, there was no authoritative medium for its presentation, no clear summary of purpose and plan for popular approval.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE LIBERAL PLATFORM

There was now, however, a Liberal platform of the most pronounced kind. Its cardinal principle was that a Provincial Government, should, in the fullest measure, be a Parliamentary Government and that no Ministry could or should stay in office after it had lost the control of the Assembly. If defeat came in the House and an appeal was made to the country its resignation could be held over until the result of the elections was known. Should that result be adverse resignation must instantly follow. This involved the change of the Executive Council into a departmental Government, such as that of Great Britain, and a complete alteration in the position of the Governor-General. Instead of being merely the guardian of British interests, or supposed British interests in the Province, he was, as the Queen's Representative, to take the Queen's place in the constitution. "What the Queen cannot do in England," they declared, "the Governor should not be permitted to do in Canada." In making Imperial

appointments the Crown is bound to consult its advisers ; in making Provincial appointments the Governor should be similarly bound. No Governor should identify himself with any political party—and, it might have been fair to add, no political party should place itself in open antagonism to the Governor.

The majority in the Assembly, for the time being, they considered to embody the existing opinion of the country and, provided such views did not clash with Imperial interests, they should not be interfered with by the Governor. Local matters should not be referred to the Colonial Office for settlement. "To Canadians alone must the Governor look for ratification and approval of his conduct in the management of their domestic affairs ; to the Imperial Government alone he is to render an account of his stewardship in the conservation of Imperial interests." Such a policy was apparently complete in its parts, logical in its application * and loyal in its final statement that the Liberals of Canada desired to maintain the Crown, through its Representative in the Province, "as an harmonious component of their local constitution."

It was the practical result of three or four decades of groping in the dark for a solution of difficulties which were inevitable, and not in themselves disastrous, and which would have naturally moderated under the influences of time and British progressiveness without all the turmoil and tumult which had actually marked the process. It was a policy which, in its full form, the Governor-General could now accept, and it was the first time that such had really been the case. Theory in multitudinous shapes had so far influenced very largely the Liberal party ; they had now united logic with theory and Lord Elgin

* The one weakness in the structure eventually evolved under Lord Elgin, and acted upon up to Confederation, was the practical absence of a Prime Minister, and the tendency of the people to still look to the Governor-General when they should have looked to the Ministry alone. Too much stress was laid by agitators during all this period upon the attitude of the Governor toward the people ; too little attention was paid to the position of the people toward the Governor. It was not till the Dominion was created that the checks and balances necessary to a smoothly working constitution came into full operation.

was able to transform the combination into practice. He did not meet the problem with any profound belief that because a system is old it is good, or because it is new it is better. Speaking on a political platform at Southampton in 1841, he had declared himself a Conservative "not upon principles of exclusionism; or illiberalism of sentiment; but because I believe that our admirable constitution proclaims between men of all classes and degrees in the body-politic a sacred bond of brotherhood in the recognition of a common warfare here and a common hope hereafter. I am a Conservative not because I am adverse to improvement, not because I am unwilling to repair what is wasted, or to supply what is defective in the political fabric, but because I am satisfied that in order to improve effectually you must be resolved most religiously to preserve."

Such sentiments of moderation should have conciliated parties in Canada, and would, indeed, have been an excellent basis upon which to act amongst themselves. Though he had only served for a time as Governor of Jamaica and was not at this period a large figure in politics or administration at home, Lord Elgin had an undoubted reputation for ability and was known to have pleased all parties in Jamaica—a very difficult task. Moreover, he had just been married a second time and to no less a personage than a daughter of the Lord Durham whose memory was now enshrined in the heart of English-speaking Liberals all over British America. The new Governor received a warm reception everywhere and at Montreal struck the keynote of his future administration by saying: "I am sensible that I shall best maintain the prerogative of the Crown, and most effectually carry out the instructions with which Her Majesty has honoured me, by manifesting a due regard for the wishes and feelings of the people and by seeking the advice and assistance of those who enjoy their confidence." Lord Elgin impressed himself favourably upon everyone. Young and energetic, genial in temperament and manner,

dignified in bearing and, at the same time, pleasant and accessible, he also proved an admirable speaker and soon won the reputation of being the best in the Province. Like Lord Dufferin, in after years, he could be depended upon to say in graceful and fitting words the right thing in the right place.

FALL OF THE DRAPER MINISTRY

The Draper Ministry was now tottering to its fall, and the Tory party, as being identified with a policy which had become one of simple drifting with the tide, was like a boat without a rudder. Mr. Draper had tired of a prolonged struggle, in which the fates seemed against him, and wanted to retire to the Bench. But there was no one upon whom the party could unite, and there was no policy other than the negative one of standing by certain old-fashioned principles which the Imperial Government was said to have repudiated and which now depended, for even temporary maintenance, upon the willingness of the Governor-General to occupy the same political boat as the Executive. Lord Elgin took occasion at once to intimate that he would do nothing of the sort. So far as he was concerned parties must sink or swim upon their own ability to breast the tide of public opinion. He would give their leaders the fullest freedom of action and would co-operate cordially with the successful party in carrying on the local Government according to the wishes of the majority. To Draper and McNab and others this seemed a sheer abrogation of the functions of an Imperial administrator; a sacrifice of one of the few remaining shreds of British power over Provincial affairs. But to it they had to submit.

Lord Elgin did not act hastily or rashly. His Ministry had not the confidence of the Assembly, but he saw that it was in process of natural dissolution and he let things take their course. In May, 1847, Mr. Draper resigned and accepted a position as Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench for Upper Canada, and nine years later became

Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He lived to see the Dominion an accomplished fact and the principles he had so strongly and conscientiously opposed, forming the keynote of a national constitution. He, himself, served as President of Ontario's Court of Appeal for many years, was the recipient of a C. B. from the Queen, and died in 1877, with the highest possible reputation for judicial ability, industry and stainless honour. His political successor for a brief period was Mr. Henry Sherwood, a Tory of the Tories, whose Ministry in its reconstructed state was chiefly notable for the presence of Mr. John A. Macdonald, who had entered the Assembly from Kingston in 1844, and for the absence of French Canadian representatives—only one being obtainable after prolonged negotiations. The Tory party was still, in reputation, the party opposed to French influence, the party of believers in French disloyalty, the party of sympathizers with everything which would restrict French development along distinct lines. The Sherwood Ministry held on to power with the utmost persistence. They could, however, pass no measure of value, were continually defeated in the House, and only managed to struggle through a session on that sufferance which feels that the last stages of an unendurable situation have been reached and must be settled by a coming general election.

The general position of affairs was very gloomy. The repeal of the Corn-Laws and of the preferential British tariff had plunged the Province into financial disaster and caused intense popular discontent. The feeling between French and English in Canada East was still acute. The immigration of thousands of Irish paupers, seeking escape from the frightful famine of the time, had cast upon Canadian shores a multitude of people who arrived there simply to die of the ship-fever which had developed during their voyage, or else to throw themselves upon Canadian charity and kindness. They did not ask for help in vain. At Quebec, during 1847, over 100,000 persons landed

and of these 10,000 were to be found in the hospitals at one time. Other places, such as Montreal and Toronto and Kingston, faced the same trouble and with the same generosity nursed the sick, succoured the starving and cared for the homeless. In Montreal, alone, there were 1,000 orphans left destitute as a result of this appalling immigration and disease. Sick and suffering people streamed up the St. Lawrence, pushed towards the Lakes in over-crowded steamers and burdened the inhabitants of the western towns and villages. The response was everywhere the same, and from the poor as well as the wealthy, from the Indian and the negro as well as the white man, relief poured in to the Committees which were formed. Large sums were ultimately distributed in Ireland as well as in Canada. Deeds of heroism in the hospitals of the time were many—the heroism of nurses and clergymen who were willing to die, if necessary, in order to nurse and minister to the sick. More than one Roman Catholic ecclesiastic perished in this memorable season of suffering and self-sacrifice.

Such events could not but re-act upon the political situation when preparations were being made for an election which was destined to be of the greatest importance as an historical landmark and as finally decisive of a change already impending. Lord Elgin did his best, in the meantime, to soothe asperities and to promote a good-feeling which might lessen the bitterness of the contest. He made a tour of Canada East and won the hearts of the people everywhere with his silvery speech and pleasing manner. Amongst the French-Canadians he carried everything before him by speaking to the *habitants* in their native tongue. Early in December, 1847, the Assembly was dissolved, on January 24, 1848, the elections were held and both divisions of the Province swept by the Liberals. Parliament met in February, the Hon. A. N. Morin was elected Speaker of the Assembly over Sir A. N. McNab on a party vote, the Government was defeated on the Address and promptly resigned. A new

Ministry was at once formed which is notable not only as being the first under the system of actual responsible government, but as containing many able men and as initiating the recognition of an equal right amongst French and English representatives to a place in its composition. In accordance, also, with an arrangement which was now to become an unwritten law there was an Attorney-General from Canada East and one from Canada West, holding equal powers and controlling the political patronage and party policy of their respective communities. One was supposed to be Premier, but his position was very vague and his actual superiority still more so—a condition which illustrates the difficulties of the situation and the fact that the English system in its full form was not found applicable by even the Liberal party in its day of power. The Government was made up as follows:

CANADA EAST OR LOWER CANADA

Hon. Louis H. Lafontaine, Attorney-General,
Hon. James Lesslie, President of Executive Council,
Hon. R. E. Caron, Speaker of Legislative Council,
Hon. E. P. Taché, Chief Commissioner of Public Works,
Hon. T. C. Aylwin, Solicitor-General.

CANADA WEST OR UPPER CANADA

Hon. Robert Baldwin, Attorney-General,
Hon. R. B. Sullivan, Provincial Secretary,
Hon. Francis Hincks, Inspector-General,
Hon. J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands,
Hon. Malcolm Cameron, Assistant-Commissioner of Public Works,
Hon. W. Hume Blake, Solicitor-General.

The succeeding session was a short but satisfactory one and the storm of the coming period was as yet only a tiny cloud on the horizon. Lord Elgin found the new Government amenable, conciliatory, and far indeed from what the Liberals were honestly believed to be by the late Lord Metcalfe. He was not asked to surrender any

prerogative of importance and his opinion upon appointments seems to have been freely consulted. "I have tried both systems," he wrote privately in 1849. "In Jamaica there was no responsible government but I had not half the power I have here with my constitutional and changing Cabinet." No doubt this was somewhat due to his own personality, to his kindly disposition, his cordial courtesy, his sympathetic insight into difficulties and a certain quality of instinctive statecraft which was always at the service of his Government whether Liberal or Tory.

PROGRESS IN THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES

Meanwhile, events in the Maritime Provinces had been steadily developing toward the same end of responsible government. Lord John Russell's despatch regarding the tenure of office was regarded by the Liberal party in New Brunswick as practically granting their demands and was read by Sir John Harvey to the Legislature in 1839 with an intimation of his willingness to put it in operation. But he was personally so popular, his administration so acceptable and the people were so naturally Conservative, that it was received with indifference and the Assembly actually passed a Resolution, by one vote, against the establishment of a responsible system. Later on, Sir William Colebrooke became Governor and, in the midst of Lord Metcalfe's bitter controversy with the Liberals in Canada, the Legislature still further signalized its position by passing Resolutions thanking the Governor-General for his firm and vigorous stand against republicanism. But, by 1848, the influence of new developments in Canada had proved too strong for even New Brunswick Conservatism and its happy condition of having little real ground for complaint. A measure in favour of responsible government was therefore supported by both parties and a Ministry formed to which Lemuel A. Wilmot and Charles Fisher, the two Liberal leaders, were duly appointed. This, however, was a coalition and it was not till 1854,

after the holding of a general election, that the Liberals in this Province came into full power and formed a distinctly responsible Ministry.

In Nova Scotia affairs were very different. There was no calm stream of indifferent progress toward an inevitable consummation, in its politics. The Governor, Sir Colin Campbell,* was a man of military mind with Metcalfe-like ideas of right and wrong and with his sense of duty to the Imperial Government developed at the expense of any duty he might be supposed to owe the people. He was, in short, a Governor, and not the head of a distinct constitutional system based upon British precedent. As such, he looked upon the Russell despatch of 1839 as a product of Home partisanship and as apart altogether from his duty to the Crown. The Assembly, under the influence of Howe's burning speech and sweeping invective, passed a strong Resolution of non-confidence in the Executive; which the Governor received with the intimation that his advisers were quite acceptable to him.

The leaders in Nova Scotia at this time were brilliant men and fitted, many of them, to adorn a wider and greater field than destiny ever offered. Joseph Howe was, of course, first and foremost. None could touch him in eloquence, logic of argument, force of invective, or brilliancy of rhetoric, and it is a question if the Dominion has ever produced his equal in these respects. James Boyle Uniacke was a strong man in many respects, while William Young, who lived to be knighted by the Queen, and to act for twenty-one years as Chief Justice of the Province, combined sound judgment with eloquence of speech. The equal of any of the Liberal leaders in political ability and sincerity, and the superior of all but Howe in oratorical power, was the Tory chief—James W. Johnston. He won elections in the teeth of his rival's more popular policy and always held the respect and admiration of his own party. Howe's attacks

* He was not the famous Lord Clyde, of Indian memory, as some Canadian writers have stated.

upon the Lieutenant-Governor at this time were almost intolerable. To say that they were scathing and slashing is to use a very mild phrase. Their brilliancy was only equalled by a bitterness which was vitriolic in its intensity and which found expression not only in speech, but in newspaper articles, and in letters to the Colonial Secretary which are classics, as truly and fully, as anything ever penned by Junius.

The inevitable result followed. Sir Colin Campbell was recalled and Lord Falkland, during the six years beginning in September, 1840, ruled in his place. It was an uneasy crown which he placed on his head. The preliminary compromise of appointing three Liberal leaders—Howe, Uniacke and McNab—to seats in the Executive, without accepting their principles, was fore-doomed to failure and, after Howe and Johnston had managed to mix oil and water long enough to pass a much debated measure incorporating Halifax, the coalition naturally dissolved.

Apart from the general and vague question of responsibility to the Assembly there were strong differences between the leaders on purely local issues. Howe favoured free common schools and one Provincial University. Johnston, like the Tories of all the Provinces in his day, favoured denominational schools and colleges with Provincial grants—in brief the union of Church and State principle. In 1844 the disruption had come. Falkland accepted the resignation of the Liberals and then endeavoured to win over the masses from their party allegiance to Howe. It was a not unnatural thing to do at such a juncture, but it once more revived the implacable spirit from which his predecessor had suffered so greatly. Henceforth, Lord Falkland was, for the two years preceding his recall, able to fully comprehend the limitless possibilities of the English language and the force of Howe's keen and merciless invective.

In 1846 he was relieved, and the ever useful, genial and popular Sir John Harvey was appointed to the position. It was not an easy

one, even for him, to fill. If he publicly favoured responsible government he would be breaking one of its cardinal principles by defying advisers who now held a majority in both Houses; if he did not do so all the political bitterness of the Liberal leaders would be poured upon him as it had been upon Campbell and Falkland. He tried a compromise by inviting Howe and his associates to take places in the Council. But they refused and, finally, a tacit compromise was arrived at by which all parties agreed to await the coming elections. Late in 1847 these took place, and the Liberals were victorious by a fair majority. Johnston resigned and a Government was formed under new conditions and with the same understanding which now prevailed in the Canadas—that the Governor would freely and fully accept the responsibility of his Ministers to the Assembly instead of to himself. Howe was the most prominent member of the new Executive and with him were Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, James Boyle Uniacke, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, George R. Young and other representatives of Provincial Liberalism and of the prolonged struggle for responsible government.

CHAPTER XV

Political Reforms and General Progress

GREAT reforms and changes mark the period from 1848 to 1866. Responsible government had not worked as smoothly as its friends had hoped, and in time it developed conditions which created an absolute deadlock in the functions of government in the two Canadas. But it, none the less, opened the way for legislation of a useful character, broadened the minds of those public men who were able to grasp an enlarged though complicated situation and presented opportunities of achievement to the master-mind of Canadian history—John A. Macdonald.

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT

Although Lord Elgin had given his fullest confidence to the new Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry, and was prepared, and able, to freely carry out the principles of responsible government, he and they alike had a most difficult task before them. Feeling was still very bitter among the French in Lower Canada against everything that savoured of English domination or Protestant influence; the Liberal party of Upper Canada, or Canada West, was coming under the influence of George Brown's towering and aggressive personality and of his bitter opposition to what he believed to be the dangers of French and ecclesiastical domination in the public life of united Canada. And upon this rock of conflicting racial and religious sentiment the strong Government of the moment was ultimately to break up. It had also to face the slowly rising influence and organizing force of John A. Macdonald amongst the Conservatives, as well as the unifying party effect which the storms of the Rebellion Losses Bill was destined to have.

This latter extraordinary episode affected the Governor-General far more than it did his Ministry. There was still no conception in either party of the fact that a responsible Ministry meant one which was not only responsible for the distribution of places and patronage but also for legislation of every kind—whether controlled by its initiative or approved by the Queen's Representative upon its advice. People did not seem to understand that they had been asking for, and had now obtained, a condition of things similar to that in England where no party or section dreamt of attacking the Crown, but assumed as a matter of course that once a Ministry was formed it became responsible for the entire policy of the Government.

A CURIOUS SITUATION

They still looked to the Governor-General to correct the mistakes, or supposed mistakes, of his own Cabinet by either a veto or a reference to England ; and this popular feeling affords more excuse than perhaps any other fact for the earlier and conscientious opposition of the Tories to the whole plan of responsible government. But if, as Draper and his associates believed in 1841, the public neither understood nor were prepared for the carrying out of this policy what is to be said about the situation in 1848, when a large section of the people of Montreal destroyed the Parliament Buildings and a larger and more politically mixed mass of people in Upper Canada petitioned the Crown to remove Lord Elgin for not having refused the advice of his responsible Ministers and repudiated the voice of a large Parliamentary majority ! It was a curious situation and the details are not the least interesting in Canada's complex story.

During the preceding Draper administration the Government had brought in a measure and the House had supported it, giving a compensation of some £40,000 to the loyal sufferers from the rebellion in Upper Canada. A demand for similar treatment had, of course,

been at once received from the French-Canadian representatives, but was opposed by the Loyalists of Upper Canada on the ground that, practically, all the people of the Lower Province who had not actually participated in the insurrection had sympathized with it. In some measure, and especially in connection with the various stages of the movement which led up to the rebellion, this impression was probably correct; but so far as a large portion of the people were concerned during the actual risings it was incorrect. Still, the very assumption and its expression in Parliament, shows the racial and political tension which existed. The Draper Government, therefore, compromised matters for the moment by appointing a Commission which ultimately reported that while the claims in Lower Canada amounted to £250,000, an indemnity of £100,000 would probably cover the actual losses. The Government awarded £10,000, and in doing so angered the French-Canadians by its utter disproportion to the amount of their claims and its own party by the admission of what they believed to be a dangerous principle.

THE REBELLION LOSSES BILL

During the two or three years of varied events which followed, and with a Government trembling in the balance, the matter was allowed to drop. But it was not forgotten and, as soon as the Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry was installed in office, the agitation in French Canada began to revive. By the time the Legislature had met at Montreal, in 1849, the question had reached an issue which demanded settlement and was met, first by a series of Resolutions which Mr. Lafontaine moved and rapidly passed through the Assembly and then by a Bill based upon the principles thus accepted. The preamble to this measure for "the indemnification of parties in Lower Canada whose property was destroyed during the rebellion in the years 1837 and 1838," declared that a minute inquiry should be made regarding such losses and that proven claims for compensation should

be paid and satisfied. It was provided that none who had been convicted of treason during the rebellion, or after being arrested had admitted their guilt, or had been included amongst those transported to Bermuda, should be entitled to any indemnity. Five Commissioners were to be appointed for the carrying out of these proposals and £100,000 was appropriated for the compensation of claims.

The result of the introduction of this measure was a storm which threatened to shake the new system of government to its roots. The debates in Parliament were fierce beyond all precedent—even in the breezy days of Papineau's invective against British domination and tyranny. The Loyalists, the Tories, and even many moderate English-speaking Liberals throughout the country, as well as in the Legislature, denounced the measure as an attempt to reward rebellion, to indemnify treason, to approve sedition. It was a rebel Government patting rebellion on the back. It was a case of men who had participated in, or had approved of, the insurrection making an effort to express their sympathy by voting public money to their friends. It was the bribe offered by Baldwin for the present help and co-operation of Lafontaine and the French-Canadian members. These are strong words, but they only faintly indicate the utterances of the exasperated Loyalists led by Sir Allan McNab, Mr. Sherwood, the veteran Colonel Prince, and others who had proved their feelings in the field against the very rebellion which was thus being condoned.

It is not difficult at this distance of time to sympathize with the bitterness of the Tory view while approving the general policy of the Government and deprecating what followed. To the former there was no justification whatever for the risings of 1837-8. A rebel was a criminal who deserved only punishment. Loyalty to the Crown, which was the pivotal point of all their policy, was utterly incompatible with sympathy for sedition of any kind, especially for that which had prevailed in the two Canadas. And, it soon became evident from

the speeches of the Government leaders that there was no intention of discriminating in the payments between those who had risen and those who had been loyal, except in the extremely limited cases of conviction or banishment to Bermuda. The position of the Government had some elements of reason and strength in this regard. An Act of Amnesty had been proclaimed and, therefore, Mr. Baldwin said, it would be disrespectful to the Queen to inquire what part a man had taken during the preceding troubles. The Amnesty obliterated what had previously occurred. Mr. Merritt expressed the belief that all were now good and loyal subjects and that no delicate distinctions regarding the past should be drawn. Mr. Drummond, with legal precision, stated that under an Amnesty Act the pardoned were in the same position as they had been before the offence was committed. More to the point was Mr. Hincks' statement that it would be impossible to permit any set of Commissioners to "arbitrarily decide that men were rebels who had never been convicted of high treason."

It is not necessary to follow the stormy passage of the measure through the Legislature. On the 9th of March it passed the third and final reading in the Assembly by forty-seven to eighteen votes. In the Legislative Council the third reading was passed a week later by twenty to fourteen. Meanwhile, Tory petitions against it were pouring in from all parts of the country to the Governor-General and he now became the central figure of one of the fiercest demonstrations of feeling in Canadian history. His position was a very difficult one. The Government had a large majority in both Houses and were only fifteen months from an appeal to the people in which they had obtained this majority. To veto the measure was impossible under those principles of responsible government which he had recognized and resolved to apply; to refer it to the Home Government was simply a cowardly method of relieving his own shoulders from a

responsibility which it was his duty to bear and of directing the wrath of whichever party lost, in the reference, against the Crown. To dissolve Parliament was to precipitate an issue at the polls which, in the inflamed state of public opinion, could hardly be settled by a mere vote and, if it were so disposed of without actual violence would in all probability only prolong the trouble without changing the result. He determined, therefore, with a patriotism which deserves the appreciation of every Canadian in more sober days, to assume the full responsibility of action and of his assent to the Bill. "Whatever mischief ensues," he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, "may probably be repaired, if the worst comes to the worst, by the sacrifice of me."

On the 25th of April, Lord Elgin drove to the Parliament House in Montreal and publicly assented to the measure in the Queen's name. The news flew like wildfire through the city and the once popular Governor drove away from the House amidst a storm of insults and showers of missiles. A few hours passed, the excitement increased, the mob became larger and larger and finally uncontrollable. There were well-dressed men in its ranks and many known to be Tories amongst its leaders. No doubt also there was a large riff-raff element common to such occasions and, probably many French and Irish of the lower classes who cared nothing about the issue and only loved a riot. However, the mob invaded the Parliament Buildings and, finally, in a moment of impulse, set them on fire. The damage done was irreparable. Not only were the buildings destroyed, but all the public records of Upper and Lower Canada before the Union were burned. Not only was the reputation of Montreal affected but its position as the seat of Government was rendered a future impossibility. Not only was the Tory party disgraced by its participation in the riot but it soon became entirely responsible for it in the public mind and suffered corresponding injury. The seal was really set to the chances of Tory success against Lord Elgin, at this juncture, by

the burning of the Buildings and by the further riot which followed the Governor-General's visit to the city a few day's later.

Protests, meanwhile, poured into the Colonial Office at London against the Lord Elgin's action in accepting the Bill ; though still more numerous were the addresses showered upon him, personally, from every part of the country and expressing admiration for his magnanimity toward the rioters and his determination to uphold at all cost the principles of responsible government. He was ultimately maintained in his position and his policy approved by the Colonial Office. Parliament met no more at Montreal. During the next decade it sat alternately at Toronto and Quebec—until Bytown had been changed from a little lumbering village on the banks of the Ottawa, by the magic of the Queen's choice, into the capital of her Canadian Province. In 1860, the Prince of Wales, during his visit to Canada, laid the corner-stone of the Parliament Buildings which were to do honour to the future Dominion and to mark the evolution of a village into the City of Ottawa.

The year 1849 saw more than the riots at Montreal. Over Canada hung the clouds of intense commercial depression. To the Tories it seemed as if Great Britain had thrown them to the wolves of want by her sudden free-trade arrangements while at the same time she had sacrificed their loyalty upon a shrine of rebellion through the action of Lord Elgin. The result of their dissatisfaction, and of the still seething discontent among French-Canadians, was the birth of an Annexation movement ; the holding of a mass-meeting in Montreal to further that end ; the issue of a Manifesto which is of great historic interest because of its rash signature by such men of the future as Sir A. A. Dorion, Sir A. T. Galt, Sir D. L. Macpherson, Sir John Abbott, and the leading financial magnates of the city. It was a mere flash in the pan, but it none the less marked the miserable condition of the country at this period of

commercial disaster and political riot. More important, because more lasting in its effects, was the formation of the British-American League, with a platform of federal union amongst the Provinces and of protection in tariff matters. It was largely the product of John A. Macdonald's skillful hand and of his leadership of a number of young men who were growing in personal ambition and in public attention. From this time until its final fruition the idea of federation never disappeared entirely from the field of Canadian politics, although its progress was often hampered and its position for years was more visionary than practical in appearance.

THE PERIOD OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

Meanwhile the period of railway development was looming upon the horizon. The fertile brain of Lord Durham had suggested an inter-colonial railway to unite the Canadas with the Maritime Provinces; and the ready mind of Joseph Howe had early seen its desirability. Effort after effort was made between 1850 and the time of Confederation to get this line built. Lord Elgin did what he could to support the idea. Howe, in Nova Scotia, Edward Barron Chandler, in New Brunswick, and Francis Hincks, in Canada, did their best to further it. Negotiations were entered into with the Colonial Office, Howe went to England and stormed the ramparts of officialdom, meetings were held at Toronto and elsewhere of inter-Provincial delegates, but the project ultimately fell through. Upon its ruins came the European and North American Line in New Brunswick and the Grand Trunk in Canada; and not till after Confederation was the original plan taken up and carried to completion.

The history of the Grand Trunk is an extraordinary one. It was the product of a railway era, the record of which is marked by all the evils of rash investment, wild extravagance, huge profits, great losses and frequent ruin. Lesser lines sprang up like mushrooms in every direction; the Legislature gave grants to all kinds of projectors

and projects; the Municipal Loan Fund was created and local bodies empowered to help railways—which they did to the tune of millions. In 1852 the Grand Trunk Line, connecting the waters of Lake Huron with those of the St. Lawrence, was commenced and, in 1860, the costly Victoria Bridge, in practical completion of its Canadian system, was opened by the Prince of Wales. The promoters of the railway included many members of the Government—John Ross, Francis Hincks, E. P. Taché, James Morris, Malcolm Cameron and R. E. Caron—the President of the Bank of Montreal and others, and the bonds were floated in England without much difficulty. Mr. Hincks was the leader in the movement and in the varied financial difficulties which followed he holds a prominent place.

The evils of the situation which developed out of this and similar enterprises are well known and reflected seriously for many years upon the credit of the Dominion. Confident in the appearance of so many representative Canadians in the Grand Trunk Prospectus money was freely invested by the English people under the impression that it was more or less a Government project. The arrangement by which the great firm of Peto, Brassey and Betts undertook its construction did not destroy an impression which seems to have been based upon nothing more than the appearance of certain names upon the Directorate and to have survived the repeated refusals of the Canadian Government to identify themselves with its later complications. Twenty years after this period, however, the *London Times* (April 15, 1875) declared that £30,000,000 had been spent upon the Grand Trunk. Of this five-sixths was English money and only £10,000,000 of it was yielding any return. Eight million pounds sterling had gone into the Great Western and only £3,000,000 of that amount was paying any interest; while the Canada Southern, the Midland, the Prescott and Ottawa, and other lines since amalgamated with the Grand Trunk and built mainly with British capital, were

mere financial wreckage. The whole episode is, in fact, an unpleasant one. It hurt Canadian credit for many long years and the free expenditure of money at the time produced a political corruption which was even more injurious.

Yet the promoters do not deserve blame. Mr. Hincks and his associates did their best to develop the country by the creation of necessary lines of communication and their policy undoubtedly had a great influence for good in that connection. That the contractors did not understand the conditions of construction in a new region ; that the railway managers were extravagant in expenses and salaries ; that political influences caused the building of competitive lines where there was no room for them ; that the waterways of Canada proved great rivals to the new railways ; were all matters hardly under the control of the politicians who pioneered the railway system of Canada.

TWO GREAT QUESTIONS SETTLED

Meanwhile, two great political questions had been settled—the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada and the Seigneurial Tenure in the Lower Province. The settlement could not come while the Ministry of Lafontaine and Baldwin remained in power. Mr. Lafontaine, though a Liberal in politics and at one time a rebel sympathizer, had grown more moderate in his views as he grew older and more willing to see the best in everything rather than the worst. His reputation for pronounced common sense and for personal honour and integrity, as well as a knowledge of his respect for vested rights, had yearly grown stronger as the storms of 1849 passed from public memory. He favoured the retention of Seigneurial privileges in Lower Canada for reasons which it is not difficult to estimate and amongst which the desire to maintain the beneficial influence of the French Canadian gentry over a more or less ignorant peasantry was not the least. He had no sympathy with demagogues and he had proved his faith

in the people upon important issues and his belief in moderate Liberalism by the general policy of his Government. But he thought it was now time to rest for awhile.

Mr. Baldwin's position was one of sympathy with the view of those who disapproved of the Reserves; but he did not go to the extreme of the agitators who could see nothing except that question upon the horizon and nothing to do in Canada until it was disposed of to their liking. He was inclined to let the matter drift and to join his colleagues in legislation along other and practical lines. The Government had done a great deal for the Province during these years in useful work and actual achievement. They thoroughly reformed the Municipal system, which had been in a most chaotic condition; passed new laws regarding elections, education and assessments; established Provincial credit abroad; obtained complete control from the Imperial Government over the Provincial Post Office and established cheap and uniform rates of postage; reformed and remodelled the Courts of Justice in both sections of the Province; amended the exclusive and ecclesiastical charter of King's College and organized the University of Toronto in its place upon a non-sectarian basis; abolished the principle of primogeniture in Upper Canada as applied to real estate; and inaugurated much important railway legislation. This is a splendid record of work for three years of power. Then, in October 1851, came the retirement of Mr. Lafontaine, speedily followed by that of Mr. Baldwin. The former became Chief Justice of Lower Canada and was created a baronet in 1854; the latter retired into private life, refused a seat on the Bench and eventually accepted the honour of a C. B. from the Crown.

The Liberal Ministry was re-organized under Mr. A. N. Morin from Canada East and Mr. Francis Hincks from the West. The latter was one of the shrewdest men who have participated in the public life of Canada and naturally dominated the new Government

in person and policy, although his chief colleague did not lack ability and certainly possessed wide popularity in Lower Canada. During the three following years the railway questions were more prominent than any other, although from time to time the Seigneurial Tenure and Clergy Reserve problems forced themselves upon political attention. The two latter were now, however, to be disposed of through the personal influence and policy of Mr. John A. Macdonald. His rise during preceding years had been slow and steady. He had not pressed any burning question upon the Province or identified himself with any racial or religious issue ; but had quietly grown into the confidence of his party chiefs and into the practical leadership of his party. Tact and conciliation were the principal qualities marking this progress. He seems to have seen clearly that the Toryism of Robinson, Draper and McNab was not suited to the new conditions of the time ; that no successful party could be built upon such racial issues as the Rebellion Losses Bill, or upon such historical incidents as the Rebellion itself ; that Sir Allan McNab, brave old political warrior and chivalrous character as he was, could not possibly adapt himself to the new era of responsible and popular government ; that the Tory party, if it were to live, must cease to be an organized negation and must assimilate outside elements whilst developing a creative policy of moderate reform.

He was greatly helped in this effort to evolve a new party by the policy of his vigorous and able opponent—Mr. George Brown. The latter is perhaps the most forcible and strenuous character in Canadian annals. Conscientious and sincere in the extreme, he was at the same time lacking in tact and in a wide view of public questions. Profound convictions, whilst always commanding respect, are sometimes apt to verge upon intolerance ; and it was this imperious manner and dominating will which were at once the strong and the weak points in George Brown's great personality. As a virile

journalist and head of the *Toronto Globe* he was naturally a power in the Province; as head of an uncompromising following in the Legislature during many years he was also a power in politics. But his influence was weakened by the limitations of his point of view. To him Upper Canada was everything, the United Province nothing in comparison.

Upper Canada was Protestant in religious belief and, therefore, Protestant interests must be dominant in the politics and legislation of the Province. Upper Canada was English and, therefore, English interests as opposed to French must be uppermost in public administration. Under the Union Act the basis of representation had been arranged upon an estimated equality of population in the two Canadas, although Lower Canada was then much more populous than the Upper Province. Now that the position had been reversed, representation by population became his policy, and the very natural French Canadian opposition to it was denounced as French and Catholic domination. His wing of the Liberal party became known as the "Clear Grit" party and, as the years passed on, it played steadily into the hands of the new Toryism which was becoming known as Conservatism, while, at the same time, it worked havoc in the French and Liberal alliance. By 1854, it had helped to disgust Baldwin and Lafontaine with politics, had aided in defeating their successors in office, and had driven many of the moderate Liberals of Upper Canada, or Baldwin Reformers as they were called, into the Conservative ranks.

The result of all these developments was the formation of a so-called coalition Government in September, 1854, with Sir Allan McNab, the Tory leader, as Premier, the Hon. A. N. Morin, the late Liberal leader in Lower Canada, as Attorney-General East, and the Hon. John A. Macdonald in the same position for the West. It is not hard to understand who was the real head of this Ministry.

Like all Mr. Macdonald's coalitions, it was really an assimilation of lesser men into his own party for the purpose of carrying out his own views. The first indication of the change in party conditions was the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. The question had gone through various phases since Sir John Colborne had stirred up such bitter Radical dissatisfaction by his endowment of forty-four Rectories in Upper Canada in 1836. By an Imperial Act passed in 1840, the new Government of the United Province was given power to deal with the proceeds of the sales which had already taken place, of land belonging to the Reserves, and to hand over two-thirds of the money to the Church of England and the other third to the Church of Scotland in Canada. The unappropriated lands, amounting to 1,800,000 acres, were also to be sold and, of the proceeds, one-half was given to the Churches of England and Scotland in the above proportions and the remaining half devoted to purposes of general public worship and religious education. This compromise had been welcomed at the time and Lord Sydenham, whose child it really was, had congratulated himself upon the settlement of a question which had greatly complicated the troubles of the time.

But the problem would not down so long as there was an agitator in the Province who could make political capital out of a semi-religious issue, or out of the restless spirit of a democratic population which could not endure the expenditure of public moneys for any religious purpose whatever. For eight years following the revival of the question, in 1846, it took the form of an agitation for complete secularization and contributed to the downfall of Governments, the sub-division of parties, the intensifying of public strife. Finally, on May 9, 1853, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act transferring the control of the matter to the Provincial Legislature and, on the 17th of October, 1854, Mr. Macdonald moved a measure of general secularization. The Rectories already established were not to be interfered with and

certain provisions were made for the widows and orphans of the clergy. The balance of the Reserves, as they should be sold, were to be divided amongst the townships in which they were situated upon a population basis and for purposes of education and local improvement.

At the same time that this measure was passing through the Assembly a Bill had been introduced by Mr. L. T. Drummond abolishing the Seigniorial Tenure in Lower Canada. No man in the Legislature was so well-fitted to deal with this important matter as the Attorney-General East. He was a politician who occupies a large and yet obscured place in Canadian history. His abilities were very great, his popularity in Lower Canada amongst both French and English most pronounced and in those days unusual, whilst his eloquence was much more effective than that of many who occupy more prominent places in the popular mind. He had been eminent at the Bar and he lived to be eminent on the Bench. His speech upon the proposed abolition of an old-time system which, without being as useless or as injurious as its critics maintained, had yet fully outlived its value, was worthy of the occasion. The measure, which passed both Houses by good majorities, provided for the clearing away of all feudal privileges, rights and dues in Lower Canada, for freedom of contract in land and labour to Seigneur and *censitaire* (or peasant), and for compensation to the former in the case of all vested rights acquired by custom and the lapse of time.

A tribunal was appointed to settle questions which might arise out of the legislation and to distribute a Seigniorial indemnity which ultimately amounted to £650,000. This was the end of two questions which had destroyed the peace of politicians and the harmony of parties and increased the bitterness of controversies, already violent enough, during many years. The end was bound to come and the willingness of John A. Macdonald to meet the inevitable is creditable

to his sagacity and hardly a reflection upon his consistency. He never affected to be a Tory of the Sherwood or Strachan type and could certainly have never achieved the great results of his career had he been so. They filled their inch in public life and national history; he lived in different times and adapted himself to the new conditions—as Disraeli was then beginning to do in England with the Tory party of his early days.

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CHANGES

The next few years were chiefly marked by the personal struggle for supremacy between Macdonald and Brown, with an ever-increasing accession of strength to the former; and by complications rising out of the racial and religious rivalries of the time. The McNab-Morin Government, which was formed in 1854 upon the ruins of the Hincks-Morin administration, lasted for two years and was then re-organized for a year into the Taché-Macdonald Ministry. From 1855 Mr. George E. Cartier was a member of the Government. He had been steadily coming to the front in Lower Canada and had joined Mr. Macdonald in an alliance which was destined to last for a quarter of a century and to contribute greatly to the success of the Conservative leader's plans. Like Lafontaine he had been a rebel sympathizer in his youth and, like him, also, had mellowed into a moderate Conservative with strong British leanings. The only difference was that the one refused to change his designation of Liberal, the other publicly accepted the new principles which the name of Conservative carried with it. Persevering and energetic in character, exhaustive and convincing, though not eloquent in speech; with the qualities of a statesman rather than a mere politician; Sir George Cartier became in time the chosen and powerful leader of his race.

Personal changes in the decade between 1854 and 1864 form the chief incidents of its political history. Sir Allan McNab retired in 1856 from a party leadership which ill-health and new conditions had

rendered impossible ; the Hon. L. T. Drummond disappeared from public life as a result of coming into conflict with Mr. Macdonald's ambitions ; John Sandfield Macdonald rose into prominence as a somewhat erratic Liberal leader in the Upper part of the Province and Antoine Aimé Dorion replaced Lafontaine in the French leadership of the same party. The Governor-General, who had so greatly endeared himself to all classes of the Canadian people—Lord Elgin—retired in 1854 and, after rendering substantial service to his country, died while ruling the great Empire of India for the Queen. His successor, for seven years, was Sir Edmund Walker Head and he, in 1861, was replaced by Lord Monck. They were both careful and wise administrators who did much to smooth the still rugged edges of the new governmental system.

In 1857, upon the local and party issue which had been made out of the Queen's choice of Ottawa as the Provincial capital, the Government of Colonel Taché and John A. Macdonald was defeated and the Liberals, under George Brown and A. A. Dorion, had the pleasure of holding office for two days. Then followed George E. Cartier and John A. Macdonald in a Conservative Ministry which lasted amid varied shifts in policy and changes in *personnel* until 1862, when the Liberals came in again under J. Sandfield Macdonald and L. V. Sicotte—for a couple of years, and with various changes under one of which A. A. Dorion succeeded Sicotte as the French Canadian leader in the Cabinet. Sir E. P. Taché and John A. Macdonald came into office in March 1864 and, in 1865, the former was succeeded as nominal Premier by Sir N. F. Belleau.

Meanwhile, in November 1864, George Brown had coalesced with the Conservative Government in an attempt to remedy the constitutional deadlock which was threatening the Province and to bring about a radical cure for this evil and a brighter future for the country by the uniting of all the Provinces of British America in a

Federal bond. With him were Liberals such as Oliver Mowat, William McDougall and W. P. Howland. It had gradually become impossible to govern the Province under existing circumstances. There seemed to be no common bond of union amongst public men ; no common principle of action in the so-called parties. George Brown, with his Protestant and anti-French section, had hopelessly divided the Liberal party in Lower Canada ; while John Hillyard Cameron and the Orangemen formed a very uncertain portion of the Conservative party in Upper Canada. John A. Macdonald was an adept at winning the allegiance of his opponents and in making coalitions which brought him temporary strength from time to time ; but it was not always easy to hold these recruits and new issues were apt to divert their loyalty at critical moments. The Baldwin Reformers, or moderate Liberals of the old school, did not always stand by Macdonald, while the Roman Catholic vote in Upper Canada was always uncertain and was controlled at times by John Sandfield Macdonald—himself a Scotch Catholic and powerful with the old-time Loyalist Highlanders. In the Lower part of the Province, there was the greatest uncertainty and neither Morin, nor Dorion, nor Cartier was strong enough to dominate the situation—although Cartier did ultimately do so in time to carry his Province into Confederation.

Some useful legislation—and some that was purely experimental—was effected even amidst this confusion. The volunteer force was organized for home defence in 1855 as a result of the feeling aroused by the Crimean War and ultimately, after a Government had been beaten upon details, a fairly good working system was evolved. In 1858 a limited policy of protection was established. In 1848, the clause in the Act of Union prohibiting the Legislature from using the French language was repealed.

In the Maritime Provinces matters had progressed much more sedately and satisfactorily. The constitutional storms were largely

over and the people had very sensibly devoted themselves to more material things. Sir Edmund Head, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Hon. J. H. T. Manners-Sutton, in New Brunswick, and Sir John Harvey, Sir J. G. Le Marchant, Lord Mulgrave (afterwards Marquess of Normanby), Sir R. G. Macdonell and Sir W. F. Williams, in Nova Scotia, proved themselves, upon the whole, to be very capable administrators. Questions of railway construction were prominent in both Provinces for years and politics, never very violent in New Brunswick, were also comparatively quiet in the sister Province. Prohibition was a New Brunswick issue in the fifties, whilst the improvement of education was always a vital matter. The former principle first brought Samuel Leonard Tilley to the front as a Liberal leader and helped to make him Premier in 1861-65. Albert J. Smith, John M. Johnston, Peter Mitchell and R. D. Wilmot were other political leaders of the decade before Confederation. In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe and William Young remained the chiefs of Liberalism with Adams G. Archibald as a later colleague ; while the Conservative party was controlled by the veteran, James W. Johnston and his successor, Charles Tupper.

RISE OF SIR CHARLES TUPPER

The rise of Dr. Tupper is perhaps the most important political event in the Provincial history of this period. To fearlessly face Joseph Howe upon the public platform and to defeat him in a Nova Scotian constituency, as Tupper did in the early fifties, was a most picturesque and striking event. But when it was followed up by the development of a strong personality which knew neither defeat, nor fatigue, nor rebuff, but swept through the Province like a whirlwind at every election—sometimes winning, sometimes losing, but always strong and resourceful—it was also a most important one. Dr. Tupper became Premier in 1864 after serving four years in preceding Cabinets. His chief act of Provincial legislation was the re-organization

of the school system upon the basis of free attendance and his most memorable public action during this period was his policy of joining in the Charlottetown Conference for the Union of the Maritime Provinces.

Prince Edward Island had, meantime, developed a serious agitation regarding the locking up of its lands in the possession of British absentee capitalists. Keen discussion with the Home Government had taken place, a responsible system of administration had slowly evolved for its tiny population and with it, in 1860, had come the appointment of an Imperial Commission to settle the question. One of the Commissioners represented the Imperial authorities, one the tenants and one was Mr. Joseph Howe. An adjustment of difficulties was made to the satisfaction of the Islanders but it was not acceptable to the London authorities and the matter was not really settled until the Island entered the Confederation in 1873. One useful thing was arranged, however, in the purchase by the Province of Lord Selkirk's estate of 62,000 acres which was generously given up by the heirs for some £6,000 sterling. But the verge of a new and greater political development had now been reached—hastened, fortunately for the whole country, by external incidents of war and fiscal change.



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL, AT THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG

This strong fortress on the Island of Cape Breton was taken from the French by 4000 Colonial troops under Pepperell, June 17, 1745.



Courtesy J. Ross Robertson Collection

ENGAGEMENT IN THE THOUSAND ISLANDS BETWEEN CANADIANS AND AMERICANS

The Americans went down the river in boats, the Canadians following, November 11, 1813. The Canadians were victorious in the encounter which took place near Ogden's and Toussaints (All Saints) Island.

CHAPTER XVI

Reciprocity and the United States Civil War

THE question of reciprocity in trade, or tariffs, with the United States has been an important one to the Canadian Provinces in all the later stages of their history. It was discussed, even during the days of the navigation laws and the British preferential tariff, at such periods as the fluctuating tendencies of trade showed some possible advantage in obtaining freer admission to the American market or in the removal of the embargo upon American ships for the transport of products. But upon the whole the fiscal preference in the British market was sufficient to hold the interests of the Provinces largely in line with those of England. After the abolition of the Corn-Laws, however, with its opening of Canadian ports to foreign vessels and the sudden destruction of industry and credit by the repeal of the preferential duties, the British Provinces began to look around for other markets and to cultivate possibilities in the Republic.

THE PUBLIC MIND TURNS TO THE STATES

They arranged their tariffs so as to treat Great Britain and the United States upon a basis of fiscal equality and, though not yet decidedly protective in policy, began to indicate tendencies in that direction. From 1849, through immediately following years, the great desire of the people in the Canadas was for some arrangement with the States by which their farm products could obtain free entry to its market; while in the Maritime Provinces the pressing demand of the moment was for free fish in the same direction. Everywhere, also, there was a feeling of indignation, or regret, at the way in

which Great Britain had apparently disregarded their interests in her sudden adoption of a cosmopolitan trade principle and the bold initiation of a free import policy.

Naturally, perhaps, people had turned to the United States in the financial and commercial distress which followed the unfortunately hasty action of the Mother-country; and in the subsequent accession to office of Lord Elgin they found a man peculiarly suited to the exigencies of the moment. In this, as in every other important matter he encountered, that brilliant nobleman seems to have risen to the occasion. In 1854, accompanied by Mr. Francis Hincks and other delegates from Canada and the Maritime Provinces, the Governor-General proceeded, in some state and under instructions from the British Government, to negotiate, if possible, a treaty of reciprocity.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY

It was a difficult thing to do. There was no love lost between the American Republic and its Mother-land at this time, though much the greater part of the hostility was felt by the former. The Oregon question, eight years before, had nearly resulted in conflict, and the war-cry of "Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight"—in reference to the latitude of the disputed boundary—had rung through the United States and been received with intense enthusiasm. The San Juan dispute had just commenced and was also to see many threats of war before its final settlement.

But Lord Elgin came to Washington and carried everything before him. The result may have been partly due to American indifference regarding the Provinces in one direction and to the belief, in another, that reciprocity would hasten the inevitable day of annexation; but it was mainly due to Lord Elgin's personality and diplomacy. No doubt he played upon all the various feelings regarding the British Provinces, whether acquisitive, indifferent, or ignorant. No doubt, also, that nothing in the way of personal hospitality

and the cultivation of friendships in securing the individual support of Senators was spared. Indeed it has been said more than once in Washington, and repeated elsewhere, that the famous Treaty was floated through the Senate upon a sea of champagne. Whatever the causes, however, the astute Governor-General won the day, the measure passed the ordeal of Congress, and became law in the summer of the same year. This remarkable piece of diplomatic work was of much apparent service to the Provinces. It provided for a free exchange of the products of the sea, the farm, the forest and the mine, and thus benefited Canadian farmers, lumbermen and miners. It admitted the United States to the freedom of the rich Atlantic fisheries and to the benefits of Canadian canal and river navigation. But it was unfortunately found impossible to obtain the admission of Maritime Province ships to the American coasting trade. Eventually, also, trouble grew up as to the privileges which might be claimed for American manufactured goods under the general understanding, though not technical conditions, of the arrangement. On the other hand, the Americans soon diverted much of the transportation interests of the Provinces to their own channels of trade.

The details of the development in the Canadas which followed the acceptance of this Treaty are of great importance to a clear comprehension of local conditions and future changes. In the first place, the years which followed covered a period of pronounced increase in trade between the two countries. In 1854, the imports of the British Provinces from the United States amounted to \$7,725,000, with \$1,790,000 of foreign products—presumably British goods brought *via* American railways and shipping. The exports to the Republic in that year were \$4,856,000 of dutiable goods and \$322,000 of goods paying no duty. In 1866, when the arrangement was abrogated, the British Provinces had imported from the States \$22,380,000 of their domestic products and \$2,448,000 of foreign products. At the same

time they had exported \$43,029,000 of free goods and \$5,499,000 of dutiable goods to the American market. As, however, the exports had been less by \$10,000,000 in the preceding year there was no doubt a rush of produce across the line in 1866 to take advantage of the last days of the Treaty. Still, the increase had been very marked and, owing largely to extraneous conditions, had been exceedingly beneficial to the Canadian farmer.

CONDITIONS UNDER RECIPROCITY

The reasons were very simple and very plain. The Crimean War had first raised the price of wheat and other farm products, the American Civil War had maintained the higher rate and, when the Treaty was abrogated, conditions were not sufficiently settled for a number of years after the wholesale withdrawal of millions of men from farming and other interests of the Republic to allow of prices being lowered to any considerable extent. It is not probable that the Reciprocity arrangement affected this condition to any great extent either one way or the other. Canadian food and farm products—wheat, oats, horses, cattle, sheep—were needed and would have been purchased with or without a Treaty. But appearances were certainly favourable to its reputation and many a farmer in Ontario to-day dates his father's prosperity and his own inheritance from the golden days of Reciprocity. In addition to the influence of war upon prices, the Provinces had also been in one of those periods of expansive development which cover all contemporary arrangements with a roseate flush of colour. An era of active construction in public works commenced at the same time as the Treaty was inaugurated. The Grand Trunk Railway was built to the extent of 1,100 miles at a cost to the local authorities of \$6,000,000 and with an estimated expenditure of \$44,000,000 of British capital. The Victoria Bridge at Montreal, described by the American Consul at that city, in 1860, as "the great work of the age" was erected at a cost of nearly \$7,000,000.

Everywhere money was being poured out upon all kinds of public works and interests. The country was changing from a pioneer community, with practically nothing but exports of timber in the market of the world, to an important commercial and financial country and feeling its way toward conditions which were to make a national union and a national structure necessary and possible. So far as the British Provinces were concerned, the net result of the Treaty was an apparent increase of trade—which would have come anyway ; greater facilities for the interchange of goods ; the building up of American railway and waterway and shipping interests at the expense of Canadian transportation routes ; the sapping of what little sentiment there had been in favour of inter-Provincial trade by the steadily growing tendency of the Provinces to send their products to, and buy their goods from, the nearest and most convenient market—that of the States to the south. During the first year of the Treaty, Canadian imports and exports by the St. Lawrence had decreased from \$33,600,000 to \$18,000,000 and continued to do so, greatly to the benefit of United States trade routes. The prosperous condition of the country was, in reality, not due to Reciprocity, but to the causes already outlined. None the less, however, did the Treaty draw the ties between the two countries very close and render it a matter for grave alarm to the financial, commercial and agricultural interests of the Provinces when the ill-feeling toward England, aroused by the Civil War, threatened its abrogation.

The balance of benefit in the arrangement was really with the United States. Americans enjoyed the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and the use of the costly system of canals which was slowly developing through the expenditure of Provincial money. British-American fisheries were open to the fishermen of the Republic and Mr. E. H. Derby, in his Report to Congress upon the results of the Treaty, stated the number of American fishing vessels in Canadian

waters in 1862 as numbering 3,815. Six hundred sail during a single season had fished for mackerel in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, taking fish to the value of \$4,500,000. Meantime, hardly a British smack found its way into American waters. The increase of trade was a boon to American interests before the Civil War as well as afterwards. During the twelve years of the Treaty \$112,000,000 worth of breadstuffs were sent to the Provinces—largely between 1854 and 1860—and \$88,000,000 of manufactured goods. As early as January 1856, a Special Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce reported that: "The result cannot fail to be greatly advantageous to both countries. While the trade of Canada by the St. Lawrence with England has been reduced, that with the United States has been augmented; our canals and railroads have been enriched by the transportation of their surplus productions; our neighbours have purchased largely in our markets of domestic manufactures; and our vessels have had the advantage of an increased foreign trade."

Two years later the same body of commercial and financial magnates declared by Resolution that the arrangement was "one of the most important commercial treaties ever made by our Government." On February 10, 1862 the Chicago Board of Trade declared that "the Treaty has been of great value to the producing interests of the whole (American) North-West." On March 8, 1864, the Boston Board of Trade stated that its continuance "is demanded by the interests of American commerce;" while on December 9th of the same year, the Detroit Board of Trade declared that the agricultural and commercial interests of the North-West were almost unanimous in favour of its renewal and that, "in whatever way we view the Treaty it has been of vast importance to us as well as to the Colonies." So much for business opinions of the arrangement in the United States as apart from political sentiment and easily-aroused international animosities. According to American figures also—the

Treasury Department Bureau of Statistics—there was a distinct balance of trade in favour of the Republic during the period to the extent of \$54,000,000. The amount of exports to the Provinces was given at \$350,576,000 and the imports from them at \$295,766,000.

WHY THE TREATY WAS ABROGATED

Meanwhile, events were evolving which were to destroy the Treaty and help to effect a constitutional revolution in the Provinces. The chief nominal cause of its abrogation in 1866 was an attempt by Canada to protect its industries in a very moderate and tentative fashion. The financial crisis of 1857 in the United States had considerably affected Canadian interests for a time and proved an interregnum in the general prosperity of the period. Banks had failed, investments been curtailed, Provincial revenues greatly lessened, and a deficit created which, in 1858, amounted to \$2,000,000. Something had therefore to be done with the tariff. Mr. A. T. Galt, who held the position in the Cartier-Macdonald Government which corresponded with the later one of Finance Minister, undertook to re-arrange the duties so as to increase the revenue and, incidentally, to afford some slight protection to home industries. He explained publicly, that "the policy of the Government in re-adjusting the tariff has been, in the first place, to obtain sufficient revenue for the public wants; and secondly, to do so in such a manner as shall most fairly distribute the burden upon the different classes of the community." And, then, he went on to say that the Government would be satisfied "if it found that the increased duties absolutely required to meet its engagements should incidentally benefit and encourage the production in this country."

This was the first practical development of protection in Canada and it was none the less protection because of being termed "incidental." As an illustration of the policy it may be pointed out that the duty on boots and shoes and harness goods was raised from 12½

per cent. in 1855, to 20 per cent. in 1857 and 25 per cent. in 1859. On cotton, iron, silk and woollen manufactures the duties were advanced from 12½ per cent. in 1855, to 15 per cent. in 1857 and 20 per cent. in 1859. Speaking at Hamilton, in 1861, Mr. John A. Macdonald declared that "it is a matter for consolation that the tariff has been so adapted as, incidentally, to encourage manufacturing industries here." The immediate result of this policy was an equalization of revenue and expenditure and the raising of a controversy with certain British interests which objected to Colonial tariffs upon their goods and were not yet educated up to the full and inevitable effect of abrogating the mutual preferential duties in favour of British and Colonial products which had existed prior to 1846. The manufacturers of Sheffield and other places wanted their own hands freed, but were apparently not quite ready to accord the same fiscal freedom to Canadian interests.

Mr. Galt maintained a strong and spirited correspondence with the Colonial Office in connection with these protests as did one of his successors, the Hon. John Rose, and the ultimate result was a complete recognition of the Colonial right to impose duties for either revenue or protective purposes upon British and foreign goods. Very unfairly the Galt tariff was also used by politicians in the United States who were hostile to England, or Canada, or both, as a lever to force the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. Although millions of dollars worth of manufactures were being sent every year into the Provinces and although such products were deliberately excluded from the purview of the original Treaty, yet it was claimed that this re-adjusted tariff of the Canadas was, in some unspecified way, an infringement of British obligations under the international arrangement. This contention was maintained until the very end and despite such statements as that of James W. Taylor, in an elaborate Report to the United States Secretary of the Treasury in March, 1860, that



Courtesy J. Ross Robertson Collection

BRITISH TROOPS ON THE MARCH DURING THE REBELLION OF 1837

The march of the 43d Light Infantry from Fredericton, N. B. to Quebec, in December, 1837, covered a distance of 370 miles, occupied eighteen days, and the thermometer ranged from twenty to thirty degrees below zero.



WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE
 Leader of the 1837 Rebellion in Upper Canada and 61st Mayor of
 Toronto.



THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DURHAM
 Governor General of British America 1838.

"Our manufacturers demand that Canada shall restore the scale of duties existing when the Reciprocity Treaty was ratified, on penalty of its abrogation. When it is considered that the duties imposed by the American tariff of 1857 are fully 25 per cent. higher than the corresponding rates of the Canadian tariff, the demand borders on arrogance." Nor does the claim seem to have been affected even by the similar declaration of the New York Chamber of Commerce, on December 21, 1864, that: "The additional duties on our manufactured imports into Canada are still moderate and are for revenue purposes only; and that, with our own present high tariff, we are the last persons who have a right to complain of any similar procedure; and that, notwithstanding, our manufactures find a large outlet in that direction." Five years before this, in 1859, when Lord Napier, then British Ambassador at Washington, submitted proposals for "the confirmation and expansion of free commercial relations between the United States and the British Provinces" they had been declined.

Yet a Committee of the American Congress made this contention the string upon which to hang a somewhat bitter indictment against Canada for illiberality and unfairness. To it Mr. Galt replied * by quoting the perfect freedom of the St. Lawrence from the Great Lakes to the ocean; the absence of light-house dues, the repeal of tonnage dues on Lake St. Peter; the abolition of tolls on all vessels, whether American or Canadian; the opening of extensive districts, east and west, free from all customs dues whatever. He pointed out that Canada had a perfect right to arrange its tariffs upon goods expressly excluded from the Treaty, in such a manner as was best suited to its own interests. He declared that, on the other hand, the United States had not acted fairly in many matters. They had imposed heavy consular fees on proof of origin which became tantamount to

* Canadian Sessional Papers, No. 23, vol. v., 1862.

a duty and which were not removed until after two years of protest and negotiation. They subjected to duty flour ground in Canada from American wheat which was free by treaty. They imposed a tax upon timber cut in Canada out of American saw-logs, although Canadian saw-logs were free. Canada admitted the registration of foreign vessels without charge ; the United States did not. Canada admitted American craft free of all toll or charge through her system of canals to the sea ; but no Canadian boat was allowed, even on payment of toll, to enter an American canal—despite the express stipulation in the Treaty itself that “the Government of the United States further engages to secure to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty the use of the several State canals on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States.” Foreign goods were constantly bought in the American market and brought into Canada, paying duty only upon the original foreign invoice ; but American law forbade anything of the kind being done in Canada.

Such was the general Canadian position regarding the Treaty and the nominal cause of its abrogation. It is not probable that the American complaints concerning the Galt Tariff would have been sufficiently strong, or have had enough strength behind them, to procure or even seriously to endanger its existence, had there not arisen the intense anti-British feeling which marked the progress of the Trent Affair and had been first stirred up by the escape of the *Alabama* and the supposed sympathy of Great Britain and Canada with the South. When this spirit developed the abrogation became practically inevitable, although the business interests of the country were opposed to such an action and various Chambers of Commerce continued to press the desirability of retaining or renewing the Treaty. One of the notable efforts made in this direction was the holding of an international Reciprocity Convention at Detroit. It was opened on July 11, 1865, and many who were then, or afterwards became,

well-known in business or politics in the British Provinces, were present—notably Joseph Howe, William McMaster, Adam Brown, Billa Flint, Isaac Buchanan, Elijah Leonard, J. L. Beaudry, L. H. Holton, Sir Hugh Allan, E. H. King, Charles J. Brydges, Peter Redpath, James Skead, Charles Fisher, A. E. Botsford, George Coles, Erastus Wiman and John McMurrich.

American delegates were in attendance from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston and from almost every important town or district north of Washington. A Resolution was finally passed asking for fresh negotiations and a new Treaty. The most striking event of the gathering was the wonderfully eloquent speech of Joseph Howe. It was logical in argument, forceful in presenting the British and Canadian case, and effective in its personal impressiveness beyond any other Canadian comparison. Nothing, however, could overcome the feeling which prevailed amongst the American delegates, and was strengthened by pressure from Washington, that any strong approval of the Treaty, or even of its eventual renewal, would retard the supposed Canadian movement toward annexation. It was believed and freely pointed out that a period of fiscal coercion would greatly assist this tendency.

When the notice of abrogation was first given in 1865 it came with something of a shock to the Canadian people. They had grown so accustomed to the absence of tariff walls in all matters connected with the products of the farm, the forest, the mines and the fisheries, that their coming reconstruction was looked upon with actual dismay and fear. Business and transportation interests had become so assimilated with those of the United States that a sudden and serious change of this sort threatened to precipitate a financial panic. Talk of annexation as the only way out of a *cul-de-sac* actually did become rampant in some quarters and further increased the fear in other directions as to what the end of it all would be. Interests built up

as a result of twelve years of close trade relations between the two countries trembled on the verge of ruin. The Government appealed to the Mother-country to try and avert what they declared the people would regard as "a great calamity." John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, George Brown and A. T. Galt were sent post haste to England to point out that the whole trade of Canada would have to be turned into new channels and much disaster follow if something could not be done to renew the arrangement. Of course the Imperial Government did what it could and, in 1866, A. T. Galt and W. P. Howland from Canada, W. A. Henry from Nova Scotia, and A. J. Smith from New Brunswick, met Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister at Washington. Through him they tried to negotiate a renewal. It was useless, however, and in the succeeding year the Treaty ceased to exist. At the same time the Fenian raids took place and added the danger and the fact of actual aggression, to Canadian fears of commercial disaster and restriction.

The whole trouble arose out of the American Civil War and the irremovable impression of the Northern States that English sympathy was with their antagonists. There is no doubt that a majority of the British aristocracy sympathized with the South ; that Palmerston and Gladstone and other leaders had expressed feelings of this kind in language as plain as it was unwise ; that the great Reviews and many of the newspapers of England believed the war to be one of conquest and not of national unity. But the Queen is now known to have not only approved the cause of the North but to have held back her Government from that formal recognition of the Southern States which would have made France and England their inevitable allies ; leaders of such opposite schools of thought as Disraeli and Bright warmly espoused the side of the North ; the men of Lancashire, dependent upon the receipt of Southern cotton for their manufactures, preferred to starve and actually did starve rather than ask

their Government to interfere in the contest ; the Government eventually refused the overtures of Napoleon III. to intervene, despite the close relations of the time with France and the close personal friendship between the Queen and the Emperor and Empress. Canada, on her side, contributed thousands of volunteers to the Northern armies and never showed any official sympathy with the South, whatever individuals may have felt.

But all this was nothing in comparison with the accidental escape of the *Alabama* and the storm which found expression after the seizure of Mason and Slidell in a British ship and the necessity of surrendering them again to the Power which had been insulted. The first result of the feeling thus aroused was the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the second was the tacit encouragement given to the Fenian movement upon Canada, the third was the pressing of the *Alabama* claims to the point of war, the fourth was the Treaty of Washington in 1871.

CHAPTER XVII

The Confederation of the Provinces

THE union of all the Provinces of British America did not come in a moment nor did it come, as superficial observers sometimes say, because political complications had arisen in the Canadas. Despite this belief and the assertion of Mr. Goldwin Smith that the parent of Canadian Confederation was constitutional deadlock it appears evident to the close student of history that the political issue was only one of many under-currents trending in the same direction and all combining to make federation inevitable, as well as desirable. The idea, as practically considered in 1864 and achieved in 1867, was not a new one in itself nor was it the possession of any single mind in the annals of British America.

EARLY ADVOCATES OF THE IDEA

Aside from proposals by Francis Nicholson, Governor Hutchinson, Benjamin Franklin and William Smith for the application of the scheme to all the American Colonies in days before the Revolution, its first formal suggestion in the British America of the present time was by Richard J. Uniacke, in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, in 1800. This was followed in 1814 by the probably quite independent and original advocacy of the Hon. Jonathan Sewell, in his well known correspondence with H.R.H. the Duke of Kent. Mr. Sewell, afterwards Chief Justice of Quebec and during many years a prominent figure in the politics of his Province, proposed a federal union of all the Provinces with one Assembly of thirty members. The Queen's father, who had always taken a deep interest in British America, besides serving at both Halifax and Quebec in command of the

troops, went carefully into the matter and suggested as a preliminary the legislative union of the Canadas in one division and of the Maritime Provinces in another, with a Federal Government at Quebec, for the whole. Ten years later Chief Justice Sewell, Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson of Upper Canada, and Bishop Strachan, presented a pamphlet scheme for a general union to the Imperial authorities.

THE IDEA FINDS MANY SUPPORTERS

So far, the idea had been essentially a Tory one and it was treated with contumely by French Canadians as well as by Radical leaders. But about this time it was supported in a tentative and theoretical way by Robert Gourlay and W. L. Mackenzie and, in 1837-8, was favoured in more or less academic resolutions by both the British House of Commons and the Upper Canada Legislature. Then came the recommendation of Lord Durham and the union of the Canadas. In 1849 the Canadian Legislative Council declared in favour of federation, while the troubles at Montreal and elsewhere in connection with Rebellion losses legislation, British free-trade legislation, and the Annexation movement of the same year, induced the British North American League to include Confederation as a first and foremost plank in its platform. The advocates of the policy in this popular body, it is worthy of notice, were largely enthusiastic young Tories under the leadership of the now rising politician—the Hon. John A. Macdonald. In 1851 the latter attended a mass meeting in Montreal and supported a resolution in favour of the principle while, about the same time, the Hon. Henry Sherwood, an old-time Loyalist and Tory leader, published a strongly favourable pamphlet.

During the next few years the Hon. James W. Johnston, Conservative leader in Nova Scotia, Mr. Pierce S. Hamilton, an able publicist and writer in the same Province, and the Hon. J. H. Gray

in New Brunswick, all supported the idea in speeches or writings. Mr. Johnston and the Hon. A. G. Archibald urged the proposal officially in 1857 and about the same time there appeared its first popular advocacy by a French-Canadian in the form of a series of letters by Mr. J. C. Taché in *Le Courrier du Canada*. During 1858 the Hon. A. T. Galt, in various speeches, and the Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee in the Legislative Assembly of the Canadas, favoured the policy while it received for the first time an official Canadian *imprimatur* by the Governor-General, Sir Edmund W. Head, announcing at the closing of the Session that he intended to communicate upon the subject with the Imperial Government and the Governments of the other Colonies and that he was "desirous of inviting them to discuss with us the principles on which a bond of a federal character uniting the Provinces of British North America may, perhaps, hereafter be practicable."

In the same year his Government sent Messrs. Cartier, Galt and John Ross to England for the purpose of inviting the Home Government to appoint Delegates from all the Provinces to discuss a federal union. Naturally, and properly, the Imperial authorities did not see their way to assume such a responsibility and preferred leaving the seed to grow in its own soil until a stage of fruition had been reached in which the various branches of a single stem might draw together of their own volition.

About the time of this mission to England, Mr. Alexander Morris—long afterwards Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice of Manitoba in succession—delivered a somewhat famous lecture in Montreal and published it under the title of *Nova Britannia*. In it he foretold a future fusion of races in British America, a union of all the Provinces and territories from ocean to ocean and a railway to the Pacific. During the same year, and in the *Montreal Gazette*, there appeared a strong letter in favour of union written by James Anderson and significant for its reference to John A. Macdonald as "the

primary mind of the Canadian Legislative Assembly " and as long since prepared for carrying out this policy. Upon the failure of the Canadian Delegation already referred to, the Maritime Provinces sent another one and it was assured that no obstacles would be placed in the way of union—Mr. Labouchere, the Colonial Secretary and afterwards Lord Taunton, going so far as to say that he thought a union amongst the Maritime Provinces themselves would be exceedingly beneficial. The question now became more and more widely discussed. Tariff and railway matters brought the Provinces from time to time before the attention of portions of the British public while the idea itself was slowly but surely sifting into and permeating the minds of people in the Provinces.

In 1859 a gathering of Bristol merchants urged the importance of the proposed Inter-Colonial Railway as a help towards union and, a little later, in one of the eddying currents of political opinion during that period of conflict, a Liberal Convention at Toronto passed a resolution deprecating federal union. In the following year the *Halifax Reporter* supported the principle strenuously and one of its editorials on the subject is said to have received the approval of the Prince of Wales when he was starting from Halifax upon his tour of the Provinces. Dr. Charles Tupper, about the same time, lectured in its favour at St. John and in the succeeding year Mr. John A. Macdonald declared in an address to the electors of Kingston, that "the Government will not relax its exertions to effect a Confederation of the British North American Provinces." About the same time, also, Mr. Joseph Howe moved a Resolution in the Nova Scotian Assembly asking the Lieutenant-Governor to ascertain the views of the Colonial Secretary, the Governor-General and the other Lieutenant-Governors upon the question. From the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, came an intimation in reply that if the Provinces took any action in the matter the result would be weighed by Her Majesty's

Government "with no other feeling than an anxiety to discern and promote any course most conducive to the prosperity, the strength and the harmony" of the British communities in North America.

Finally, in 1864, Mr. George Brown reported from, and on behalf of, a Committee of the Canadian Legislature in favour of Confederation. Just at this moment Resolutions appointing Delegates to meet at Charlottetown for the purpose of discussing a union of the Maritime Provinces had been passed in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, mainly through the initiative of Dr. Tupper, in that of New Brunswick through the exertions of Mr. S. L. Tilley and in the Legislature of Prince Edward Island through the influence of Mr. W. H. Pope. The Conference met and received a deputation from the Province of Canada composed of John A. Macdonald, George Brown, George E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, T. D'Arcy McGee, Alexander Campbell and H. L. Langevin. The result of the representations made by the Canadians was a decision to enlarge the scope and policy of the Convention so to cover all the Provinces and to adjourn with a view of meeting in a fuller and more authoritative gathering for a discussion of the greater federal union.

CAUSES OF CONFEDERATION

How the movement had come to reach this advanced stage is an interesting story. As already stated there was no single cause sufficiently strong to have forced it to a head. There was, however, the concurrent pressure of a number of influences, which, in concrete form, brought about the result. First and foremost was the growing hostility of the United States as exhibited in the Trent Affair, embodied in newspaper articles against England, and impressed upon the Provinces by the threatened abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. Then, there existed a feeling in many far-seeing minds that there was, perhaps, a deeper danger in the existing development of the separated Provinces toward the United States in a commercial

and financial sense, than there would be in any condition of actual and permanent antagonism upon the part of the Republic. If matters went on as they were going and the Reciprocity Treaty should be renewed it seemed apparent to these thinkers that the ties between the Provinces and individual States to the south would become so strong as to draw the former still further from each other and make a future united British country practically impossible.

The Colonial Office had also commenced to take an interest in the matter and the rejection of a Militia Bill in the Canadian Legislature from purely partisan motives, at a critical moment in the Trent Affair when England was pouring troops by thousands into British America, had aroused attention to the weakness of the Provinces from a defensive standpoint and to the greater weakness arising out of politics which were truly Provincial in their pettiness and yet injurious in their strength of feeling. To obtain organization in a military sense it was seen that organization in a constitutional sense must first be created and, from the earlier "sixties" onward, the Imperial Government consistently but quietly utilized its influence to forward the idea of unity and federation. Lord Monck, who became Governor-General in 1861, used all his ability and the silent, continuous pressure of Vice-regal approval to advance the principle; Lieutenant-Governors were appointed with distinct, though private, instructions along the same line and at least one of them was removed for expressions unfavourable to the policy. This was an important aid to the inception of Confederation which is often overlooked.

Equally important, but not of supreme importance in the evolution of the movement, was the dead-lock in Government which arose at Ottawa. The conflicting elements in this trouble were almost innumerable though a few stand out with greater prominence than others. The racial feeling was still strong in Lower Canada and found frequent expression in the Legislature, in the choice of political

leaders, in the almost bewildering difficulties of Cabinet formation. The absence of a Prime Minister in the full constitutional sense of the word and the existence of two leaders in the Cabinet with distinct territorial and racial jurisdiction (the Attorneys-General of Canada East and West) was a source of endless and inevitable confusion. The slow but steady disruption of the Liberal party by the formation of George Brown's anti-French and anti-Catholic organization and the vigorous, slashing style of the *Globe* under his control were elements which naturally added to the complexities of the situation. It took time also for Mr. Macdonald's new party to evolve and the French-Canadians were slow to leave their racial unity of thought and action and to divide in a party sense—even under the goad of George Brown's continued onslaughts in connection with the question of representation by population. They had so long and harmoniously called themselves Radicals, or Liberals, or Reformers; they had so bitterly fought the Tories, or Conservatives, in the first forty years of the century; they had so strongly regarded the latter as identified with a hated form of British racial supremacy; that it was difficult even for the most tactful of statesmen to change their party allegiance. The change was bound to be a slow one and, in the meantime, the deadlock came when no party in the nominally united Provinces could form or hold a Government.

Other and minor influences there were in the development toward union. The politicians of the Provinces were becoming better known to one another and their frequent conferences upon railway and other matters insensibly taught them the common interests which should exist, and really did exist, amongst their peoples. With the increase of population and the growth of railways there came also some measure of increased intercourse and trade—though these were greatly checked by the close relation with southern neighbours. A certain element amongst the people—many of them French-Canadians

—dreamed of a distant future of complete independence and there were men in all the Provinces favourable to Confederation as a step in that direction. Others wanted annexation and thought this policy would make them strong enough to, some day, throw off "the bonds of British connection" and to then throw themselves into the arms of the Republic. Loyalists of the olden type—and they were still numerous—felt that the only hope of protecting their independence from the United States was by a policy of uniting British resources in the creation of a strong British state. Thus, all kinds of cross currents of vague opinion were being gradually moulded into shape and prepared for supporting the general principles of unity. During the succeeding years, 1865–6, the abrogation of Reciprocity and the Fenian raids were to change greatly the course of minor streams of thought and unite public sentiment in favour of Confederation as the only safeguard against an American policy of either coercion or conciliation. Though in the first instance one of many original causes of Confederation this feeling became in the end the predominant popular reason for approval of a policy which by 1865 was practically consummated.

A MEMORABLE CONFERENCE

The Conference of statesmen which met at Quebec on October 10, 1864, was a memorable gathering in Canadian history. The "Fathers of Confederation" who then met with the object of laying the constitutional foundations of a new British nation were men of great ability in many cases, of much local influence in all cases. Some of them would have graced the matured counsels of an Empire instead of the infant stages of national construction. Canada was well represented. Its master-mind, in the person of John A. Macdonald, was then in all the vigour of his keen, constructive intellect and a subtle, supple comprehension of the quick-changing fancies of the public and its political leaders. Marred as his ability was by the

weakness which at times detached him from serious matters and plunged his genial personality in a self-indulgence which would have ruined any lesser man, there could be no doubt of his foremost place in any gathering of contemporaries. Sir Etienne Paschal Taché, the cultured, patriotic French-Canadian gentleman who once declared that the last gun fired in North America in defence of British connection would be fired by one of his race, was there, and with unanimous approval took the place of Chairman.

George Brown, the energetic, forceful personality, the honest lover of his country, the bitter antagonist of French or Catholic supremacy in its affairs, was present with a sincere desire to advance that cause of union which, for some years, he had been most earnestly advocating. George Etienne Cartier, the admirer and friend and colleague of "John A." was there as representative of the growing Conservative party of French Canada. Alexander Tilloch Galt, independent in view, sturdy in character, honest in purpose, was present as representative and guardian of the Protestant interests of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. William McDougall, a singularly able man with a disappointing subsequent career; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a brilliant Irishman of patriotic and eloquent personality and with a melancholy death not very far away in the fields of fate; Oliver Mowat, a rising Liberal leader, Alexander Campbell and James Cockburn, two prominent Conservative politicians, Hector Louis Langevin and Jean Charles Chapais, two French-Canadians of acknowledged ability; completed the list of Delegates from the Canadas.

From Nova Scotia came the strenuous, aggressive, forceful personality of Charles Tupper, able and eloquent, and destined to be the life-long friend and ultimate successor of Sir John Macdonald. With him were well-known men in the field of local politics—W. A. Henry, a future Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, Jonathan McCully

and R. B. Dickey, members of its future Senate, Adams George Archibald, a Lieutenant-Governor of two of its coming Provinces. From New Brunswick came the suave, pleasant and popular Samuel Leonard Tilley, an able politician and a good financier of the future. With him were John M. Johnston, Charles Fisher, Peter Mitchell, Edward Barron Chandler, W. H. Steeves and John Hamilton Gray—only one of whom, in the person of Peter Mitchell, can be said to have obtained a national reputation; yet all of whom were men of marked ability in different ways and differing degrees. Prince Edward Island was represented by Colonel Gray, Edward Palmer, afterwards its Chief Justice, W. H. Pope, George Coles, Edward Whelan, T. H. Haviland and A. A. Macdonald—the two last living to preside over their native Province as Lieutenant-Governors. Newfoundland, though it shared the policy of its sister Island in ultimately refusing for a time to enter Confederation, sent Delegates to the Conference in the persons of F. B. T. Carter and Ambrose Shea—each of whom in later days won his knighthood from the Crown.

Such was the gathering which, after prolonged discussion, finally passed the seventy-two Resolutions which, practically constituted the British North America Act of 1867—so far as the terms and conditions of that measure were concerned. There was, however, a long struggle before success came and the causes and sentiments, already referred to, had been given the opportunity of chrystalizing into a general acceptance of the document. The Union Resolutions were adopted in the Canadian Assembly, in 1865, by ninety-one to thirty-three votes and in the Council by eighty-five to forty-five votes—fifty-four from Upper Canada and thirty-seven from Lower Canada constituting the favourable vote in the Assembly. After two general elections in New Brunswick and a passing change of Government the Resolutions were approved in July, 1866, by good majorities. In Nova Scotia, as in Canada, the Resolutions were adopted by the

Legislature—on motion of the Hon. Dr. Tupper in the Assembly and by a vote of thirteen to nineteen—without a general election.

In this latter Province grave troubles were to ensue as a result of Joseph Howe's opposition to Confederation. He had been excluded from the Conferences for reasons technically correct, but which seem in the judgment of later times to have been politically unwise. The decision to oppose the measure does not appear to have been a sudden one, but to have developed out of reasons beyond his control and, perhaps, chiefly because of the impossibility of two such Cæsars as Tupper and Howe ruling in the same party organization at the same time. There were, of course, other men of prominence in the Provinces who had not been members of the Quebec Conference. Sir N. F. Belleau, John Hillyard Cameron, Malcolm Cameron, P. J. O. Chauveau, Antoine Aimé Dorion, M. H. Foley, Luther Hamilton Holton, J. Sandfield Macdonald, John Rose and Francis Hincks, were none of them present—some, perhaps, because of known opposition to the scheme; Francis Hincks, because of absence from the scene of his many political labours as Governor of British Guiana. But all of them put together were not as important at this juncture as Joseph Howe. While his constructive statesmanship does not seem to have been remarkable, the effect of his eloquence would have been very great and, could it have been brought to bear in all the Provinces at a later period, must have hastened the growth of a Canadian sentiment which proved rather slow in maturing.

COMPLETING THE CONSTITUTION

In December, 1866, Delegates from the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick met in London to make the final preparations and to see the measure through the Imperial Parliament. Mr. John A. Macdonald was appointed Chairman of the Conference and, of those who had been at Quebec, Messrs. McDougall, Tilley, Tupper, Cartier, Galt, McCully, Fisher, Johnston, Mitchell, Archibald,

Langevin and Henry were also present, as were three new men—J. W. Ritchie, W. P. Howland and R. D. Wilmot. The final details were settled and, on the 28th of March, 1867, the Resolutions, after passing through the Imperial Parliament as the British North America Act, received the Queen's assent and became the constitution of the new Dominion * of Canada on the ensuing 1st of July.

Under the terms of this Federal constitution, or by virtue of British precedents and practices afterwards read into it, the following system was established, or has in its working details been since evolved :

1. A Governor-General representing the Sovereign, appointed by the Crown for five years and holding, practically, the same place in the Canadian constitution as the Queen does in that of Great Britain.

2. A Cabinet composed of members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, who may be chosen from either branch of Parliament and whose chief is termed the Premier. He has usually been leader of the House of Commons as well as the recognized leader of his party. The Cabinet must command the support or confidence of a majority in the Commons. The Ministers may vary in number as well as the Departments of Government—the administration of which usually falls to members of the Cabinet.

3. A Senate, whose members are appointed for life by the Governor-General-in-Council. It is composed of seventy-eight members who must possess property qualifications, be thirty years of age and British subjects. They receive \$1,000 for a Session of thirty days, with travelling expenses.

4. A House of Commons composed of members elected for a maximum period of five years by popular vote—from 1898 under the franchise of the different Provinces. There is no property qualification,

* It is to be regretted, in light of later Imperialistic developments, that Sir John Macdonald's proposal in the first draft of the Act to make the title, "Kingdom of Canada," should have been opposed by Lord Stanley (16th Earl of Derby) who was then the Foreign Secretary, as being likely to offend the susceptibilities of the United States.

but members must be at least twenty-one years of age, British subjects, and not disqualified by law. There are 213 members and the Sessional allowance is \$1,000.

6. The Provincial Governments are composed of the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed for a term of five years by the Governor-General in-Council (which phrase usually means the Dominion Cabinet); the Ministry, composed of Departmental officers selected from either House of the Legislature and often having additional members without office or emolument; a Legislative Council,* in Nova Scotia and Quebec, composed of members appointed by the Provincial Government, or Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and in Prince Edward Island elected by the people; and a Legislative Assembly elected for four years by popular vote. In all the Provinces manhood suffrage, limited by residence and citizenship, is the law except in Prince Edward Island.

Under the terms of Union the Dominion Parliament was to have control of the general affairs of the country, including all matters not specifically delegated to the Provincial authorities—the reverse of the United States system and of the Australian constitution lately (1900) completed. The chief subjects of Federal control were the regulation of trade and commerce; the postal system; the public debt, public property and borrowing of money on the credit of the Dominion; the militia and all matters connected with the local defence of the country; navigation, shipping, quarantine and the coast and inland fisheries; currency, coinage, banks, weights and measures, bills and notes, bankruptcy and insolvency; copyright, and patents of inventions and discovery; Indians, naturalization and aliens; marriage and divorce; customs and excise duties; public works, canals, railways and penitentiaries; criminal law and procedure.

* Ontario decided to dispense with a Council altogether, British Columbia at a later date did the same and Manitoba and New Brunswick have since abolished theirs.

The Provincial Legislatures were to have control of certain specified subjects, including direct taxation ; the borrowing of money on Provincial credit ; the management and sale of local public lands and of the wood and timber thereon ; the establishment, maintenance and management of prisons and reformatories, hospitals, asylums and charitable institutions generally ; licences to saloons, taverns, shops and auctioneers ; certain specified public works within the Province ; the administration of justice under certain jurisdictions and Provincial Courts ; together with education and municipal institutions.

Under the terms of the Act Ontario, or Upper Canada, has 92 representatives in the House of Commons, Quebec, or Lower Canada, 65, Nova Scotia 20, New Brunswick 14. As the other Provinces came into the Union Prince Edward Island was given 5 members, Manitoba 7, British Columbia 6 and the North-West Territories 4. The basis, according to population, is that of Quebec with its 65 members and a re-arrangement takes place after each decennial Census. The average population to each representative is 22,688. In this way was settled the point for which George Brown had so strenuously struggled and the influence of French Canada—if united from a racial point of view—was left to depend upon its comparative population and not upon the arbitrary equality of representation created by the Act of Union in 1841. Fortunately for the new Dominion a division along racial lines has only occasionally taken place and never in the form of fractious hostility to which politicians of the earlier period and the lesser Union were too well accustomed.

CHAPTER XVIII

Completing Confederation

THE bringing together of the old and historic Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in a federal bond was a difficult and important task and enough in itself to constitute the life-work of a statesman. To complete this union by the acquisition of the great Northwest and of prairies and mountains stretching in millions of square miles to the far Pacific, was a work which, in national possibilities, was even greater. It must be remembered, in estimating the importance of any one man in connection with what may be termed the making of Canada, that it was the good fortune and the statecraft of Sir John Macdonald which enabled him not only to have the largest popular place and the chief constructive share in the confederation of the older Provinces, but also, as Prime Minister, to preside over the admission of Manitoba, the formation of the North-West Territories and the admission of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island.

THE STATECRAFT OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD

In addition to this, it was his privilege to watch over and guide the early operation of the new constitution and to influence the later creation of a sincere and powerful national sentiment—without which Confederation was simply a structure built on shifting sand. None of these stages in expansion or progress was, however, of easy attainment. Each had to be beaten off the anvil of the fates with fire and hard labour.

It could not have been without a shade of sympathetic regret that the thoughtful observer, toward the end of the sixties, should

have witnessed the approaching fall of the Hudson's Bay Company as a great land power and its probable subsidence into the hum-drum existence of a mere trading corporation under constitutional control. Its history had been a great and romantic one, and though marred by occasional acts of violence, or folly, had upon the whole been of service to the Empire's expansion and commerce and a considerable addition to its store of great traditions. It was in 1862 that the first overt steps had been taken by the Province of Canada to acquire the North-West; it was on the 9th of March 1869 that the final arrangements were concluded between the two Governments and the Company. Between this date and the actual transfer of the territory, however, there intervened a period of trouble and perplexity, of insurrection and murder.

THE RIEL REBELLION OF 1870

The history of the Riel Rebellion of 1870 is a regrettable page in Canadian annals and seems to indicate a lack of imagination on the part of the Canadian Government in dealing with a sensitive and ignorant population of whom little was known by any one in authority, except it were the Hudson's Bay Company people. The latter do not seem to have shown any active interest in matters once the sale was actually consummated and their £300,000 assured. Imagination is, in statesmanship, an all-essential, though not always recognized, factor and it was not usually lacking in the policy of Sir John Macdonald. But on this occasion no one appears to have followed the sound principle of putting themselves in other peoples' places and imagining for a brief period what the feelings of the Métis, or Half-breeds of the Red River, would be upon hearing of the proposed transfer of their territory.

They were uneducated, could not speak English, knew nothing of constitutional government or even what it meant, were isolated in the extreme, did not understand the relations held by the Company,

the British Government and the Canadian authorities toward each other, and were, therefore, the easy victims of deception, the facile instruments of any vain or corrupt agitator who might rise to the surface of affairs at a critical juncture. Judgment long after an event, when based upon new conditions and changed ideas, is always easy and unfair, but in this case it would really seem as if the ten or twelve thousand people, scattered throughout the region now known as Manitoba, should have received some official notification and personal explanation of the policy of union with Canada, its actual causes and probable effects. They had never asked to be included in the Dominion and were quite content under the open and paternal government of the Company. They now heard rumors of impending change and all the flying gossip of a scattered and suspicious population; while they saw with their own eyes the corps of surveyors and road-makers who so unwisely preceded the authorities and even the actual transfer. It is little wonder, therefore, that though the Selkirk settlers and most of the English-speaking people held aloof in the assurance that nothing very serious could happen to them under the new *régime*, the more primitive and less placid Half-breeds shifted in restless alarm and presently caught fire under the unscrupulous appeals of Louis Riel.

CHARACTER OF LOUIS RIEL

Like many men born to lead in civil strife, or to effect objects of a socialistic or anarchistic nature, Riel had a vein of madness in his mind. It was not, in any true sense of the word, insanity, nor does there appear to have ever been serious grounds for supposing him incapable of controlling his own actions. It was the madness of intense egotism and vanity, developed by other characteristics into a cool, calculating, unscrupulous ambition. The son of a white father and a Half-breed mother he had been educated in Montreal for the Roman Catholic priesthood but returned to Fort Garry without really taking Orders.

His early surroundings had given him physical vigour, his education in Montreal had given him fair scholarship, his French and Indian blood had given him a curious mixture of qualities in which oratorical facility and indifference to the shedding of blood were prominent. In many respects, therefore, he was fitted to be a leader of the people at the Red River, and into this position he at once leapt. Moderation at this juncture would have made him a great and useful figure in the hearts and history of his countrymen and have enabled him to prepare them peacefully for a union of which he must have clearly understood the nature. And he might afterwards have taken a high political place in the Province, and, perhaps, in the Dominion.

Encouraged, however, by a vague knowledge of Papineau's day of power in French Canada ; believing that Fort Garry was too far away and the Canadian people too indifferent to risk serious interference ; hoping from the opinions of American residents at Fort Garry that, if there was trouble, the United States would intervene ; inspired by a passion for notoriety which some men mistake for honest ambition ; he drew away from the paths of moderation and determined to found a new republic in America. In the earlier stages of the movement he had little opposition from the pure white population and considerable sympathy from the American element in it. The English-speaking settlers explained to Lieutenant-Colonel Stoughton Dennis, who came to them as chief of the newly-appointed Governor's staff, that they had not asked for this new Dominion Government, had not been consulted in the transfer of their territory, and did not propose to risk either their homes, or their lives, or their old-time friendships in opposing Riel and his Half-breed followers. If there was to be a conflict—in which the Indians would probably take part—let the Dominion, they said, establish amongst them that Government which it had decided upon without their opinion being asked and they would obey the laws and be good subjects. Until the new

system was established, however, they would take no risks. To this not altogether unreasonable attitude there were exceptions, increasing as time went on and as the position of Riel became more violent and aggressive. These exceptions were at first largely made up of native Canadians under the leadership of Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Christian Schultz, a pioneer in the trade and development of the country.

It had been announced that on December 1, 1869, the new territory would be formally transferred to Canada and, in the meantime, the Hon. William McDougall, who had taken a prominent part in the earlier negotiations at London and the Parliamentary discussions at Ottawa, was appointed a sort of Provisional Governor of an unorganized territory. He was sent up in the late autumn to arrange the new constitutional system and to take over the administration of the region from the Hudson's Bay Company. There was, of course, no railway connection at that time with the West except by way of United States territory and the first overt act of rebellion occurred on October 21st when, under the inspiring eloquence of Riel and the influence of his vigorous misrepresentations, an armed Half-breed force took possession of the highway leading from the International border to Fort Garry and over which the new Governor would have to pass. He was told he could not come beyond the frontier and, finally, when he attempted to make the journey was forced by the rebels to leave British territory and to retire to Pembina, in the State of Dakota.

Riel now took further active measures. On November 3rd he led a force into Fort Garry, dispossessed the Hudson's Bay Company and laughed at their protests; issued a manifesto stating that a popular Convention would be called to settle the government of the country; published a rebel paper named the *New Nation* and got practically all the military stores available; formed, early in January,

1870, a Provisional Government of which he was President, a clever Irishman named O'Donoghue, Secretary-Treasurer, and Ambrose Lepine, the best military head amongst the rebels of the moment, Adjutant-General. Meanwhile, Mr. McDougall made the serious mistake of believing that the intended legal transfer of the territory had actually taken place on December 1st and of issuing what purported to be a Royal Proclamation dealing with the existing situation. When it was found that the transfer had not really occurred this document only served to intensify the complication and to make McDougall's position untenable as well as intolerable. There was nothing for him to do but return home. Then, Dr. Schultz formed a body of half-armed Canadians to defy the rebel Government and after a brave resistance was over-powered and imprisoned at Fort Garry with all his followers. The details of his privations there, the imminent risk of death as a warning to others in the Settlement which he is known to have been in, his escape through the help of a sick wife and by the aid of a smuggled file, his climb over high walls with an injured leg, and his journey through great drifts of snow and in a bewildering storm to a place of partial safety, read like part of some romance of another age. Still more interesting was his subsequent journey on foot and snow-shoe over seven thousand miles of solitude, snow and frozen rivers to Duluth, in the United States, where the tall, gaunt and emaciated figure of the weary and starving Canadian commanded general sympathy. After a brief rest he journeyed by train to Ontario and there speedily aroused the public to a sense of the real state of affairs and the necessity of strong and active interference if the great country of the West was to be held by the Dominion.

But a good many things happened before, or during, this period. Donald A. Smith arrived at Fort Garry as a special Commissioner of the Dominion Government and the future Lord Strathcona and Mount

Royal exercised in his negotiations a high degree of tact and conciliation. Eventually, he persuaded Riel to call his promised Convention to consider the future condition of the country. It met on January 25, 1870, and passed a Bill of Rights formulating the demands of the Half-breeds, which Mr. Smith undertook to submit to the Ottawa Government. At the same time he asked for the appointment of Delegates to accompany him to the Dominion capital. This was duly done and all might have possibly gone well had not the Scott murder taken place soon after. At Kildonan, not far from Fort Garry, a meeting of loyalists was being held and a son of John Sutherland—afterwards a Senator of Canada—was shot dead by one of Riel's spies as the latter was trying to escape from the gathering. On their way home from the meeting some of the other loyalists were captured and, amongst them, a young Canadian named Thomas Scott. He was a man of excellent character and an Orangeman and this latter fact, no doubt, had something to do in further inflaming the ignorant minds of the Half-breeds. Despite the protests of Mr. Smith and the intercession of some of the French priests, he was shot by order of Riel on March 4th, after a court-martial, which was the veriest travesty of justice.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS

Of course, nothing could now be done by conciliation, although Bishop Taché returned from Rome soon afterwards and exercised his wide influence in preventing any more ebullitions of similar violence. The murder of Scott aroused Ontario, where Schultz had just arrived, and all the Governments concerned—British, Canadian and Provincial—saw that effective and immediate steps must be taken to suppress the rising. An expeditionary force was at once arranged under command of Colonel (afterwards Field Marshal, Viscount) Wolseley, who was then at the head of some regular troops in Ontario. It was composed of the 1st Battalion of the 60th Rifles, 350 strong, with

twenty men of the Royal Artillery and four seven-pounder guns, twenty men of the Royal Engineers and suitable Hospital and Service corps—making in all 400 regular troops. Two Battalions of Militia from Ontario and Quebec under Lieutenant-Colonels S. P. Jarvis and L. A. Casault, making 700 more men, were readily obtained as volunteers. In May, 1870, this force left Toronto to pass over more than a thousand miles of wilderness and broken water-stretches and to endure much of hardship and severe labour. At Sault Ste Marie, owing to American regulations and the refusal to allow British armed troops upon the soil of the United States, the expedition had to leave its boats and carry all supplies and effects three miles around the rapids on the Canadian side—where, at the end of the century, is to be found a canal which eclipses that of the Americans.

On August 24th, amid rain and gloom, the expedition made its way up the Red River and found itself nearing the scene of rebellion. Filled with thoughts of conflict and hope of brilliant success, the men were greatly disappointed, as soldiers, to find that Riel had fled like his earlier predecessors, Papineau and Mackenzie, and had left them merely the skin of a squeezed orange. From every other standpoint, however, than that of the ambitious soldier, or hopeful volunteer, the result was for the best and, with Colonel Wolseley's march into Fort Garry the insurrection closed without leaving any seriously bitter memories behind save those surrounding the sad death of young Scott. Mr. Donald A. Smith was called upon by the Military Commander to assume control of civil matters until the new Lieutenant-Governor could arrive and the constitution be formally inaugurated along the line of Mr. Howe's instructions to Governor McDougall many months before.*

This policy—which might have averted the insurrection had it been properly placed before all the people of the Settlement at

*Letter from the Secretary of State at Ottawa, dated 7th December, 1869, but not made public until January 20, 1870.

an earlier period—including the declaration that civil and religious liberties and the privileges of the whole population would be sacredly preserved ; that properties, rights and equities, as enjoyed under the Company's rule, would be maintained ; that a liberal system in the granting of titles to land now occupied by settlers would be pursued ; that all classes of the residents would be fully and fairly represented in the Government ; that municipal self-government would be at once established and the country ruled by a constitution based upon British laws and precedents and practices. On July 15th, 1870, the Province was duly constituted by Royal and Parliamentary enactment with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Adams G. Archibald as its first Lieutenant-Governor.* An Executive Council of not less than five persons was to be appointed, with a Legislative Council of seven members which was to be increased to twelve after four years, and a Legislative Assembly of twenty-four members, elected to represent certain electoral districts as constituted by the Lieutenant-Governor. The duration of the Legislature and its functions were to be controlled by the same provisions as applied in the British North America Act to the other Provinces. Either the French or English language could be used in debates and official records. It may be added that the Legislative Council was abolished in 1876 and that the number of members in the Assembly was afterwards raised to forty.

The first organized Ministry in the infant Province was constituted on September 16, 1870, with the Hon. M. A. Girard as Premier. Of the characters in the strife which preceded this constitutional commencement Louis Riel vanished from sight for a few years of restless life in the States to the south ; Colonel Wolseley, after coquetting for a brief moment with the Lieutenant-Governorship left Canada to participate in many campaigns and become Commander-in-Chief of the British Army ; Dr. Schultz went into politics and Parliament

* Mr. McDougall was simply a Governor of unorganized territories and his tenure of a provisional nature.

and lived to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Province in which he had played so important a pioneer part; Lieutenant-Colonels Jarvis and Casault were decorated with the C. M. G. and the former rose to a good position in the British army; while William McDougall lived an unsatisfactory and upon the whole unsuccessful political career which ended with defeat in his candidature for Parliament in 1882 and 1887. Meantime, many of the troops settled in the Province, other settlers came as a result of liberal land laws and Manitoba began to slowly and steadily progress.

OTHER PROVINCES ENTER CONFEDERATION

On July 20th, 1871, British Columbia entered Confederation and thus followed the example of Manitoba—with the difference of coming in peace rather than in conflict. Its history, up to this time, had been largely one of mining excitements and of Hudson's Bay Company trade and government. In 1858 it had been made a distinct colony for purposes of administration during the gold discoveries of the period. In 1866, Vancouver Island and the Mainland had been united, with a Lieutenant-Governor and a Legislative Council—the latter passing a Resolution favourable to Confederation, in 1867, which was disapproved of by its Governor. On January 29th of the following year a large meeting was held in Victoria and a movement started by Amor de Cosmos, J. F. McCreight, John Robson, Robert Beaven, Hugh Nelson, H. P. P. Crease and other afterward prominent citizens, to bring about union with the Dominion. The chief opponent of the policy was Dr. Helmcken, who seems to have had a strong annexation sentiment and to have been supported by American settlers who deemed the chief interest of the Colony to be with the States to the south. In March, 1870, a great debate took place in the Council and a favourable Resolution based upon arrangements proposed by the new Governor, Mr. Anthony Musgrave, was carried. Messrs. Helmcken, Carrall and J. W. Trutch were then sent to Ottawa and

the terms finally settled—the principal item of discussion being a pledge by the Dominion Government to construct a trans-continental railway. As the people of British Columbia well knew it was only by such means that the Province could be brought into the Dominion in any other than the barest technical and territorial sense.

The measure was hotly debated in the House of Commons at Ottawa because of the great responsibilities assumed in the proposed railway construction. But it was eventually carried and there came into the now giant-like proportions of the Dominion a Province whose mountains were veined and tunnelled with gold and other precious metals; whose vast coal preserves were destined to supply the whole Pacific slope; whose mighty peaks were clothed in forests from the top of their rugged sides to the rushing rivers at the bottom; whose streams and coast waters teemed with fish or sands of gold; whose fertile acres in certain sections grew some of the finest fruits known to the world; whose climate is a boast to its people and a pleasure to its visitors.

Since 1864, when the Government of little Prince Edward Island had precipitated the varied problems of all the Provinces into a common melting-pot through its proposal to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to discuss a maritime union, trouble and perplexity had been its lot. Its Delegates had participated in the Conference at Quebec, but were unable to carry the Seventy-two Resolutions through a Legislature which, by twenty-three votes to five, declared that joining the union would prove "politically, commercially and financially disastrous to the rights and interests of its people." Their position was, indeed, a somewhat peculiar one. Without public lands, mines, or forests they had nothing to supplement the small allowance proposed by the Dominion Government; while the insular situation of the Province would, they believed, deprive it of all practical share in Federal expenditures upon railways, canals and other great public

works to which they would have to contribute a due proportion of taxation. They would also be overshadowed and their place in Confederation, it was claimed, be insignificant and unenviable.

By 1873, however, the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty had deprived the Province of what had been its best market, up to that time, and had almost ruined its large fishing interests. Exhausted forests had killed a prosperous ship-building trade and railway complications had arisen which involved the Province to an extent beyond its means; while the failure to effect any change in the land-rent system of the Island seemed to indicate that this vital question would never be settled until it had obtained Dominion backing and support. Early in 1873, therefore, overtures were made to Ottawa and Messrs. R. P. Haythorne and David Laird sent as Delegates to try and make arrangements. After repeated discussions, terms of union were signed by Sir John Macdonald, the Hon. H. L. Langevin, the Hon. Joseph Howe and the Hon. Charles Tupper for the Dominion and by Messrs. Haythorne and Laird for the Province. After a general election, in which the arrangement was declared unsatisfactory, a change of local Government took place and Messrs. J. C. Pope, T. H. Haviland and G. W. Howlan were sent to Ottawa to obtain better terms. These they finally got and, on July 1, 1873, the Province entered Confederation. The much troubled land question was settled by an Act of the Dominion Parliament which compelled the proprietors of large estates to accept an equitable price on the award of Arbitrators chosen by the Government, the landlords and the tenants respectively—the purchase money being paid by funds allowed to the Province under the terms of Confederation—and the lands resold to the people at cost and upon easy terms of payment.

While this process of expansion was going on the vast, unorganized, and almost unknown regions between Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains, and between the borders of the United States and the

Arctic Ocean, were gradually coming into constitutional form and shape as well as into popular knowledge. On April 12, 1876, Keewatin, with its area of 756,000 square miles, was organized into a District under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. On May 17, 1882, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca, with a combined area of over 500,000 square miles, were constituted under a Lieutenant-Governor, with his capital at Regina and with institutions which slowly developed until, in 1898, they might be described as fully self-governing. A Lieutenant-Governor and Crown-appointed Council; an Advisory Council and four members chosen from an elected Assembly of twenty-two members; an Executive Council and Legislative Assembly with full Provincial powers except as to borrowing money and controlling Crown-lands; complete responsible government in 1898; were the various stages in this progress. Mr. F. W. G. Haultain was the leading figure in this system of political growth and is now (1900) Premier of a steadily growing population in what is termed the North-West Territories.

Meanwhile, on October 2, 1895, much of the still unorganized far northern territory of over a million square miles had been formed into the Districts of Mackenzie, Ungava and Franklin and placed under the control of the Regina Government. In 1897 there was further change and the District of Yukon was created and placed under the same jurisdiction. As the blinding glare of the gold discoveries loomed above the horizon, it was, however, deemed desirable to take this region under Dominion management and on June 13, 1898, this was done.

So far, this steady expansion of the new Dominion had been great and successful. The amount of tactful skill and political diplomacy required for such varied and continuous negotiation and arrangement can be only estimated from this sketch of actual events. But it is not difficult to read between the lines and to see how much

of care and anxiety and labour must have gone into the completing of Confederation. The North-West troubles, the Indians, the railway question of the West, the land problem of the island garden of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, were only a few of the more prominent issues. Sir John Macdonald, however, had able assistants in Tupper and Tilley, Rose and Hincks and Cartier and, although mistakes were made, it is well to fully appreciate the constructive labour and skill required to carry out the all-important political and constitutional expansion of this period.

SECESSION MOVEMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA

One great difficulty connected with an original Province of the Union had to be faced and disposed of in 1868-9. It was the secession movement in Nova Scotia which was created, guided and controlled by Joseph Howe. Indirectly connected with it was an event which occurred on April 7, 1868—the assassination of D'Arcy McGee. The eloquent Irishman who had done so much to bring his fellow-countrymen into support and sympathy for the federal principle and its subsequent application, and whose whole later career—with a single exception—had been one of conciliation in politics as well as of innate courtesy in manner, had left the House after delivering a bright and patriotic speech upon the desirability of patience and kindly treatment in connection with Nova Scotian matters. He was just entering his own door when a member of the Fenian Brotherhood stepped up behind and shot him dead. The exception referred to had been the Fenians, whom he greatly detested, of whose secrets he knew much and who had thus dogged him to his death. Rewards amounting to \$20,000 were offered for the capture of the murderer and, finally, a man named Whelan was arrested, convicted and hanged.

Meanwhile, repeal of the Union became the watchword of Nova Scotia, the clarion call of Howe and his associates. In the elections following Confederation, Dr. Tupper had been the only non-Repealer

elected to the Commons, while only two of the same stripe had been returned to the Provincial Assembly. Howe was supreme and the feeling of the people was extremely bitter. They believed they had been carried into the Union by a trick; they knew that no chance to vote upon it had been given them. Resolutions were passed by the Legislature demanding the right to secede and Howe was sent with a Delegation and immense petitions to lay the matter at the foot of the Throne and to use every influence of persuasion or threat to induce the Imperial Parliament to grant the right of repeal. To London, also, went Dr. Tupper by request of Sir John Macdonald and the long drawn battle of the two Provincial leaders was thus transferred from the small arena of Nova Scotia to the Halls of Westminster.

Naturally and inevitably, Howe was vanquished, though he had the ready support of such Little Englanders as John Bright, and he returned home with nothing before him but a hopeless rebellion which could have been easily stirred up, or the acceptance of a compromise already suggested by Dr. Tupper and under which the Province might be given better terms. The fate of Nova Scotia was more truly in the hollow of his hand than had ever been that of Lower Canada in the grasp of Papineau. Fortunately, moderation and good sense won the day, assisted by a visit to Halifax of Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper and other leaders. The result was helped, also, by the sufferings of the fisher-folk from a very severe season and by the money and provisions which poured into the affected districts from generous-minded people in the other Provinces. In the end matters were settled quietly and the Dominion Government agreed to make itself responsible for a larger portion of the Provincial debt, to pay a yearly subsidy of \$82,698 for ten years and to render compensation for certain losses in revenue resulting from Confederation.

Howe did his part in arranging these negotiations, in patriotically conciliating the people to the new and inevitable conditions, and

in carrying the Province for the settlement. He even took a seat in the Dominion Government and four years later accepted the Lieutenant-Governorship of his native Province during the month in which his flame of life was flickering towards extinction. But the brightness of life had left him with the loss of public sympathy and personal affection which followed upon his acceptance of Confederation. The strength of reason and necessity might lead the people of Nova Scotia to accept and politically support him in the change, but the instinct of affection, the influence of heart to heart, which had made him their idol seemed to be gone forever. He had fallen from his pedestal in the minds of the people and no amount of honest belief in duty, or the sincere consciousness that he was right, appears to have availed in preserving to Howe the old vigour of his life and action. On June 1, 1873, this extraordinary man passed away, leaving a record of greatness in a small sphere which makes the student of history regret that the wider realms of achievement had not been open for him to share in and to wonder what high place he might have attained in the Dominion, or the Empire, had not that fatal mistake of opposing Confederation been originally made.

CHAPTER XIX

The Treaty of Washington

FOLLOWING the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, there had been for some years no definite arrangement with the United States respecting either fisheries or trade, and this had given a natural impetus to chances of international complication and trouble. The feeling between the two countries was distinctly unfriendly, as was to be expected from the deliberate action of the United States in refusing to continue or even discuss reciprocity; from its slack policy concerning the Fenian raids and the frequent expression of a desire by the Republic to acquire possession of the Provinces; from the general belief in the United States that British America had sympathized with the South in the Civil War and should be made responsible, in some way, for this as well as for the alleged unfriendly policy of England at the same juncture.

ATTEMPTS TO RENEW THE RECIPROCITY TREATY

Attempts were made on the part of the British Provinces in 1866 and 1869—two years after Confederation—to renew the Reciprocity Treaty, and when, finally, the Alabama Claims dispute precipitated matters at issue between Great Britain and the Republic it was hoped and believed in Canada that the High Joint Commission which was appointed early in 1871 to try and arrange a treaty of peace and settlement, would include in the desired result a consideration of trade questions and Fenian raid indemnities as well as of the fishery difficulties on the Atlantic which had recently developed. The Commissioners included Sir Stafford Northcote, Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State for the Republic.

These were the men who chiefly moulded the policy and controlled the details of the negotiations. Sir S. Northcote, who died twenty years later as Earl of Iddesleigh and a most respected Conservative leader, was, even at this time, a well-known figure in politics. But he owed his appointment on this Commission primarily to a diplomatic desire on the part of the Gladstone Government to hold in check possible future criticism by the Opposition. Earl de Grey, who afterwards became Viceroy of India and Marquess of Ripon, was a man of high character and attainments, but without any strong Imperial sentiment. He was tinctured, in fact, with the Manchester School feeling of that time, that Colonies, whatever their value, were not worth the final arbitrament of a great war.

A DIFFICULT POSITION

It must have been, and we know now it was, with a heavy and doubtful heart that Sir John Macdonald accepted on behalf of Canada a place amongst British Commissioners controlled by such conditions, and by the very slightly disguised hope on the part of their own Government that they would bring back a Treaty of some kind and even at great sacrifice. The full details of these memorable negotiations were not known at the time, and had to be concealed even when the Canadian Premier and High Commissioner stood before the bar of his own Parliament in defence of the Treaty, and of himself, and made one of the great speeches of his political life. What he had to contend with in the Conference from unexpected indifference on the part of the other British Commissioners, or from expected hostility on the part of its American members, we now understand from his private correspondence with the members of the Canadian Government, as published in Mr. Pope's *Memoirs* in 1894. At the formal meetings of the Commission and in the more frequent informal gatherings of its members he stood for Canadian rights and for justice to Canadian interests.

Reciprocity in trade or tariffs it was soon found impossible to attain, and this was, of course, a matter in which Great Britain was not directly concerned and which the United States had a perfect right to discuss or not as pleased it. But the Fenian raids indemnity was a different thing. Canada had suffered much in the alarm of its citizens, in the death of its brave sons defending their soil against wanton aggression, in the temporary paralysis of business, in the expenditure of millions of money. There was absolutely no doubt as to the indifference displayed by American authorities regarding the invasion and as to all the preliminary drilling and arrangements extending over many months of loud-tongued preparation. There was no doubt, also, of its responsibility in a national sense for the injury thus done to a friendly neighbour—an injury as great in comparison with population and wealth as that of the *Alabama* to United States interests.

In the earlier negotiations for a treaty the Fenian raids had been referred to by the Canadian Government and the hope expressed that its claims against the United States for "negligence and want of due diligence" in connection with the invasion would be considered and adjusted at the proposed Conference. The Imperial Government agreed to this but, owing to the indefinite phraseology of the correspondence which followed with the Republic, the High Commissioners for the United States refused to have anything to do with the subject when the Commission finally met at Washington. They declared that the matter did not come within the scope of the original communication of the British Minister and added, in words quite comprehensible to those who understood the influence of the Irish vote in American politics, that "the claims did not commend themselves to their favour." The end of it all was that the British Government assented to their exclusion from the consideration of the High Commission and eventually consented to guarantee a loan of \$2,500,000

for the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway and as an indemnity to Canada for its losses in the raids.

The chief Canadian question before the Commission was that of the Atlantic Fisheries and it was this, also, which caused the most trouble to England and alarm to the British Commissioners. Upon the *Alabama* Claims they had practically resolved to surrender before meeting in conference at all and the problem was merely how to lower the bill of damages and keep it within reason. But when it came to the Canadian question both the British Government and the Commissioners found that they had to deal with the Dominion and, especially, with its keen and vigorous representative upon the Commission. There was need of a strong defensive hand in the matter. The Americans knew what they wanted and very soon came to know, also, the weakness of their foreign colleagues and to play with diplomatic adroitness upon the British desire for peace and entire misapprehension of the character of United States politics.

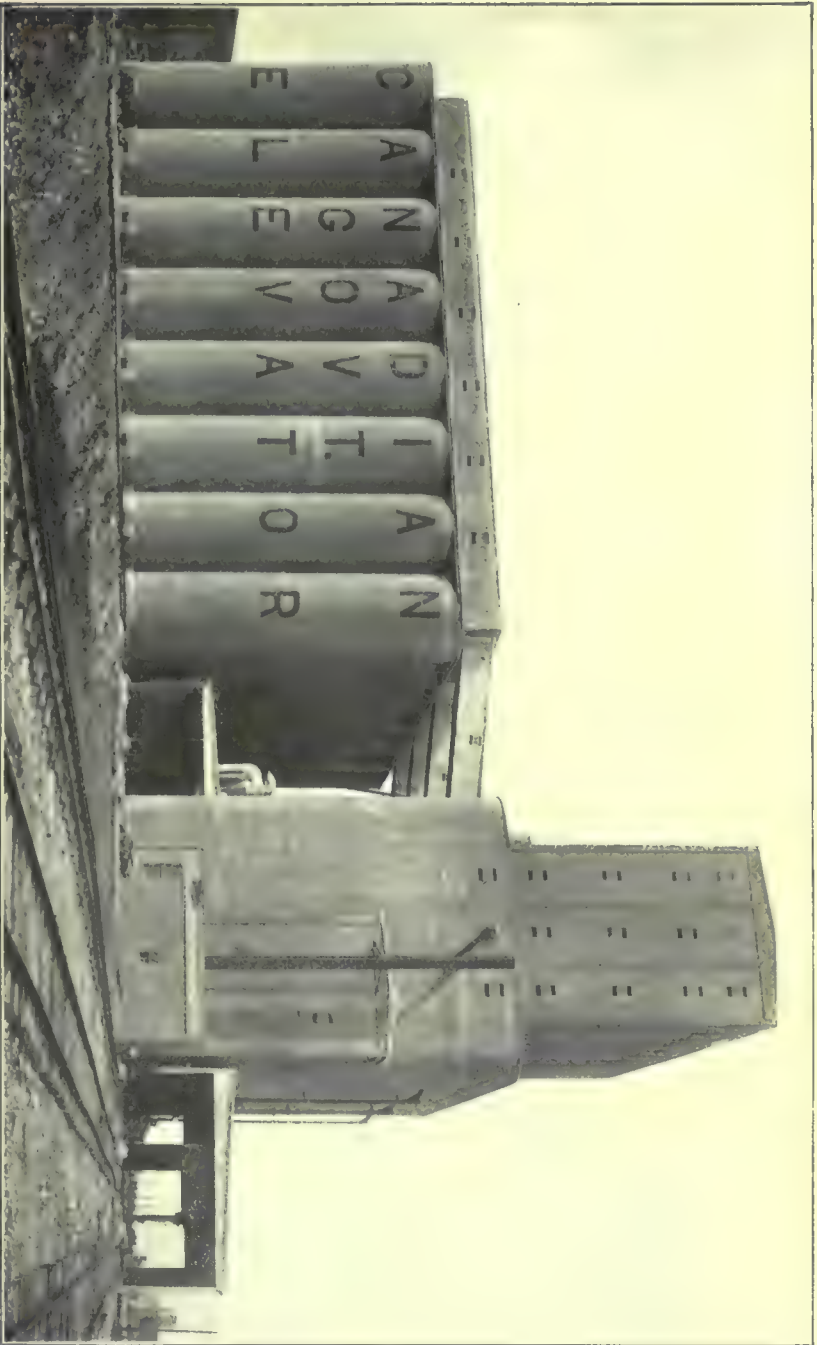
DISCUSSION OF THE FISHERIES QUESTION

The issue turned upon the interpretation of existing Treaties and seems to have been a very clear one in reality. In 1783 the Treaty of Versailles, or Paris, recognized certain privileges regarding the fishing of American citizens in Canadian or British waters. When the value of the Atlantic fisheries became better known disputes arose and the Treaty of Ghent after the War of 1812 did not attempt to dispose of these controversies as to the interpretation of the preceding Treaty. Great Britain afterwards took the ground that the war had abrogated all American rights whatever excepting those of international courtesy and, during the years 1815, 1816 and 1817, a number of American vessels were seized for attempting to assert the claim to privileges granted by the original Treaty.

Various negotiations were held and, finally, the Convention of 1818 was signed at London on October 20th, by which Great

Britain granted the liberty to fish in certain defined waters and to dry and cure fish at certain specified places, in return for a renunciation "forever", by the United States, of the right to fish within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbours not included in the specified waters. No language could be more clear than the terms of this Treaty, yet, during succeeding years frequent attempts were made—some by violence—to infringe its conditions and to make free use of the fisheries. Various vessels were seized and much irritation caused. Then came the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 by which the inshore fisheries were thrown open to Americans in return for the free exchange of the natural products of the Provinces and the Republic. The abrogation of the Treaty in 1866 threw the British Government back upon the arrangement of 1818, made the equipment of a marine protective force necessary and renewed the precedent condition of irritation—despite an attempt to compromise the matter, by an issue of licenses under the jurisdiction of the new Dominion, which failed owing to the refusal of the American fishermen to accept either leave or license and their evident determination to fish by force.

The only thing Canada could now do was to assert its rights under the Convention of 1818 and, accordingly, the license system was done away with, after consultation with the Imperial Government, and a small fleet of cruisers was prepared and chartered in 1870 for the defence of the fisheries. Collisions followed, more American vessels were seized, angry diplomatic notes went from Washington to London, the American press stormed at Canada, and, at the time of the meeting of the High Commission events seemed to be pressing towards a warlike solution. All through the ensuing deliberations there were, on the part of the British Commissioners, evidences of fear that if the issue was not settled by a treaty some



A WINNIPEG GRAIN ELEVATOR; ONE OF MANY FOR WHICH CANADA HAS BECOME FAMOUS



MOUNT LE FROY, ALBERTA

Alberta is world-famous for its mountain scenery, and is visited by many thousands of tourists every year.



LAKE ST. AGNES, ALBERTA

One of the many picturesque lakes of the Province.

such result would follow. Sir John Macdonald's private letters* to Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John Rose and Sir George Cartier teem with references to the situation thus created and to the lack of backbone in his British colleagues. Upon one occasion, Lord de Grey informed him that "he believed it was the general impression in England and, especially, of the Government, that the danger was great and pressing." Again, some days later, he writes that Lord de Grey had told him several times that "if this attempt should fail no peaceable solution is possible."

There was a certain amount of excuse for the attitude of the British Commissioners. They represented the Gladstone Government which was at this very time allowing Russia to tear up the Black Sea Treaty and to destroy the chief fruits of the Crimean struggle—a Government also which was notoriously fearful of all war and was the embodiment of the peace at any price and Manchester school theories. They represented a feeling which was then dominant in England and which did not understand the value of the Colonies to Great Britain and disliked all responsibilities of an Imperial character. They did not comprehend American methods and character and, when President Grant in December, 1870, wrote a Message to Congress which practically threatened war if the questions at issue were not settled, they regarded it with the same seriousness as they would a similar document presented to Parliament by the Queen with the approval of her Ministers. The irresponsibility of the President in such matters and the inter-play of American politics and diplomacy were not as clearly comprehended as they are to-day.

Other questions at issue besides the Atlantic fisheries were the boundaries of Alaska and the ownership of the Island of San Juan under the terms of the Oregon Treaty. They may be disposed of at once by saying that the former was dealt with in the new Treaty

* *Memoirs of Sir John A. Macdonald*, by Joseph Pope, Ottawa, 1894.

in such an indefinite manner as not to dispose of it and that the latter was given into the hands of the German Emperor, William I., as Arbitrator, who disposed of it very effectually in December, 1872, by giving the Island to the United States. By the Oregon Treaty of 1846 the United States had received the splendid region of the Puget Sound and the present States of Oregon and Washington. The boundary line was to run along the 49th parallel "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island and thence southerly through the middle of said channel, and of the Fuca Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." The dispute of the ensuing period, which resulted in a joint military occupation of San Juan Island and more than once brought the Empire and the Republic to the verge of war, turned upon the fact that there was not one, but three, channels, and that upon the question of which channel should be selected as the dividing line depended the ownership of this island which guarded the front of American territory on these waters and faced the British Provincial capital—Victoria. Great Britain claimed the most southerly of these channels, but was willing to accept the middle one as a just and reasonable compromise. For some inscrutable reason, best known to himself, the Imperial Arbitrator accepted the American claim.

But this is getting far ahead of the Commissioners as they debated and battled over the terms of the proposed Treaty, during the spring of 1871, in the private and political halls of Washington. The American Government and Commissioners wanted much. They desired San Juan to be given up to them, the Fenian raids to be eliminated from consideration, the Alaskan boundary to be adjusted to their satisfaction, the Atlantic fisheries to be thrown open to them for all time and for some very slight consideration, the St. Lawrence and its canals to be made free forever. These things were, of course, apart from their enormous claims for compensation from Great Britain

regarding the *Alabama*. In return they were willing to give peace and perhaps free fish and the navigation of Lake Michigan. What Canada eventually obtained in the Treaty as well as the limitation of her inevitable sacrifices, may be seen in its terms and they sufficiently vindicate the stand taken by Sir John Macdonald, while showing how great the difference really was between American expectations and American realizations.

THE TERMS OF THE TREATY

The Treaty of Washington was signed on May 8, 1871. By its terms the *Alabama* Claims were submitted to an Arbitration tribunal which met at Geneva in the following year and of which Sir Alexander Cockburn, the sturdy, aggressive Lord Chief Justice of England, was a prominent member. By its decision, against which Chief Justice Cockburn vigorously protested, the sum of \$15,500,000 was awarded to the United States as damages and was promptly paid by Great Britain. It was thought by many at the time that the amount was too large and this appears to have been an accurate belief from the fact that claimants could never be found for a portion of it and have not been found yet. The fisheries question was settled for the time by a twelve year arrangement, under which fish and fish-oil were to be admitted free as between the Dominion and the States, while each was to share freely in the fisheries of the other. As the Atlantic fisheries of the United States were comparatively valueless and entirely useless to the Canadian fishermen, while those of Canada were rich in the most teeming sense of the word, it was decided—after long discussions in which the American Commissioners very properly did their utmost to minimize the value of what they were striving to obtain—that a lump sum should be paid the Dominion and that the amount of this payment should be settled by another special Commission. It may be added here, that this Commission met at Halifax on June 15, 1877, after prolonged delay on the part of the United

States. The British and Canadian Commissioner was Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt and Newfoundland and Canada were finally awarded \$5,500,000 as the value of the fishing privileges granted the United States in 1871 over and above the reciprocal clauses of the Treaty.* Payment was ultimately made after vigorous protests from Congress and the United States Government.

By the Washington Treaty Americans were admitted to the navigation of the St. Lawrence River and to the use of the canal system of Canada upon equal terms with British subjects and under the same conditions as the latter in any tolls, or charges, which might be levied by the Dominion Government. They were, also, allowed the privilege of taking timber from the Maine woods down the River St. John to the sea—a most important matter in those days. Provision was made for the free passage of goods in bond through either country. This was an arrangement by which goods from one part of the Republic could pass over Canadian soil to another part of the United States without paying duty to the Canadian authorities and by which Canadian products might have a similar privilege in crossing United States land or water territory. It was a most serviceable and beneficial arrangement to both countries in general and to their transportation interests in particular. The navigation of Lake Michigan was also made free for twelve years but, as the St. Lawrence was thrown open forever, it has never since been seriously suggested that this clause could be anything but a practically permanent one. A most important item in the Treaty, and one which reflects credit upon Sir John Macdonald, was the recognition of Canada's right under the Anglo-Russian arrangement of 1825 to share in the free navigation of the Yukon, Porcupine and Stikine Rivers in Alaska. Had the future been fully forseen it is to be feared

* The Dominion received \$4,490,800 of this amount—not the whole of it as is usually stated. Newfoundland obtained the balance.

that the fight over this clause would have been much keener than it was. The St. Clair Canal and Flats, between Lakes Huron and Erie, were also thrown open to both nations.

Such was the Washington Treaty in brief. Born of the travail of possible war and continuous and bitter controversy ; discussed with a million soldiers in the United States ready for any service or adventure and amid the clamours of a discontented and angry Fenian element in the same country ; arranged by British Commissioners who were responsible to a weak-kneed Government and an electorate still controlled by the anti-Colonial school of thought ; it was upon the whole better for Canada than might have been expected. Nothing of serious import was given away and no national or territorial right was sacrificed. It is true that San Juan was lost but, as neither England nor Canada can apparently expect to win in a foreign Arbitration, the matter might well have been discounted. In any case it was not worth the other arbitrament of war. Nearly \$5,000,000 in money was obtained for the use of the fisheries and, although the clauses dealing with this part of the subject were abrogated by the United States in 1885, that action was not without its compensation in the practical recovery of Canadian fishing grounds for Canadian fishermen.

To Sir John Macdonald the negotiations were a nightmare of diplomacy. He expected to fight vigorously against the American Commissioners and to find in them the keenest and wariest of antagonists. They were on their own ground, with a President and Senate which would back up a strong and aggressive policy, and they were contending for enhanced influence and power for their own people upon the American continent. But to have to struggle against his own British colleagues as well as the American Commissioners was to Sir John a continuous irritation and a very heavy burden to his heart. "In our separate caucuses," he wrote, on one occasion, to Dr. Tupper, "my colleagues were continually pressing me to yield."

They even supported the American desire for a permanent cession of the fisheries. He described the discussions with them as being "warm," or "unpleasant," and wrote once of being obliged to tell Lord de Grey that "I believed I knew what my duty was and would endeavour to perform it." He had to tell them plainly on another occasion * that "it was intolerable that these New England fishermen should say they were resolved to fish in our waters, right or wrong, and if not allowed would force on a war between the two nations; and we ought not to sacrifice our property by reason of such threats."

Several times his protests were sent to England and ultimately made good; several times he was on the point of resigning. One of these occasions was when the cable came from London authorizing a reference of the value of the fisheries to arbitration. Fortunately, he did not do so and wrote afterwards to Dr. Tupper that had he left the Commission then the lease of the fisheries would have been for twenty-five years and fish-oil would have been excluded from free interchange. Finally, he felt the whole matter so bitterly that he hoped to avoid signing the Treaty and thus to throw the responsibility where it belonged. But the protests were so strong and the reasons so apparent that he did not eventually do so. Without his signature the Treaty would probably not have passed the American Senate and could certainly not have been carried at Ottawa. Once it was signed by him he assumed the fullest responsibility; uttered not one complaint in all the twenty years of his further public life; and suffered a most unjust share of obloquy in Canada for its acceptance.

HOW THE TREATY WAS RECEIVED IN CANADA

When Sir John arrived home from Washington he received a perfect storm of censure from the Opposition press. He was declared a traitor to Canadian interests and a Judas Iscariot and Benedict

* Letter to Sir George Cartier, April 17, 1871. *Pope's Memoirs*.

Arnold combined in one. Parliament was not to meet until the succeeding February and for nearly a year the Premier endured this unstinted abuse in perfect silence. Of course, neither the people at large, nor the Opposition, nor his own followers, knew, or ever did know, the truth about the Commission. That has awaited his death and the consideration of another generation. Had it been any other man he could not have overcome the situation. But Sir John's personality, popularity and the sense of the inevitable carried the Treaty through Parliament in the spring of 1872. The speech delivered by the Premier was memorable for an eloquence which was not an ordinary characteristic of the man and for a degree of earnestness and force which carried the second reading by 121 to 55. His chief argument consisted of the fact that while Canada was making some sacrifices in accepting the arrangement yet she was making them for the sake of the Empire and its future friendly relations with the United States.

In the elections which followed shortly afterwards the Treaty had a considerable place and was the chief ground of attack upon the Government. "I had," wrote Sir John to Lord Monck, the Governor-General, "to fight a stern and up-hill battle in Ontario. I never worked so hard before and never shall do so again, but I felt it to be necessary this time. I did not want a verdict against the Treaty from the country." The elections were won but he always believed that a rankling dissatisfaction in the popular mind contributed greatly to his defeat in those of 1874. The Treaty, however, was now a fact of history, the *Alabama* troubles had been settled, the fisheries were removed for some years from their place as a serious international irritant, the fear of conflict on the British Columbia borders was eliminated and the past relations of the Empire and the Republic during the Civil War were left to the cooling influence of time, and the soothing process of partial forgetfulness.

CHAPTER XX

Political Questions and Development

THE growth and progress of a country does not always appear on the broad surface of affairs or in the discussion and settlement of what are called great public questions. These latter mark outwardly the inward development and are useful also as educative influences upon the people or, in some cases, as evidences of popular influence upon the politicians. Especially true is this conclusion in connection with the first working years of a new Constitution.

A WIDER AND WIDENING COMMONWEALTH

When Canada put on the Federal garb in 1867 fresh conditions were faced, new problems were presented, important controversies were imminent. It was hoped, however, that the tea-pot troubles of restricted states, the occasionally fantastic fancies of isolated colonies, would be merged in the larger affairs of a wider and widening commonwealth. In great part this hope was realized. The jealousies of Quebec and Ontario,* were modified to a degree which removed the element of danger and enabled them to work together with comfort and effectiveness. The isolation and inevitable narrowness of view in the Maritime Provinces were gradually ameliorated under wider political conditions and important national issues. The crudeness, the violence, the bigotry of politics in the Canadas were modified by the redistribution of parties and the change in party lines brought about by Sir John A. Macdonald's policy of conciliation and tact.

* From the time of the Act of 1792 to the Union of 1841 these two Provinces were termed Lower and Upper Canada respectively; from the Union until Confederation they were officially, if not popularly, called Canada East and Canada West; by the Act of Confederation in 1867 they were given their present and permanent names—the word "Canada" being used to cover the new Dominion then created and within five years to include all British North America except Newfoundland.



HARNESSING THE SHAWINIGAN FALLS IN QUÉBEC
An up-stream view of one of the great dams and power plants of Canada. The plant is that of the Laurentide Pulp and Paper Co. at Grande Mère, Québec, which is one of the biggest manufacturers of Newsprint paper in the world.



THE RIGHT REV. AND HON. DR. JOHN STRACHAN
Bishop of Toronto 1839-67.



THE REV. DR. EGERTON RYERSON
Father of the Ontario Public School System.

Before Confederation he had laboured for the harmonizing of extreme Tories with moderate Conservatives, of French-Canadian moderates, or followers of Lafontaine, with Upper Canadian Liberals of moderate views who had once followed Baldwin, into a great party to which he eventually gave the somewhat clumsy title of Liberal-Conservative. In some measure he had succeeded and would have done so in a far wider and more effective manner had not the rivalry of French and English opinion, of Lower and Upper Canada, been for the time hopelessly violent. Confederation, however, came and with it the opportunity to develop his large views in practical form and to give his party an important place upon a really national canvas.

THE FIRST CABINET OF THE DOMINION

The first Cabinet of the Dominion was, in accordance with this policy of assimilation, composed in equal parts of men who had been at one time either Liberals or Conservatives. In support of his Government he was able, by virtue of conciliation and calculation, to combine the large majority of French-Canadians and to give an impetus to Conservative sentiment in that Province which lasted for fully twenty years.

The Ministry was termed a coalition, but George Brown, as leader of the Upper Canada Liberals, would have nothing to do with the new "Sir John" any more than he would with the old "John A."* His aggressive, uncompromising will would brook no superior in council, or even an equal, and though compelled for a brief space to co-operate with Macdonald in the Cabinet which helped to arrange the terms of Confederation, he left it as soon as possible and resumed the old terms of personal non-intercourse with the only man whom he deemed a rival. In his refusal to accept the Federal Cabinet

* During the years stretching from his entry into public life in the early "Forties" until Confederation, when the Queen made him a K. C. B., Mr. Macdonald was known far and wide as "John A." and with every year the affectionate popular appellation grew in use. After his Knighthood there was only one "Sir John" from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The surname was superfluous.

of 1867 as a representative coalition Brown was joined by Mr. A. A. Dorion and a few of the old-time Liberal leaders of Quebec and the nucleus of a present Opposition in Parliament and of a future Dominion Liberal party was thus formed.

Of course, Sir John Macdonald never intended his Ministry to be a real coalition or to remain for long as even a nominal one. His intention was to form all parties and public men, who might be available, into a strong, united organization capable of carrying on the Government with a firm hand, of maintaining defined and vigorous principles, of preventing any more such experiences of weakness and inefficiency as had preceded Confederation, of harmonizing hostile elements which would otherwise drift further apart and endanger the successful working of the new constitution, of affording scope for the exercise of his own powers of leadership and government. Within a comparatively short time his policy was successful and, despite Liberal Conventions and George Brown's desperate efforts in *The Toronto Globe*, the Conservative party became a compact organization with the Prime Minister as practically its head and front and platform.

The first Cabinet of the new Dominion was made up very largely of men who had worked energetically for Confederation and who, therefore, deserved consideration at the hands of the incoming Premier. It was not easy to arrange it and the mere fact, as stated in Canadian historical works, that a Government was formed on July 1, 1867, by Sir John Macdonald with a specified list of colleagues, affords little hint of the difficulties he really had to encounter. That of a surplus of available men is not an unusual condition in such cases and may be passed over with the statement that the exclusion of Dr. Tupper and D'Arcy McGee has always seemed a curious one—the details not being generally known then or since. The necessity, however, of giving each Province proper representation, of

leaving room for the admission of representatives from Manitoba and Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, of granting the Irish electorate a certain consideration and of recognizing the Protestants of the Eastern Townships of Quebec, was the rock upon which the nebulous Cabinet nearly came to wreck in the week preceding July 1st.* Eventually, this result was avoided by Dr. Tupper and his friend McGee retiring from the "slate" on which they had, of course, been amongst the first to receive a place and thus making it possible to give the French-Canadians another representative. The Ministry was as follows and was sustained at the ensuing elections by a fair majority:

Premier and Minister of Justice,	Sir John A. Macdonald.
Minister of Finance,	Hon. A. T. Galt.
Minister of Public Works,	Hon. William McDougall.
Minister of Militia and Defence,	Sir G. E. Cartier.
Minister of Customs,	Hon. S. L. Tilley.
Minister of Agriculture,	Hon. J. C. Chapais.
Postmaster-General,	Hon. Alexander Campbell.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries,	Hon. Peter Mitchell.
Minister of Inland Revenue,	Hon. W. P. Howland.
President of the Council,	Hon. A. J. Fergusson-Blair.
Receiver-General,	Hon. Edward Kenny.
Secretary of State,	Hon. H. L. Langevin.
Secretary of State for the Provinces,	Hon. A. G. Archibald.

Of these members Macdonald, Galt, Cartier, Campbell, Langevin, Chapais and Kenny had been Conservatives and McDougall, Tilley, Mitchell, Howland, Archibald and Fergusson-Blair Liberals—under previous Provincial conditions. Many of the latter indeed, continued for some time to call themselves by the old name and to consider their Ministry as a coalition. The events of the decade following the formation of this administration were all-important in

* Information given to the author by Sir Charles Tupper and other survivors of the Confederation period.

the making of Canada. Those which stand out most prominently, with one exception, were the bringing in of the outstanding Provinces, the insurrection in the North-West, the Washington Treaty and the developments leading up to the National Policy. They have been dealt with elsewhere in these pages. The exception was largely a political occurrence, but one which exercised a wide influence over the future policy of the Dominion—the Canadian Pacific Railway issue of 1872, which is described by Liberal partisans as a scandal and by Conservative partisans as a slander. It was in reality something of the one and something of the other. And, amidst all these public issues and problems the vital work of national organization went steadily on.

General elections took place in 1872 and the Government of Sir John Macdonald was sustained, though with a reduced majority. Reverses had been met with in Quebec and Ontario, owing partly to the fact that Sir George Cartier's failing health led to mistakes in the management of matters in the former Province and partly to the unpopularity of the Washington Treaty in the latter. Much fear was also felt and expressed as to the cost of the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, however, made up for other losses by the most sweeping Conservative success. In Nova Scotia, owing to the wonderful influence of Howe—even when the personal regard of the people for him had greatly changed—there was but one member returned in opposition to the Union Government where in 1867, with him on the other side, there had been only one elected in its favour. Much, of course, was due to the fact that Howe and Tupper were now working together. In this year the Earl of Dufferin came out as Governor-General to fill a Vice-royalty memorable for his personal tact and unfailing courtesy, for his eloquence and popularity, and as being the foundation of a career of steadily growing diplomatic reputation and power. Incidentally,

Canadian riflemen in competition with the crack shots of Great Britain had captured the Kolapore Cup at Wimbledon.

THE TRANS-CONTINENTAL RAILWAY PROJECT

But the great event of the year in Canada was Sir John Macdonald's attempt to carry out the Federal pledge to British Columbia regarding the proposed trans-continental railway. He interested a number of capitalists in the project but they, unfortunately, formed two distinct Companies for the purpose of constructing the road under contract. They obtained incorporation and inaugurated a fierce rivalry in Parliament and the press. The Inter-Oceanic Company of Toronto had Mr. (afterwards Sir) D. L. McPherson as its President and men such as the Hon. William McMaster, the Hon. Frank Smith and the Hon. G. W. Allan, of Toronto, Senator Simpson of Bownanville, the Hon. Isidore Thibaudeau and David Torrance of Montreal, the Hon. John Carling of London, Casimir S. Gzowski of Toronto, John Boyd of St. John and Senator Price of Quebec, upon its Directorate. Sir Hugh Allan, the leader of many transportation interests and a capitalist of keen energy and enterprise was President of the Canada-Pacific Company of Montreal, with men of the calibre and standing of the Hon. (afterwards Sir) J. J. C. Abbott, the Hon. John Hamilton, the Hon. C. J. Coursol and the Hon. J. L. Beaudry of Montreal, the Hon. James Skead of Ottawa, the Hon. J. J. Ross of Quebec, the Hon. Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), Sir Edward Kenny of Halifax, Donald McInnes of Hamilton and C. F. Gildersleeve of Kingston, upon his Directorate.

The measure upon which this rivalry was based had been introduced in Parliament by Sir George E. Cartier on April 26, 1872, as a Bill for the construction, under charter, of the Canadian Pacific Railway which was to extend "from some point on, or near, Lake Nipissing to some point on the shore of the Pacific Ocean." A grant of 50,000,000 acres was to be given in blocks of twenty miles in

depth on each side of the line of the railway in Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia and alternating with similar blocks held by the Dominion Government for sale or grant. A cash subsidy of not more than \$30,000,000 was also to be granted. The measure passed on May 28th after several amendments moved by Messrs. Edward Blake, A. A. Dorion and Alexander Mackenzie, on behalf of the Liberal party, had been voted down. During the debates upon this question, in connection with the admission of British Columbia in 1871 and in this Session of 1872, the Opposition laid strenuous stress upon the work as being altogether beyond the resources of Canada and dwelt constantly upon the frightful burdens of taxation which it would involve. One leader said it could never pay for the axle-grease upon its wheels and Mr. Blake in a famous speech declared that British Columbia was only a "sea of mountains" and therefore hardly worth so great a sacrifice.

The Bill passed, however, and then came the delicate and difficult task of bringing together the rival interests of the capitalists, in one strong corporation, for its construction. The Companies had been originally formed as a result of Sir John Macdonald's private efforts to interest Canadian men of money in the matter in preference to allowing the contract to drop into the open hands of American capitalists who had early expressed their willingness to take hold of the enterprise. Sir Hugh Allan, however, had at once communicated with the Americans and, although their names did not appear upon his Directorate, it was well known that if he were successful in obtaining the contract their interest would be a predominant one. Mr. McPherson, on the other hand, had formed a Company which was purely Canadian. The hope of the Government, in such a difficulty, was the combination of the two concerns in such a way as not to absolutely exclude American capital while preventing it from obtaining a dominant influence in the matter. Moreover, Sir Hugh Allan was too important a man, too experienced

in transportation affairs, and had been too generous to the party which Sir John Macdonald led, to make it desirable to put him entirely aside. It was at this juncture that the general elections of 1872 took place and what was afterwards termed the Pacific scandal occurred. Following the elections and as a rest of the apparent impossibility of bringing the two Companies together—largely because Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. McPherson each desired to be President of the consolidated concern—the charter was eventually given to a new Company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head. Then the greatest political storm in Canadian history burst upon the country.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY CHARGES

On April 2, 1873, amidst suppressed excitement and in an atmosphere laden with the hopes and fears of political electricity, Mr. Lucius Seth Huntington rose in the House of Commons with a statement and motion of serious import. He was a good speaker and a politician of some ability who had been a member of Sandfield Macdonald's Government in the early "sixties" and was destined to hold a place in the next Dominion Cabinet. The charge he made was dramatic in style and solemn in substance. It meant that the Government had trafficked with foreigners in connection with Canadian railway interests and in order to obtain money to debauch the constituencies in the elections of 1872. Stripped of verbiage it declared that Sir Hugh Allan, acting for American capitalists, had practically obtained the Pacific charter for them and himself through the contribution of large sums of money to the Conservative campaign fund and that this money had been obtained from the United States capitalists referred to through a man named G. W. McMullen. For the moment Mr. Huntington offered no proofs but demanded the appointment of a Committee of the House to inquire into the whole matter of the Railway charter. Upon motion of Sir John Macdonald a Select Committee composed of Messrs. J. G.

Blanchet, Edward Blake, A. A. Dorion, James McDonald and John Hillyard Cameron—three Conservatives and two Liberals—was promptly appointed. A measure was also passed to enable the Committee to make its inquiries from witnesses under oath.

Parliament then adjourned to 13th August, when it was thought that the Committee's Report might be received. Meanwhile, the Oaths Bill was disallowed in London as being illegal and the work of the Committee rendered practically impossible. A tremendous sensation was also created and a new turn given to the whole question by the publication of a series of letters and telegrams in Montreal which seemed to clearly indicate the guilt of the Ministry. Mr. McMullen, it was afterwards shown, had obtained them surreptitiously from the desk of Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, the legal adviser of Sir Hugh Allan. In plain English they had been stolen and then made public. Appearing without any explanation, except of a hostile character, they seemed so serious that public sentiment was roused to a white heat and much anger was shown toward Lord Dufferin for not at once dismissing his Ministry. These documents were all of a somewhat similar nature. The most important of them was as follows and was marked "Private and confidential":

"MONTREAL, 30th July, 1872.

Dear Sir Hugh:

The friends of the Government will be expected to be assisted with funds in the pending elections, and any amount which you, or your Company shall advance for that purpose shall be recouped to you. A memorandum of immediate requirements is below. Very truly yours,

(Signed) *George E. Cartier.*

Now wanted :

Sir John A. Macdonald,	\$25,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin,	15,000
Sir G. E. C.,	20,000
Sir J. A. (add'l.),	10,000
Sir G. E. C. (add'l.)	30,000"

Other documents were receipts for similar sums, requests for more and a telegram which became particularly well known in the elections and controversies of succeeding years. It was addressed to Mr. Abbott at Montreal, on August 26th, signed "John A. Macdonald," and read as follows: "I must have another \$10,000; will be the last time of calling; do not fail me; answer to-day." Mr. Abbott promptly wired to draw on him for the amount. In his subsequent evidence before a Royal Commission Sir Hugh Allan gave a list of the total sums which he had contributed in this connection. They included \$85,000 to Sir George Cartier's Committee in Montreal—where he fought a losing battle in a very doubtful constituency, against the advice of Sir John Macdonald, and was beaten; \$45,000 to Sir John himself, for election expenses in Ontario; and \$32,600 to Mr. H. L. Langevin for election expenses at Quebec. Such is the bare detail of the matter and it certainly looks bad enough. Fill in these particulars with the natural animus of party warfare; add the suspicions resulting from a season of company promoting and charter controversies; mix up in this mess the unsustained allegations of disappointed capitalists and defeated politicians; and the result is still more unpleasant.

Yet time and the justice of historic retrospect have thrown strong light into this dense shadow and relieved the situation of much that at first seemed inexcusable. Sir Hugh Allan was a man who would have been naturally connected with such an enterprise as the Canadian Pacific Railway, both by public fitness and financial power. He was, and always had been, a Conservative and is understood to have given almost as liberally to party funds in a preceding election as in this one of 1872. His great transportation interests depended very largely for success upon the progressive policy of the Government and would have made him contribute to its campaign fund without any question of a C. P. R. charter. He practically controlled

the Canadian freight and passenger traffic to Europe through the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company and was aiming to keep this trade as against a proposed ocean line under the auspices of the Grand Trunk Railway. He, therefore, had purchased, or projected, or obtained control of railways from Toronto to Quebec—notably the North Shore Railway and the Northern Colonization Line. If he could obtain the political assistance and co-operation of Sir George Cartier in his projects it would mean much in the Legislature of Quebec and would probably enable him to defeat the efforts of the Grand Trunk to capture his ocean traffic by means of a rival line. Hence it was that this \$162,000 subscription to the election funds might have been obtained by Cartier without reference to the Canadian Pacific matter at all.

Meanwhile, the election had been going on. Sir John Macdonald knew nothing of the immense sums which were obtained, personally, by Sir George Cartier for what he had described as the "insane" election contest in Montreal and it is not difficult to understand his twice-repeated calls for money during the strenuous struggle he was carrying on in Ontario. In the midst of it, on July 30th, he received a letter from Sir Hugh Allan, saying that he had made an arrangement with Cartier by which the construction of the railway had been promised to his Company if the attempts at amalgamation should fail. Without a moment's hesitation Sir John telegraphed a repudiation of the whole matter and explicitly declared that Cartier had no authority to make any arrangement of the kind. Then, as the Premier afterwards pointed out,* Sir Hugh subscribed to the party fund the amounts elsewhere indicated, "in the face of a positive intimation from the Government through me, that the road would not be given to his Company, but only to an amalgamated company."

* Private letter to Lord Dufferin, explaining the situation, written on October 9, 1873, and not made public until 1894.

This must have been a serious blow to the ambitious financier, but, on the other hand, he had to consider the very real danger to the whole project and to his general transportation interests, if the Government were defeated. Evidently, as a business man, he balanced his chances and decided to back the Conservative party for all he was worth. It was a case of inclination and policy going hand in hand. There is no doubt, also, that Cartier had committed the Government to a degree of which Sir John Macdonald had no conception and in which his repudiation of the written arrangement seems to have had little effect. The reason for Cartier's extraordinary course throughout this entire period was only known to a few at that time and was never known to the public. In the confidential communication to Lord Dufferin already quoted, Sir John says: "Not until after his death (May 20, 1873) and the evidence was produced, were any of his colleagues aware of his insane course. As I have already said it showed too clearly that his mind had broken down as well as body. Of course, I can say this to you only, as I would rather suffer any consequences than cast any reflection upon his memory before the public, or say anything that would have even the appearance of an attempt to transfer any blame that may attach to these transactions to any one who is no longer here to speak for himself."

He then went on to point out that neither he, nor any member of the Government, had the slightest knowledge of the situation created by Cartier in Montreal. He also referred to the fact that money was necessary for the legitimate expenses of an election; that in Canada, unfortunately, there was no Carlton Club to conduct the financial part of a campaign; that money was collected and must be collected for these purposes and that it had to pass, more or less, under existing circumstances, through the hands of Ministers. He might have pointed out that no one, even in those days of fiery accusation, ever charged him or his colleagues with benefiting personally

by the moneys thus received and, it may be added here as greatly to his credit, that up to the day of his death Sir John Macdonald never uttered a word of reproach, or of insinuation, regarding the conduct of Sir George Cartier. The latter's long friendship and co-operation with Sir John and his sincere work for Canada deserved this. But, the incident is none the less a lasting proof of the personal fidelity and honour of a Canadian leader under severe strain.

Regrettable as the whole episode was, hurtful as it was to the position and prospects of all concerned, injurious as it was to the fair fame of Canadian politics, it is yet reasonable to say that the ensuing national condemnation was sufficient punishment to the Conservative leaders and that Sir John Macdonald has come out of the whole transaction much cleaner politically and much better personally than even his ardent followers at that time had hoped for. There has been much nonsense written upon this subject. Money is needed in elections and must be obtained. There was no Conservative so rich and so available as Sir Hugh Allan and, unless he expected to buy the charter by this means, there was no corruption in connection with Dominion politics, in his contribution. This can hardly be said, however, as to his expectations from Sir George Cartier in Quebec politics. The unfortunate mental and physical ailments of Cartier at this time are, perhaps, sufficient excuse for him and it is also apparent that Sir John Macdonald was not really responsible, though he fully assumed the responsibility, for his colleague's vagaries. On the other hand his instant repudiation of Cartier's tentative promise and the refusal of the Government to aid Allan's pretension to the Presidency of the amalgamated Company after the elections, relieves him from personal suspicion.

Meantime, a Royal Commission had been appointed on August 13th to practically take the place of the now useless Select Committee. It was composed of three well-known Judges—the Hon. Charles

Dewey Day, the Hon. Antoine Polette and the Hon. James Robert Gowan. They presented a Report to the Governor-General on October 17th containing a summary of the evidence taken under oath and His Excellency at once summoned Parliament to consider it. Mr. Mackenzie, as leader of the Liberal Opposition, promptly moved a Resolution of "severe censure" and a debate followed which teemed with dramatic incidents and was permeated by a sullen sentiment of Conservative dissatisfaction. On November 3rd, Sir John Macdonald delivered a defence and explanation of four hours' duration and, if any single speech could have saved the situation, it would have done so. But he saw that the feeling had grown too strong for even his personality to overcome and he prevented the passage of the vote of censure by retirement from office.

THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, a clear-headed Scotchman who had risen from the humble labours of a stone-mason to the high functions of a legislator, and whose character is one of the most honest and straightforward in Canadian political history, became Prime Minister on November 7th. With him in the new Ministry were the Hon. A. A. Dorion, the sturdy leader of Quebec Liberalism—soon to become Chief Justice and to adorn for many years the Bench of his native Province; the Hon. Richard J. Cartwright, a one-time Conservative and destined to be remembered as the Canadian embodiment of clear, cold, cutting oratory of a type which combined the culture of an English gentleman with the occasional savagery of a backwood's Indian; the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, a typical *grand seigneur* of Quebec; the Hon. Albert J. Smith who, in New Brunswick had fought Confederation as Dorion had in Quebec; the Hon. L. S. Huntington, the hero of the moment and destined to practically drop out of Canadian history and politics a few years later; and the Hon. Edward Blake, a man possessed of remarkable legal acumen, of

great abilities which never reached their higher possibilities of development, of political attainments which did not include the essential of popularity and the quality of tact, of oratorical powers which were great in the presentation of accumulated logic but very weak in the faculty of carrying popular conviction. Parliament was dissolved on January 2, 1874, the new Ministry swept the country and remained in power until 1878. Sir John Macdonald, despite his willingness to resign, was maintained in his position as leader of the Conservative party and, after a two years interlude of practical rest, went to work upon lines which were to once more carry him back to office—this time for the rest of his life.

George Brown, who had been beaten in the elections of 1867 and had been called to the Senate in 1873, was now practically out of politics and so remained—except through the great influence of his paper—until the miserable murder in 1880 which removed his sincere and strenuous personality from the life of Canada. Many other changes had also taken place in the *personnel* of politics. Sir Francis Hincks, after a brief interval of power as Finance Minister under Sir John Macdonald, had retired into private life; John Sandfield Macdonald had become the first Premier of Ontario, been defeated after a few years of economical administration and shortly afterwards had passed away; Oliver Mowat had come down from the Bench in 1872 and taken the Premiership of Ontario which he was destined to hold for twenty-four years amidst an ever-increasing reputation for shrewdness and skill in managing men; Joseph Howe had passed away in Nova Scotia and Charles Tupper become the undisputed Conservative leader of all the Maritime Provinces; Hiram Blanchard, William Annand, P. C. Hill, S. H. Holmes, succeeded each other as Premiers of Nova Scotia up to the days when John S. D. Thompson and W. S. Fielding came to the front; A. R. Wetmore, George E. King and J. J. Fraser came to the surface of affairs in New Brunswick while

Wilmot and Tilley and Chandler retired successively to the cool shades of Government House at Fredericton ; in far away British Columbia J. F. McCreight, Amor de Cosmos, A. C. Elliot, George A. Walkem, Robert Beaven, William Smithe, A. E. B. Davie and John Robson succeeded each other as the head of Ministries which it would be exceedingly hard to politically define.

In all the Provinces constructive difficulties and constitutional problems were bound to arise, and did arise, from time to time. In Ontario they took the form of a boundary question with Manitoba which was settled by the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council in favour of the older Province ; of questions of jurisdiction over rivers and streams, of the right to prohibit the sale and manufacture of intoxicants, of the power to appoint Queen's Counsel and similar subjects. In most of these cases the contention of the Province was sustained. In the Maritime Provinces the chief issue thus raised was the New Brunswick School question. In April, 1871, the Legislature of that Province practically abolished Roman Catholic Separate Schools and organized its system upon a non-sectarian basis. The minority appealed through the various Courts to the Judicial Committee where, finally, the appeal was dismissed. Then they went into the political arena and in May, 1872, a stormy debate took place at Ottawa without any other result than the positive refusal of the Dominion Government to intervene in the matter.

The most significant of all these earlier controversies, however, was the constitutional one created by the dismissal, on March 4, 1878, of the De Boucherville Ministry in Quebec. The Lieutenant-Governor, M. Letellier de St. Just, could not get on with his advisers and, therefore, dismissed them while in possession of a majority in the Legislature. He called in Henri Gustave Joly, who assumed responsibility for the action and managed to hold office for over a year. The constitutional principle seems to have been met fully by the

Governor finding a Premier to shield his action. But here came the political issue—a much more prominent feature in such a *coup-d'état*. Letellier was a Liberal, his Minister was a Conservative, Joly was a Liberal. The Conservatives were aggrieved at the dismissal and took the old Liberal ground that it was an infraction of the responsible government principle under which a Governor is supposed to be bound by his advisers so long as they possess a Parliamentary majority. This was the ground taken by Sir John Macdonald at Ottawa. The Liberal leaders there, however, took the position that the Governor had been relieved of responsibility by his new Premier and this really seems to be the true constitutional position and not incompatible with the correctness of the other. The debate was a bitter one and M. Letellier was maintained in his place and his policy. When, however, the Conservatives came into power at Ottawa, soon afterwards, it was inevitable that some action should be taken and, despite the objections of Lord Lorne who believed that the office of Lieutenant-Governor would thus be degraded to the position of a party appanage, Letellier was dismissed.

Incidentally, this case marked a change in the functions of the Governor-General. The Marquess of Lorne,* who had succeeded Lord Dufferin in 1878, in referring the proposed dismissal to the Colonial Office, had been advised in reply that he should follow the suggestions of his Government. This was, practically, the final step in making his position a similar one, in all the relations of Governor-General to Cabinet and Parliament, to that of the Sovereign in England. Meanwhile, the politics of Canada had been slowly improving as the scope of operations and public thought had widened. They were still essentially Colonial and rather narrow, but were steadily broadening out toward the Imperial development of the

* Lord Lorne became Duke of Argyll in 1900 by the death of his father. Lord Dufferin, after serving as Viceroy of India and in other positions of great importance was created Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. It may also be added that Lord Stanley of Preston, a later Governor-General, became afterwards the 16th Earl of Derby.

succeeding quarter of a century. No doubt the experience of the leaders in forming the constitution and then bringing it into practical and full operation was a great factor in this progress.

Since Confederation Messrs. Galt and Rose and Hincks, as successive Finance Ministers, had been compelled to evolve a new financial system ; to bring together varied threads of conflicting Provincial experience ; to create a new and broad fiscal policy suited to several Provinces and many diverse interests ; to build up a Dominion banking system. It was not an easy task. The country from ocean to ocean had also to be considered and studied in its public works, its possible public improvements, its vast requirements for transportation facilities, its complex and antagonistic railway and waterway systems. A Department of Marine and Fisheries, dealing with conditions of international import and touching American rivalry on the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Great Lakes, had to be established and maintained. Intricate questions of revenue as well as tariff, of relations between the Provinces and with the United States, had to be considered. Difficult constitutional and administrative points in connection with the admission of new Provinces had to be met, the wants of the vast areas of the far West satisfied from time to time, the Indians looked after and controlled, the whole postal system of half a continent organized, or re-organized.

The first Government of the Dominion had, indeed, no easy task and there were not a few great problems, such as the creation of the Supreme Court of Canada, which descended to their successors. Upon the whole, however, they were successful and had the new Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie been amenable to public opinion and requirements and sentiment, upon issues such as protection and the rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, they would have had a splendid opportunity of being also distinguished for constructive statesmanship

CHAPTER XXI

The National Policy of Protection

THE story of the rise and fall of tariffs, or the ever-present controversy between the principles of free trade and protection, is not usually considered a subject of absorbing attractiveness. Yet, in the case of Canada, the annals of the "N. P.," as it was universally called for years, present features of really popular and permanent interest. They include the consideration of important underlying movements connected with the birth and travail of a new country and an incipient national sentiment. They were vitally concerned with the personal success or failure of a great man and the rise into prolonged power of the party which he had been mainly instrumental in creating.

A TURN IN THE TIDE OF CANADIAN AFFAIRS

They marked the turn in the tide from poverty to prosperity, from what might be termed national infancy to national boyhood, from dependence upon the United States in fiscal matters to comparative independence, from Provincial looseness of tie and separation of interests to genuine co-operation and partnership, from smallness of popular view to a wider horizon and greater individual enterprise. How far the National Policy was instrumental in this undoubted development is a still disputed point and must remain so under existing party conditions; but as to the present necessity for a protective tariff, and the inferential necessity for its creation, there seems, even now, to be a pretty general assent in all Canadian parties.

Following Confederation a somewhat peculiar state of affairs existed in the new Dominion. There was the shell of a great state,

the institutions and machinery of a country which stretched in nominal union from ocean to ocean and covered over three million square miles of territory. But the population was thinly scattered over its vast area; the progress of national prosperity was somewhat slow; the sentiment of Canadian unity was decidedly weak; the Provinces leaned considerably in matters of trade interchange, and demand and supply, upon the States to the south of them; railway communication between the Pacific and the Great Lakes had not been established and seemed almost too great an undertaking for so youthful a people; and comparatively little exchange of thought or commerce as yet passed between the Provinces.

A CHANGE IN TARIFF CONDITIONS

The tariff was at first a uniform one of 15 per cent. upon all goods coming into the Dominion, and this average reduction of 5 per cent. on what had been the tariff of the Canadas, under Mr. Galt's fiscal policy, was for a time sufficient to prevent the market being monopolized by American manufactures, although it was not sufficient to be protective in the sense of encouraging home industry. It simply enabled Canadian manufacturers to hold their own during the period of Sir John Macdonald's first Government from 1867 to 1873.

The reason for this condition of affairs and for the change which began to show itself about 1872 was the simple fact that all the native powers of recuperation and productive capacity which the United States possessed were required, in the half-dozen years following the Civil War, for the supply of its own people and the meeting of new conditions North and South, in both agriculture and industry. During these years the small 15 per cent. tariff was enough to prevent serious competition with the tiny and still tentative industrial development of Canada. But by the time of the general elections in 1872 it was an open secret that some increase of duties would soon be necessary and, although the storms of the Canadian Pacific "scandal"

broke over and shattered the Ministry—which had been successful at the polls—the necessity was accepted by its Liberal successor and the tariff was increased under Mr. Mackenzie to 17½ per cent. At that point, however, the Government stayed its hand and no amount of persuasion, no cloud of discontent upon the horizon, growing in shadowy outline as the years passed on, would move the Government in the direction of pure protection. American manufacturers, meanwhile, had revived, prospered and then over-produced. They had supplied their own market and then turned to find other worlds to conquer; and the nearest and most exposed was the Canadian field.

Between 1873 and 1878 their goods poured over the frontier and beat down prices below what the small Canadian firms, with their limited production and market and capital, could hope to touch. Then, after the local industry had collapsed, prices were again raised and the American firm held its captured market in apparently secure shape. All over the country this was happening and even the farmer began to suffer from the inrush of American wheat and other food-stuffs. From every side came demands for a change of policy, but Mr. Mackenzie and Sir Richard Cartwright, his Finance Minister, were firm in their view that while a tariff might, and must in this case, be imposed for revenue and at uniform rates upon all kinds of goods coming into the country, it was unwise, retrogressive and injurious to single out industries for special protection, or for the Government to "spoon-feed" any individual interest in the country.

Sir John Macdonald, however, was quick to see not only the rising sentiment of the people and his own opportunity but, it may surely be believed, a possibility of benefiting the community itself. With him practice was always superior to theory and the practical needs of the moment more important than the vagaries of academic schools of thought. Nor was he inconsistent, as his opponents have

frequently claimed. He had supported the protective policy of Galt in the old Canadian Assembly of 1858-9 and had spoken in favour of helping local industries, at Hamilton in 1861, and elsewhere in other years. In 1876 the issue was coming to a head. A Commission of Inquiry into the existing condition of affairs had been appointed and under the Chairmanship of Mr. David Mills presented an academic Report admitting the financial stringency and industrial depression but condemning the adoption of Protection as a cure on the ground that such a system would diminish the consumption of foreign goods, would lessen the revenue by \$9,000,000, would increase the price of home-manufactured goods, would impose a heavy tax on the consumer and was, generally, a proposition to relieve distress by the re-distribution of property.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD TAKES UP THE QUESTION

Sir John Macdonald and the Conservatives accepted the gauntlet thus thrown down and had, indeed, anticipated it in the following motion presented to the House on March 10th by the Tory leader :

"That this House regrets that His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the re-adjustment of the tariff which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries as well as to the agricultural products of the country."

The proposal was, of course, voted down by the Government's majority, but the issue was clearly presented and, if possible, made more so by succeeding Resolutions of which the most important is that of March 7, 1877. It was proposed by Sir John and declared that "the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy which, by a judicious re-adjustment of the Tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion."

It was defeated by forty-nine majority, and then Dr. George T. Orton proposed a Resolution declaring that the adoption of

such a policy would retain the people in Canada and lessen the growing migration to the United States ; would restore prosperity to the now struggling industries of the country ; would prevent Canada from being any longer a mere sacrifice market for American products ; would encourage and develop an active trade between the Provinces ; and, by moving in the direction of reciprocity of tariffs with the United States, would help in eventually procuring reciprocity of trade. Upon this motion, which was defeated by 114 to 77 votes, the ensuing elections were chiefly fought.

Meanwhile, matters went from bad to worse in a commercial and financial sense. Whatever the value of the American market it was absolutely closed to Canadian productions in most of the important lines while American manufacturers and producers had a full sweep of the Dominion. American wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, wheat-flour, oatmeal, coal, salt, wool, pig-iron, iron and steel-rails, bricks and flax had free entry into Canada, while similar Canadian products entering the United States were charged high duties—from wheat at 20 cents a bushel to steel-rails at \$25 a ton. Home-made products in Canada were steadily driven to the wall while the poverty-stricken people could no longer afford to import British goods which went down in bulk-value from \$68,000,000 in 1873, to \$37,000,000 in 1878. As with the industrial and mercantile interests so with the agricultural. In 1878 the Dominion actually imported \$17,909,000 worth of flour, grain, animals and other agricultural products from the United States in competition with home-grown productions.

The Conservative battle-cry became one of "Canada for the Canadians" and, under all the circumstances, it is not wonderful that the slogan attached to the side of Sir John Macdonald much of the best and brainiest support in the community. Newspaper men found something to discuss in the broad question of protection better than many of the small and local issues of the past and keen spirits such

as John Maclean—who had long been urging such a policy—R. W. Phipps, Thomas White, C. H. Mackintosh and Nicholas Flood Davin enthusiastically advocated a new and more national system. Even Mr. Goldwin Smith—the ever caustic publicist—was stirred with a momentary political ambition and, in 1878, is stated to have sought a Conservative nomination and did certainly support the proposed National Policy. Charles Carroll Colby, afterwards a Minister of the Crown, wrote a powerful pamphlet in its support. Mr. D. L. McPherson issued a number of similar contributions to the discussion. Dr. Tupper, with all the force of his strenuous oratory, joined Sir John Macdonald on a myriad platforms and did great service to the cause; while in July, 1878, Mr. S. L. Tilley descended from the Lieutenant-Governorship of New Brunswick and contributed his fluent, silvery speech and pleasant personality to the issue and the support of the Opposition.

The Government had been also re-inforced by the logical, argumentative faculty of David Mills and the pleasant, persuasive eloquence of Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. Mackenzie had been strengthened in health and reputation by a visit to Scotland and by the splendid reception he had been given in his native place as well as by the sense and patriotism of his speeches on the soil of his ancestors. With Cartwright, Huntington, Mills and others, he went through the country in 1877 and 1878 everywhere nailing the flag of a revenue tariff to the mast-head of his party's fate. It was a striking struggle in every sense of the word and the sweeping success of Sir John Macdonald was not less interesting because of the surprise felt by his opponents at the result. Mr. Mackenzie at once resigned and, on October 17, 1878, the new Conservative Ministry was formed—one which lasted with variations in leadership and fluctuations in membership until 1896. Sir John Macdonald was, of course, Premier, the Hon. James McDonald, afterwards Chief Justice of Nova Scotia,

was Minister of Justice, Sir S. Leonard Tilley* was Minister of Finance and retained the post until 1885, Sir Charles Tupper was Minister of Railways and Canals and held the position until the same date, Sir Hector L. Langevin was Postmaster-General and afterwards, for many years, Minister of Public Works. Other members of the Government were L. F. R. Masson, Mackenzie Bowell, J. C. Pope, L. F. G. Baby, John O'Connor, Sir Alexander Campbell and R. D. Wilmot.

THE NEW TARIFF

During the Session of 1879 Parliament dealt with the somewhat vague pledges of the "National Policy" platform and, under the direction of Sir Leonard Tilley, did it thoroughly. The tariff presented in the budget speech of this year was distinctly protective to every industry which was deemed capable of being encouraged and, from the general principles of the important fiscal changes then announced there have, in twenty years, been only two serious departures—the iron and steel policy of Sir Charles Tupper and the Preferential tariff of Mr. Fielding. The first of these was an extension of the protective principle, the other was a modification of it in form without seriously affecting it in detail. Of course, the budget and its important fiscal proposals did not pass without strong opposition. The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie—soon to be succeeded in the Liberal leadership by Mr. Edward Blake—moved in amendment on April 7th :

"That while this House is prepared to make ample provision for the requirements of the public service and the maintenance of the public credit it regards the scheme now under consideration as calculated to distribute unequally, and therefore unjustly, the burdens of taxation ; to divert capital from its national and most profitable employment ; to benefit special classes at the expense of the whole community ; tends towards rendering futile the costly and persistent efforts of the country to obtain

* In 1877 Richard J. Cartwright, Samuel Leonard Tilley, Charles Tupper, William P. Howland and Alexander Campbell were knighted with the insignia of K. C. M. G.

a share in the immense and growing carrying trade of this continent ; and to create an antagonism between the commercial policy of the Empire and that of Canada that might lead to consequences to be deeply deplored."

The Resolution was, of course, defeated on a party vote and by a large majority—136 to 53. From this time, onwards, the attacks of the Opposition upon the National Policy were continuous and became more and more acrid as the years passed on. Until 1884, however, no more clearly defined motions were submitted to the House of Commons except in connection with detail duties, such as those on coal and breadstuffs and lumber, proposed by Mr. Laurier in 1882, and one regarding pig-iron and other kindred products by Mr. Isaac Burpee in the same Session. After 1884, the Liberal policy and fiscal proposals made Reciprocity with the United States their central theme.

The story of the National Policy and its results has been told a myriad times upon Canadian platforms, from many standpoints and with infinitely varied data. Criticism and censure have been as plentifully showered upon it and its makers as have appreciation and admiration. To do justice to the subject it should be looked at with liberal views and from a wide outlook. The policy is generally limited in popular conception to the increase of duties in 1879 from 17½ to an average of about 30 per cent. and to the consequent encouragement of industrial development through the application of those duties to the protection of specified interests. It had, in reality, a far wider range. Without the redundant revenues and increased credit which followed the Canadian Pacific could not have been completed for very many years ; the North-West and British Columbia would have remained isolated dependencies leaning upon American support ; ocean communication with the Orient would have remained a dream and inter-provincial trade an unknown factor. Hence, practically, the National Policy covered a very wide field—one far beyond the conception of it as being a mere matter of increased fiscal duties.

There can be no dispute as to what followed the tariff changes of 1879, though there is much dispute as to the degree of responsibility. Confidence was restored and enterprise revived. Soup kitchens, which had been established for paupers and the unemployed in large centres, disappeared and "good times" came as if by magic. Giving every credit in this latter respect to the easier circumstances of the people in the United States at this period it still seems evident that had the tariff gates remained down, the prosperity on the other side of the line could have only meant increased production there and larger exports of goods and products to the Canadian market. Revival here, would, consequently, have been very slow, if, indeed, it had come at all. Leaving probabilities and assumptions aside, however, it is clear that a new spirit did develop in the young community and that hopelessness and listlessness in business disappeared to a very great extent. Exports grew from \$79,323,000 in 1878 to \$121,013,000 in 1896; imports expanded from \$93,089,000 to \$118,011,000; trade with Great Britain grew from \$83,089,000 to \$99,670,000 and with the United States from \$73,876,000 to \$103,022,000. With France and Germany, with South American countries and China and Japan, commerce steadily developed.

Manufacturing interests increased and improved in a most marked manner. Between 1881 and 1891, according to the census returns, the number of establishments increased by 26,000, the capital invested by \$189,000,000, the number of *employés* by 115,000, the wages paid by \$41,000,000, the value of the manufactured product by \$166,000,000. The revenue rose from \$22,517,000 in 1879 to \$38,579,000 in 1891, while between those years \$77,000,000 were expended upon railways, \$22,000,000 upon canals and waterway improvements and \$25,000,000 upon public buildings and public works. Meantime, the debt of the country, also, increased from \$140,000,000 in 1878 to \$253,000,000 in 1895, and the taxation per head from \$4.37 to \$5.02. The large

imports of American farm products were greatly restricted and the export of cattle, sheep and provisions to Great Britain grew from a practically stationary figure of \$7,000,000 in 1879 to \$28,045,000 in 1895. Manitoba and the North-West steadily developed and villages grew into cities whilst the trade between the Provinces came to exceed \$100,000,000 in value.

Of course, all this admitted expansion was not without corresponding diminution in certain lines of trade ; suffering from external influences such as the McKinley tariff ; ups and downs in financial feeling and popular prosperity. But there has never since 1878 been any condition even comparable with the state of affairs then. In the general elections of 1882 and 1887 and 1891 the chief issue before the people was the tariff—though complicated in the latter years by the Riel question and the inevitable turmoil of a racial and religious cry. Whether the Liberal party in these years was led by Edward Blake, or Wilfrid Laurier ; whether it supported a revenue tariff as in 1882, incidental protection as in 1887, or unrestricted reciprocity as in 1891 ; the real issue was always the tariff. The National Policy, or something else, was the question before the people and on each occasion the former won. In 1896, the Manitoba School matter over-shadowed everything and the prolonged tariff controversy was allowed to lapse into the limbo of forgotten issues.

A tariff for protection as well as for revenue was then finally accepted as settled and the issue of the future came to hinge, not upon the time-honoured and world-wide battle between free trade and protection, but upon the development and details of an Imperial trade policy in which sentiment was to play a prominent part and a compromise of hitherto opposing principles prove the only possible settlement.

CHAPTER XXII

Construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway

WHATEVER the effects of the National Policy in an economic sense, there can be no doubt that it increased the revenues by thirteen million dollars in three years, decreased the business failures from \$29,000,000, in 1879, to \$5,700,000 in 1881, steadily developed inter-provincial trade and mutual interests, and witnessed during its first four years of life an increase of \$77,000,000 in the external commerce of the country. Of course, there were subsidiary causes for this sudden development of good times, but the people as a whole were inclined to credit the National Policy with much of the expansion which followed its establishment.

TWO FACTORS OF INDIVIDUAL AND PUBLIC SELF-CONFIDENCE

Two facts are undoubted amidst all the conflicting confusion of current fiscal argument. They were really interchangeable and included the restoration of public confidence in private and public enterprises of a financial character, and the growth of a national sentiment which made the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway a possibility. Without these two factors of individual and public self-confidence neither the revenues, nor the credit, nor the sentiment of the country, would have permitted the carrying out of so huge an undertaking.

Sir John Macdonald had tried to initiate the enterprise in 1873 by means of private companies of capitalists and had failed in the midst of an almost obscuring cloud of scandal and slander. Mr. Mackenzie's Government had endeavoured also to keep the pact entered into with British Columbia when that Province joined Confederation, in 1872, upon the promise of a railway over the vast

prairies and sea of mountains which lay between it and the rest of Canada. He had developed a scheme of gradual and economical building, under which contracts were let by the Government for bits of road between given bodies of water and over the easier stretches of land. There was no continuity of work or completeness of policy. The difficult parts of the undertaking, such as the route around the north shore of Lake Superior and through the Rocky Mountains, were conveniently postponed and the lakes on the route were to be used as navigable portions of the line instead of the railway being taken around them. When Sir John Macdonald came into power again, in 1878, he found that solitary lines of railway, scattered here and there, were completed, or under way, but were without bond of union or any very practical efficiency.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS CONTINENTAL ROUTE

As soon as other matters permitted, attention was turned to the necessity of more rapid and organized action. The public had at last grasped to some extent the importance of this continental route to the unity and expansion of the Dominion; British Columbia was pressing for the carrying out of Federal pledges; and the acceptance of the new National Policy tariff as presented to Parliament by Sir Leonard Tilley in the Session of 1879 had cleared the political path and promised to provide steadily growing revenues to the Government. Some efforts had been made in the meantime to carry on Mackenzie's plan and further small contracts had been actually entered into. But, in 1879, the opportunity presented itself for a renewal of the old policy of 1873 under stronger and better auspices. A small Syndicate of Canadian and American capitalists had been latterly operating the St. Paul and Pacific Railway—a line running through Minnesota to the international border and connecting there with the Pembina and Winnipeg branch of the proposed continental road.

With these men and some others, including George Stephen, Duncan McIntyre and Donald A. Smith, of Montreal, R. B. Angus, of the Bank of Montreal, J. S. Kennedy, of New York, Morton, Rose & Company, of London, and James J. Hill, of American railway fame, the Government commenced negotiations for the assumption of the greater enterprise. Sir Charles Tupper, who was Minister of Railways from 1879 to 1884, impressed his usual energy and force upon the matter and, on May 10, 1879, moved a series of Resolutions in the House of Commons embodying the policy of the Government and promising 100,000,000 acres of North-West land to any Company taking up the work. A contract was finally made with the syndicate for the building of the line and for the payment by Government of \$25,000,000 in cash, with a grant of 25,000,000 acres of land in alternate lots along the route. On December 13, 1880, Sir C. Tupper moved the acceptance of the arrangement by Parliament and fought the measure through the House in long and able and forceful speeches.

But this is anticipating the narrative. It had seemed possible in 1873, after the fall of the Macdonald Government, that the railway project might fall with it. The new Government and the Liberal party did not, certainly, appear enthusiastic over what they truly felt to be the assumption of vast responsibilities. They lacked faith to some extent in the future and this is the worst that can be said of their attitude and subsequent policy. The project was an enormous one for a Government to assume which had only some scattered and not wealthy Provinces to depend upon and a population of less than 5,000,000 at its back. Moreover, the Liberal party had never approved of the pledge to British Columbia and would have very naturally been glad of relief from the burden of the now evident obligation. Seeing this situation at Ottawa, Lieutenant-Governor Sir J. W. Trutch, of British Columbia, had hastened on behalf of his Government to register, in 1873, a protest against further delay.

Much correspondence followed and in February, 1874, the MacKenzie Government decided to send a special envoy to the distant end of the Dominion in order to ascertain the exact state of public opinion in the Province; to see if it were possible to arrange conditions under which the railway might be built and slowly completed without reference to the promised ten years of the Confederation compact; to, in short, feel the public pulse as to a change in the terms of Union. They selected Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. D. Edgar for the mission and armed him with many letters and elaborate instructions. On the 9th of March he arrived in Victoria and, eventually, submitted proposals which involved the immediate commencement and rapid completion by the Dominion of a local railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island; the speedy settlement of the route to be followed by the railway on the mainland; the immediate building of a waggon-road through the almost impassable mountains and of a telegraph line across the continent; the expenditure of a minimum amount of \$1,500,000 annually upon the road, within the Rockies, until it was completed.

FIRST STEPS IN CONSTRUCTION

The discussion was fruitless, whether because of a lack of diplomacy and tact upon Mr. Edgar's part, as one reputable historian states,* or because the Provincial Government wanted their full pound of flesh. In June the proposals were withdrawn, the envoy recalled and Mr. George A. Walkem, the Premier of British Columbia, went to London to lay his case before the Colonial Secretary and the Imperial authorities. A triangular controversy followed, some of it decidedly acrimonious until, finally, all parties agreed to accept the Earl of Carnarvon as arbitrator in the affair. His proposed terms of settlement were submitted to Lord Dufferin in a despatch dated November 17, 1874, and may be summed up as follows:

* Dr. George Stewart. *Canada Under the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin.*

1. The rapid building of the Nanaimo-Esquimault Railway.
2. The pressing of the mainland surveys and the selection of a definite route over the mountains with all possible despatch.
3. The immediate construction of the waggon-road and telegraph lines.
4. The minimum expenditure of \$2,000,000 a year upon railway works, within the Province, from the moment that the surveys should be completed.
5. The completion of the railway and its readiness for traffic, from the Pacific sea-board to the western end of Lake Superior, by December 31, 1890.

Some of the details in this compromise were not very acceptable to the Dominion Government but they abided by the settlement, as arranged, and an Order-in-Council was issued on December 18th expressing their adhesion to its terms. Then began the detached method of construction already referred to. Naturally, the Conservative Opposition had endeavoured to make capital out of the slowness of operations. On March 13th, Dr. Tupper moved a long Resolution embodying the since generally accepted view of Canada's responsibility in the matter and urging the Government "to employ the available funds of the Dominion" for the completion of the road. This was defeated on a party division. In the succeeding year, on March 28th, Mr. Amor de Cosmos of British Columbia moved a lengthy Resolution of censure upon the Government for its slowness in carrying out the pledges of the Dominion to his Province. It only received seven votes. A motion by Mr. G. W. Ross, afterwards Prime Minister of Ontario, declaring that the expenditure should only be such as "the resources of the country will permit without increasing the existing rates of taxation" was carried and an amendment proposed on behalf of the Opposition by Mr. J. Burr Plumb, and stating that the country was pledged to the undertaking, that the

surveys should be energetically pressed and the construction of the road prosecuted with rapidity, was voted down. On April 21, 1877, Dr. Tupper presented a motion of censure upon the Government for their general railway policy. It was negatived by a party vote.

During the succeeding year the Conservative party came into power and on May 10, 1879, the new Minister of Railways and Canals—Sir Charles Tupper—moved a lengthy Resolution detailing the engagement of Canada to build the Canadian Pacific Line; its importance as “a great Imperial highway across the continent of America entirely on British soil;” its desirability as providing a route for trade and commerce to China, Japan and the far East; and setting forth an elaborate plan for construction under the auspices of the Government and by means, chiefly, of a grant of 100,000,000 acres of North-West lands. Mr. Mackenzie promptly moved an amendment re-capitulating Liberal policy and denouncing any further increase in taxation. The original motion, of course, carried. During the ensuing Session of 1880 Mr. Edward Blake proposed a much more drastic Resolution against the Government’s railway policy and asked the House, without success, to declare that “the public interests require that the work of constructing the Pacific Railway in British Columbia be postponed.”

Meanwhile, however, the Canadian Pacific Syndicate was formed as already described and, after prolonged negotiation arrangements were entered into with the Government. In accordance with this agreement Sir Charles Tupper moved in the House, on December 13, 1880, that it was expedient to grant 25,000,000 acres of land and a subsidy of \$25,000,000 cash, for the construction of the road. Prolonged debates followed in which Messrs. Blake, Cartwright and Mills were pitted against Sir Charles with results which did not reflect discredit upon the forceful Minister of Railways. Many amendments were proposed and rejected—notably one by Sir Richard

Cartwright declaring that the whole contract was objectionable and the consideration excessive. These amendments were almost innumerable and were proposed, among others, by Messrs. Laurier, Mills, Anglin, F. W. Borden, Paterson, Charlton, Rinfret, G. W. Ross, M. C. Cameron, P. B. Casgrain, and George E. Casey. All were antagonistic and all were defeated on strict party lines. The discussions were exceedingly keen and, at times, fierce.

By the terms of the contract, as finally passed in the Session of 1881, the Syndicate undertook to form a Company and build the road to the Pacific within ten years and afterwards to operate it, for the consideration in lands and money as above. They were, of course, to have the right of way through public lands and the necessary ground for stations, docks, etc. Steel rails, telegraph wire and other articles for use were to be duty free and the sections of railway already built—from Lake Superior to Winnipeg, from Emerson to St. Boniface and from Burrard's Inlet to Savona's Ferry—were to be handed over by the Government to the Company. All the Company's property connected with the road and its capital stock were to be free of taxation. The Government also undertook that no line south of the railway should be chartered by the Dominion, or by any Province created by it, except in a southerly direction. This last provision afterwards became famous as the "monopoly clause" and the cause of much excited controversy.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE RAILWAY

The work before the new Company was no easy undertaking. The difficulties of construction were enormous; the engineering skill needed to overcome them now seems to have been little short of the marvellous; the costliness of many portions of the line was as great as the obstacles of nature were threatening. It required gigantic faith to enter upon the plan of construction; immense energy and financial skill to carry it through. Nor were conditions very favourable

to the large monetary operations which were necessary. The initial capital of the Company was \$5,000,000, issued at par, and this was increased in 1882 to \$25,000,000—the new stock being allotted to existing shareholders at 25 per cent. of par. A little later it was increased to \$100,000,000 and \$40,000,000 of this was sold at an average of 52 per cent., while the balance was deposited with the Dominion Government. In 1885, \$35,000,000 of this latter amount was cancelled. The Company also issued \$25,000,000 of first-mortgage 5 per cent. 50 year land-grant bonds, of which the greater part was afterwards redeemed.

This summary of financial operations gives no idea, however, of the struggles and vicissitudes, the sacrifices and possible ruin, which were faced by the men in control of the Company and the project during these years. In London, where most of the money had to be obtained, a lukewarm feeling existed toward the enterprise. Moneyed men were influenced by the natural hostility of the Grand Trunk Railway toward this new and formidable competitor; by the tremendous difficulties which nature had placed in its path; and by the double fact of so many millions of English capital having been already thrown away in the Grand Trunk and of more millions being menaced by the success of any new rival. It was, of course, fully expected and understood that the railway could not remain a western one, but would seek eastern connections and make itself, in time, a truly continental line. "To write the history of the battle," says one writer,* "which the Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway had to fight in England at the outset would require several volumes."

Distrust and fear and political enmity in Canada also exercised a powerful indirect effect upon the credit of the Company abroad. The Opposition in Parliament denounced both policy and project over and over again and with ever-increasing energy. A part of the

* Alexander Begg, of Winnipeg, in his *History of Manitoba*.

Canadian press followed suit and the platforms of the country in the elections of 1882 rang the changes of a most persistent pessimism regarding the whole enterprise. Coupled with the already instinctive hostility of vested interests this sort of thing had a natural effect in the money market and upon the resources of the Company. They went on vigorously and rapidly, however, with the construction and in the autumn of 1881 Mr. (afterwards Sir) William C. Van Horne became General Manager. In 1883, the Directorate was composed of Messrs. George Stephen, R. B. Angus, W. C. Van Horne and Donald A. Smith, representative of Canadian interests, and Messrs. John Turnbull, H. Stafford Northcote (now Lord Northcote) C. D. Rose, Baron J. de Reinach, R. V. Martinson and W. L. Scott, representative of English or foreign interests.

During this year and the early part of 1884 a crisis in the affairs of the Company developed. Their money grant from the Dominion had been expended, the proceeds of stock sales had gone into construction, the private resources of some of the Canadians concerned—notably George Stephen and Donald A. Smith—had been pledged, the Bank of Montreal itself had become deeply concerned. More money was absolutely necessary and more money seemed impossible to obtain. The influence of rivals and the prolonged teachings of political pessimism were having their inevitable innings. Much of the railway was built and money should have been comparatively easy to raise at this stage of construction; but such was not the case. London, under the various influences described, would not invest, and the success of the whole enterprise, the financial credit of Canada, the future prosperity of the Dominion, hung in the balance.

The Company approached the Government for a loan of \$22,500,000 and the Government hesitated. They naturally feared the fresh responsibility; they knew that public opinion had been greatly worked up against further financial connection with the Company;

they were doubtful of their own supporters in the House. What followed is one of those secrets of later Canadian history not yet known to the public and only known in full to a very few. Opinion in the Cabinet was divided and had it not been for the persistent efforts of Sir Frank Smith, backed up by the ever-cheerful optimism of Sir John Macdonald and the sturdy determination of Sir Charles Tupper, it is hard to say what the result might have been. Eventually a re-arrangement was made. The loan was granted—and repaid within two years—upon the transfer to the Government of the land-grants and of certain branch lines which had been built or purchased by the Company in Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba. The Company stripped themselves of everything in order to proceed with and complete the work and in doing so saved the railway from collapse, themselves from ruin and the country from a set-back which would have retarded its prosperity and growth by quarter of a century.

The agreement passed through Parliament, after bitter opposition, and its passage marked the beginning of the end. The continental railway was very soon a fact and, on June 28, 1886, a through passenger service between Montreal and Vancouver was inaugurated. Meanwhile, a steamship line had been established on Lakes Huron and Superior, a telegraph service completed along the line of railway and immense elevators for the storage of grain built at Port Arthur, Fort William and Montreal.

THE GREATNESS OF THE UNDERTAKING

The difficulties offered by nature to the actual construction of this trans-continental line were tremendous; the scenery along the route infinitely grand and varied. The railway had been carried around, or through, the massive cliffs of red granite which nature has thrown into innumerable shapes and marvellous conformations along the northern shores of Lake Superior. Rugged and seamed with trees, or smooth and bare in straight up and down masses of rock,

these great walls now guarded one side of the thin line of rail which stamped the course of civilized progress through these vast wilds of rock and forest and water. Tunnels and immense trestle-bridges, prolonged blasting operations and the scientific precision of engineering skill, had opened up in this case a country of the greatest mineral resources. On through the forests and uplands and myriad lakes and rivers of the region between Port Arthur and Winnipeg, over the thousand miles of prairie to the foot of the Rockies, the road had been run. Then, for days of rapid travel, it had worked its way amid the cloud-crowned, snow-capped peaks of the greatest of the world's mountain ranges.*

Green, grey, solemn and massive, these vast phenomena of nature now looked down upon, or were penetrated by, that little line of rail which marked the conquest of the inanimate by the animate. Down the deepest of grades and up the sides of the most forbidding of lofty mountains, with their crests encircled by everlasting storms and capped with eternal snows, the railway wound its path through tunnels and over trestle-bridges; along the banks of rushing rivers and wildly struggling mountain torrents; through the vast valley of the Kicking Horse and over huge canyons and chasms; through the marvellous scenery of Roger's Pass and down the sides of the roaring Fraser. Neither Canada nor its great railway can, indeed, be understood or appreciated—in either grandeur of scenery or difficulty of construction—until these mountains of British Columbia are pictured before the eye of the mind.

Lines of mountain peaks rise out of great valleys, in which a large river at times looks to the traveller in the train like a silver thread, and tower up into the clouds. Here and there huge glaciers are visible and the alternations of view afforded by the lofty summits

* Crossing these ranges in 1891 the writer met Sir Edwin Arnold, the author of *The Light of Asia*, who told him that, in his opinion, they exceeded in grandeur the Himalayas, the Alps, or the Andes—all of which he had seen.

and sides of the principal peaks, such as those of the Hermit, or Mount Stephen, or Mount Macdonald, are simply superb. Sunset, sunrise or a snow-storm produce the most beautiful effects in colouring at the hands of nature—the greatest master of all art. Green and brown, purple and black, blue and white, are developed according to the weather and the time of day and sometimes all at once. Intensely dark and sombre and gloomy is the scene, or beautiful in the most varied, fantastic and splendid forms. The transformations are never-ending. Here, perhaps, will be visible upon a dark mountain side lines of low trees, or shrubs, scattered amidst the forests of pine and looking like rivers of grass; there silvery streaks of snow. Here, a huge glacier of eternal ice; there something looking like a vast pile of coral heaped in gigantic shapes by some demoniac or fantastic god of ancient mythology. Everywhere are the banks of rushing rivers—the Bow, the Kicking-Horse, the Columbia, the Beaver, the Illicilliwaet, the Eagle, the Thompson, or the magnificent Fraser.

Running down the mountain sides, skipping in merry cascades and myriad colours across or beside the railway, tearing wildly down steep inclines, rushing over huge rocks or precipices, roaring between massive stone-walls—turbulent or peaceful, grand or beautiful—these rivers and streams present a thousand varied charms. The scenery along the Fraser is simply matchless. In many places the great river is forced between cliffs, or vertical walls of rock and foams and roars like some imprisoned giant of nature fighting to be free. The railway is often cut into the cliffs hundreds of feet above and tunnels pierced through solid rock follow each other in rapid succession. After passing Yale the mountains moderate in size and grandeur, the Rockies and the Selkirks gradually become things of the past—lingering forever in the memories of the traveller—and the beautiful valleys and villages and fruit-farms of the coast region come into view.

Such are some of the scenes and obstacles which marked the labours of construction and stamped the event with elements of greatness which led the London *Times* to declare * that the conception of this trans-continental line was "a magnificent act of faith on the part of the Canadian Dominion" and that the small population of the country spread, as it was, over so vast a territory, had "conceived and executed within a few years a work which a generation ago might well have appalled the wealthiest and most powerful of nations." With the completion of the railway, four years before the original contract had called for it, there ended the prolonged political fight over its construction. In the words of Mr. Blake at Vancouver on April 30, 1891: "When the railway was built and finished I felt, myself, that it was useless to continue the controversy longer in deference to the whole country which Canada had risked so much to retain."

LATER POLICY OF THE COMPANY

Much more remained to be done, however, before the through line which had required so much of persistence, pluck and financial and engineering skill to construct, could be a dividend-paying concern. One of the first steps was to gradually acquire a number of smaller lines for the purpose of feeding the main railway or facilitating its trans-continental business. The Canada Central, the North Shore Line, the New Brunswick Railway system, the Montreal and Ottawa, the Atlantic and North-West, the Credit Valley, the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, the Sudbury and Sault Ste Marie, the Manitoba and South-Western, the Calgary and Edmonton, the Minneapolis and St. Paul, and a score of others were amalgamated or acquired in various ways until the total mileage had become over 7,000. Larger and better grain elevators were built; the sleepers on the entire line were made or owned by the Company

* Editorial, June 30, 1886.



CARTIER MONUMENT

Unveiled September 6, 1919, by H.M. the King, from Balmoral, Scotland, through the pushing of a button. It is the work of a distinguished Canadian sculptor, George W. Hill, and is a tribute to the late Sir George Etienne Cartier, one of the founders of Confederation.



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN



JACQUES CARTIER

itself ; splendid hotels were erected at Vancouver, Banff, Montreal, Quebec and other places ; handsome Clyde-built steamers were put on the Great Lakes ; the *Empress Line* of steamers was placed on the Pacific and run from Vancouver to Hong-Kong ; another and similar Line was established between Vancouver and Australian ports.

All this was accomplished within a few years, though not without further difficulties of a political and financial nature. The latter were now easily overcome ; the former included the prolonged struggle in Manitoba for the freedom of that Province from the so-called monopoly clause in the original contract. From 1880 to 1887 the agitation, in this connection, was continuous and the demand of Manitoba to be allowed to build its own railways as it liked was as energetic as the free air of the Western prairies could make it. The original protests against the clause had been forcible and the claim that the subsequent Dominion policy of disallowing any local railway charters which conflicted with it was crippling Provincial development and compelling the endurance of excessive rates, contained a sufficient element of fact to lend popularity to the continued protests. At the same time, the Dominion Government was bound by their arrangement and it had not really been an unfair one in the beginning.

The Company had a right in view of their difficulties, the Government a right in view of their responsibilities, to prevent injurious competition to the new railway for a given period. But young communities are like young men—sometimes hot-headed and not always appreciative of past obligations and benefits. Hence the controversy reached an acute stage, in 1887, over the Dominion disallowance of the Red River Valley charter ; and the Provincial and Federal officials almost came to blows at the scene of construction. Finally, Mr. John Norquay, the Premier, accompanied by Mr. Joseph Martin, went to Ottawa and an arrangement was come to by which the

"monopoly clauses" were waived by the Company in return for a fifty-year Dominion guarantee of interest on a \$15,000,000 issue of 3½ per cent. bonds secured upon the Company's unsold lands—about 15,000,000 acres.

Meanwhile, the men who made the railway had become millionaires, as they deserved to be. Their energy had been herculean; their enterprise as creditable as their financial ability had been keen. They had risked everything, in reputation and personal resource, upon what had been declared to be a natural, geographical and financial impossibility and they merited high rewards. Success meant, also, the knitting together of the Dominion, the development of external trade, the peopling of the North-West, the growth of villages into towns and towns into cities, the forming of a new bond of Imperial unity. Mr. Stephen was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom by the Queen in 1888, and became Lord Mount Stephen in 1891. Mr. Donald A. Smith was created a K. C. M. G. in 1886, a G. C. M. G. in 1896 and a Peer of the realm in the succeeding year as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. Mr. Van Horne became President of the Railway in 1888 and a K. C. M. G. was very justly conferred upon him six years afterwards. Sir Charles Tupper who, in Parliament and out of it, had battled so vigorously and well for the great enterprise, became not only stronger in reputation through his exertions and successful advocacy but was decorated with the G. C. M. G. in 1886 and created a Baronet two years later. Thus, out of strenuous conflict, political confusion and financial crisis the railway had been created and developed until it had become a power for good in many things; a power, also, for the advancement at times of selfish ends; a factor always, in Canadian progress and Imperial strength, which all the world has been compelled to recognize.

CHAPTER XXIII

The North-west and the Rebellion of 1885

IT is interesting and instructive to note how often in history good appears to come out of evil. Nowhere is this result more frequently seen than in the ultimate consequences of war—whether the struggle be great or small. Certainly, little but evil could be seen in the year 1885 in an uprising of the Half-breeds and Indians upon the vast prairies of the North-West, and with all the possibilities of pillage and massacre which such a situation presented. Yet out of the event came an exhibition of united sentiment amongst the people of Canada's scattered Provinces which had not been conceived of; while the spectacle of volunteers, from Halifax to the far West, fighting side by side on behalf of the Dominion, crystalized what might have been a passing enthusiasm into a permanent and growing Canadianism.

CAUSES OF THE INSURRECTION

The causes of the trouble were nominally numerous; the real cause was the dominance of one restless, unscrupulous, flighty character amongst a restless race of irresponsible and ignorant men. After the stirring times at Fort Garry, in 1870, Louis Riel had not found his enforced residence in the Western States very pleasant, and had drifted back, been elected to a seat in Parliament from a Half-breed constituency, and, after expulsion from the House, had once more been compelled to disappear from public view. But he kept up his connection with the Half-breeds and maintained his reputation as a sort of hero and leader amongst the hunters of the plain as he had once done amongst the peasantry around Fort Garry, now the Winnipeg of a new era.

In 1884, after the completion of his period of banishment, he reappeared for a time, and seemed willing to live quietly and peaceably. The suspicions of the authorities at Ottawa were, in fact, lulled very largely to rest, although they were actually engaged in some measure of controversy with the Half-breed population. There were several reasons for discontent on the part of the latter and the principal one was probably the advance of the white man's civilization into wide regions hitherto sacred to the gun of the adventurous sportsman, the wiles of the trader and trapper, and the wild, free open life of the Half-breed hunter. The whistle of the locomotive was being heard in the land, and the buffalo, as a result of utterly reckless shooting and killing, was disappearing from the region in which he had become the veritable staff of life to both Indian and Half-breed.

DISAPPOINTED WHITE SETTLERS

Moreover, there were disappointed white settlers scattered over the country to the far north where it had at first been expected the Canadian Pacific would be built and their fortunes easily made, while there was some degree of anger among the Half-breeds, or Métis, of the Territories owing to certain land regulations of the Dominion Government. They desired to be placed in the same position as the Manitoba Half-breeds who were each entitled to 240 acres and a patent of ownership. They opposed the Government method of surveying and granting lands and claimed the right to follow the immemorial custom of the French *habitants* and to locate their settlements upon the river banks in farms of long, thin strips of soil stretching away from the river frontage.

In September, 1884, a meeting of Métis, was held at St. Laurent (a settlement on the Saskatchewan) and a Bill of Rights, or petition of grievances, was prepared which asked for the subdivision of the North-West Territories into Provinces and equality of personal treatment with the Manitoba Métis; for patents to be granted settlers in

actual possession of land ; for the sale of 500,000 acres of Dominion lands and the expending of the proceeds upon Half-breed schools, hospitals and similar institutions, and upon seed-grain and implements for the poorer persons in their settlements ; for the reservation of a hundred townships of swamp lands for distribution amongst Half-breed children during the next 120 years ; for the maintenance of local institutions ; and for the making of better provision for their Indian friends, neighbours and relations.

The Government, meantime, had appointed a Commission to investigate the Half-breed claims and this action seems to show that whatever there had been of slowness in taking up the subject there was no serious indifference to the needs of this great part of the North-West population and that a little patience would have brought matters out all right. It was also stated by the Dominion authorities, in reference to the two chief grievances complained of, that it was actually in the power of any Half-breed properly entitled to it to obtain a patent for his farm by the ordinary legal process and that the claims put forward for a settlement similar to the Manitoba one were made by the very men who had been already settled with in 1870. However, Riel wanted a rising and any peg in the way of complaints was sufficient to hang his purpose on. It is stated that he had the advice and moral assistance—though not the armed help—of sundry characters who were neither Half-breeds nor Indians and who, no doubt, aided in that process of self-deception in which he had already proven himself an adept. Disappointed white contractors, disappointed white land-sharks, disappointed white farmers, in a few cases, had something to do with the trouble. They had nothing to lose in the disturbances which were sure to follow and which men of a pessimistic turn of mind had prophesied long before the event.

On March 22, 1885, the Government received word that the almost inaudible mutterings of suppressed sedition had broken into

actual violence and that Riel, with forty men, had seized the mail-bags and courier's horses at a place called Duck Lake. This point was not far from Prince Albert and Fort Carlton, where there were small posts of North-West Mounted Police, and was in the region about half-way between two large Indian reserves—with several Half-breed villages not far off. It was some 300 miles from the line of the Canadian Pacific. The moment was an anxious one. Scattered on isolated farms, or ranches, or in tiny settlements throughout the vast extent of the Territories were many white people. Around them and amongst them were not only wandering Half-breed hunters and occasional *Métis* villages, but thousands of Indian tribes. If the latter rose in arms the slaughter and suffering of the white population would be very great. The 500 Mounted Police, located in small detachments at points distant from one another, would have been of little use in saving lives under any general rising.

MEASURES TAKEN TO SUPPRESS THE REBELLION

The Government's action was prompt. The day after the news had reached them of Riel's initial step the Commander of the Militia was travelling to Winnipeg after a long interview with Mr. A. P. Caron, the Minister of Militia and Defence; and in a few days 3,300 officers and men had been called out for active service and were on their way to the North-West. With some 1,600 officers and men who turned out from Manitoba and the Territories, and including the Mounted Police, the total force under General Middleton, therefore, presently amounted to over 5,400 men.* Many more thousands wanted to go and the news which soon came that, on March 28th, Major Crozier, with 100 men of the Mounted Police and Prince Albert Volunteers, had come into collision with Riel at Duck Lake and been compelled to retire, leaving his dead on the field, fairly electrified the Dominion with indignation.

* The official figures are 5,450.

The best regiments of the militia and the most of the small regular, or permanent, force of Canada were, meanwhile, being sent to the front. The Canadian Permanent Artillery with its Quebec and Kingston Batteries; the Queen's Own and Royal Grenadiers of Toronto under command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Otter; the Midland Battalion, a splendid mixed regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. H. Williams, M. P.; the York and Simcoe Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. O'Brien, M. P.; the Governor-General's Body Guard of Toronto under Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison; the 65th and 9th Battalions of Montreal (French-Canadian) under Lieutenant-Colonels Ouimet and Amyot respectively; the Halifax Provisional Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Bremner; the Montreal Garrison Artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel W. R. Oswald; the Infantry School Corps of Toronto, the Governor-General's Foot Guards of Ottawa, the 7th Battalion of London, and the Cavalry School Corps of Quebec; were the principal regiments, or in a few cases, portions of regiments, which went with all haste to the seat of trouble.

In Manitoba and the Territories some very useful troops were accepted for immediate service. Winnipeg contributed a Field Battery, a Cavalry Troop, a Light Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith, the 90th Rifles under Lieutenant-Colonel McKeand and the Winnipeg Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Scott, M. P. From the Territories came Boulton's Scouts, a gallant little mounted body of a hundred men under Major (afterwards Senator) C. A. Boulton, the D. L. S. Scouts of Qu'Appelle, the Moose Mountain Scouts, the Rocky Mountain Rangers of Calgary, French's Scouts of the Territories, and the Battleford Rifle Company.

The troops from Ontario and Quebec and Nova Scotia had a weary and dreary time in crossing the great gaps which still

existed in the Canadian Pacific to the east of Port Arthur. The United States Government would not permit an armed force to pass over its territory by train so that, as in the previous rising of 1870, much hardship and even suffering had to be endured. Let an extract from the official Report of Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Montizambert, of the Artillery, picture the trying troubles of this period :

"About 400 miles * * * had to be passed by a constantly varying process of embarking and disembarking guns and stores from flat cars to country team sleighs and *vice versa*. There were sixteen operations of this nature in cold weather and deep snow. On starting from the west end of the track on the night of the 30th of March the roads were found so bad that it took the guns seventeen hours to do the distance (30 miles) to Magpie Camp. On from there to the east end of the track by team sleighs and marching 23 miles further on ; on flat cars, uncovered and open, with the thermometer at *fifty degrees below zero*. Huron Bay, Port Munro, McKellar's Bay, Jackfish, Isbister, McKay's Harbour, were passed by alternate flat cars on construction tracks ; and, teaming in fearful weather round the north shore of Lake Superior, Nipigon was reached on the evening of the 3rd April. The men had had no sleep for four nights."

But these and other hardships of the campaign were borne in a surprisingly cheerful spirit by men who, in many cases, had never known what privation meant and had lived in luxurious homes or, at the least, amid surroundings of considerable comfort. All classes were to be found amongst the troops. College graduates, delicate-looking clerks, sturdy farmers' sons, men of independent means and position—all actuated with a common desire to suppress insurrection upon Canadian soil and to protect the hearths and homes of Canadian citizens. As indicated in Colonel Montizambert's statement the time of the year was most unsuited for active campaigning. Around the northern shores of Lake Superior the cold was intense and further west the raw chill of the early spring-time permeated everything, even when the actual cold was not severe. Transport was necessarily insufficient in a force which had been called out, equipped and



BATTLE OF BATOCHE, NORTHWEST REBELLION OF 1885



BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE HILL, NORTHWEST REBELLION OF 1885



THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, P.C., G.C.B.
First Prime Minister of Canada.



THE HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, M.P.
Second Prime Minister of Canada.

marched, or carried 1,000 miles in a few days. Fortunately, the Hudson's Bay Company, with its vast resources and knowledge of the country, rendered splendid assistance under the management of Major Bedson, the General's chief transport officer.

No better commander for this gallant little army of volunteers than Major-General F. D. Middleton could have been obtained. With a record of brave service in Australia, in New Zealand, and in India during the Mutiny—when he was strongly recommended for a V. C., but was debarred from its receipt by the technical fact of his having been on the General's personal staff—and of organizing work at Malta, Gibraltar and Sandhurst, he was above the desire to obtain victory by the sacrifice of his men, or to make a rash effort at reputation by too great haste in operations. He was a bluff, kindly, cautious and gallant officer who inspired his troops with confidence and won from most of his officers a measure of personal regard. He shared fully in every hardship and privation of the men, though at that time so well advanced in years as to make an arduous campaign a just matter for care and consideration.

THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

The march across the great expanses of wintry plain and frozen prairie from the railway to the seat of trouble was, indeed, a painful one to officers and men alike. Engineered roads there were none. Lord Melgund (now Earl of Minto and Governor-General of Canada), who was General Middleton's Chief of Staff, has described the cold as at times intense, the tent-pegs as being frozen into the ground, the boots of those who were riding as frozen to their stirrup irons, the men as marching twenty miles a day through perpetual high winds, cold rains and occasional blizzards.

The campaign seems to have been skillfully planned. The General had to cover and protect a vast extent of country with a few troops. He had to arrange his men so as to over-awe large reserves

of Indians scattered through the Territories and thus prevent a general rising, while at the same time relieving Battleford, which was threatened, and attacking Riel and his clever lieutenant, Gabriel Dumont, in their headquarters at Batoche. Distances were tremendous and difficulties of transport and supply equally great. He divided his force into three Columns with the Canadian Pacific Railway at, or near, Qu' Appelle, Swift Current and Calgary as the general base. The Column from Qu'Appelle to Batoche was commanded by the General in person and was made up of "A." Battery, Quebec, the Winnipeg 90th Battalion, the Winnipeg Field Battery, the Royal Grenadiers, Boulton's and French's Scouts, part of the Midland Battalion and the Intelligence Corps—1078 men altogether.

The second Column, from Swift Current to Battleford, was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Otter and was composed of the "B." Battery of Kingston, the Queen's Own, part of the Governor-General's Foot Guards, and other corps which made up a total of 543 men. It had been originally intended that this Column should join General Middleton at Clark's Crossing, on the South Saskatchewan, and march with him on Batoche, but it was diverted to Battleford on account of the alarming reports regarding the situation in that vicinity. The third Column, which had to make a long *detour* by way of Edmonton, before meeting the other Columns somewhere on the North Saskatchewan, was commanded by a veteran officer who had spent many years in Canada at military organization work of various kinds—Major-General T. Bland Strange. His command was made up chiefly of the 65th Battalion and the Winnipeg Provisional Battalion. With some Scouts and Mounted Police he had 656 men altogether. Scattered along the line of railway at various defensive or strategic points were portions of the regiments mentioned. The Governor-General's Body Guard was at Humboldt, the Halifax men were at Moose Jaw and Medicine Hat, the York and Simcoe Battalion

was at Fort Qu' Appelle, and other detachments, as the campaign progressed, were at Clark's Crossing, Touchwood, Calgary, Fort McLeod and Cypress Hills. The base for the transport of supplies was placed at Swift Current, with Major-General J. Wimburn Laurie, an experienced officer and a member of the Dominion Parliament, in charge.

Everything was done quickly and, indeed, the speed of operations seems to have been the most remarkable feature of the campaign as it was, probably, the salvation of many helpless settlers and the cause of its short duration. Middleton's Column started on April 6th—eleven days after the first shot had been fired at Duck Lake, a distance of 1700 miles from Montreal—for a march of 211 miles to the banks of the South Saskatchewan, where Riel was now playing his little game of sedition and death. Otter's Column left Swift Current on April 11th, marched 203 miles to Battleford at the rate of thirty miles a day and reached its destination on the 25th. General Strange left Calgary on April 20th and reached Edmonton on May 5th, after having marched 194 miles in fifteen days. Such figures convey some idea of the rapidity of movement which characterized this entire campaign.

The fate of the Columns was somewhat varied. That of Major-General Strange had little trouble to encounter until it reached Edmonton, near which place the Indians had risen under a chief named Big Bear and had destroyed farms and plundered food supplies in every direction. At a more distant point, called Frog's Lake, they had murdered nine men—including two priests—besides carrying away a number of women and children as prisoners. This occurrence had followed the incident at Duck Lake and was upon the lines of a policy of Half-breed co-operation with the Indians which Riel had hoped would be effectual elsewhere. From Edmonton General Strange—greatly assisted by some cavalry under Major S. B. Steele—moved

down the North Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt, a Hudson's Bay Company fort, not far from Frog's Lake and 200 miles east of Edmonton. There he found that the post had been abandoned by Inspector Dickins and his small force of N. W. M. P. after a prolonged resistance to Big Bear. The Inspector and most of his men succeeded in escaping to Battleford, after suffering severe hardships. On May 24th the General marched out to meet the Indian chief and found him at a place called Frenchman's Butte, which he also found it impossible to take. A great morass was behind the position occupied by Big Bear and a frontal attack was, in the General's opinion, out of the question. He, therefore, retired to Fort Pitt, where he awaited the early arrival of General Middleton, after his expected juncture at Battleford with Colonel Otter.

CUT-KNIFE HILL AND FISH CREEK

Meanwhile, the Battleford Column had also met what seems to have been a partial reverse. Colonel Otter arrived at Battleford without serious incident and found the place menaced by a large band of Indians under one of the most astute of North-West chiefs—a man named Poundmaker. Various acts of depredation had been committed, some settlers killed and a certain amount of plundering done. But the situation does not appear to have been as serious as had been represented to General Middleton, nor is it likely that the astute Cree would have done anything which could not have been disavowed until he saw which way the campaign was likely to go. Upon Colonel Otter's arrival, however, the latter found the inhabitants of Battleford in a state of great alarm and Poundmaker with some 200 followers encamped about thirty-eight miles away. The Indian chief was said to be wavering between peace and war, with a sort of half-formed intention to effect a junction of his force and that of Big Bear. To prevent this a *reconnaissance* of the Canadian troops was made in force and, at a place called Cut-Knife Hill, Otter came up with

Poundmaker's braves. A general conflict followed which ended in the disablement of the Canadian guns, the loss of eight men killed and fourteen wounded, and a withdrawal to Battleford. There Colonel Otter awaited the hoped-for coming of General Middleton.

Everything now turned upon the first Column and its success with the forces under Riel and Dumont. On April 23rd, the General had left Clark's Crossing and marched his force in two divisions—one on each side of the South Saskatchewan—toward Batoche. During the day it traversed eighteen miles of country and on the next morning General Middleton's own part of the force came in contact with the enemy a few miles from the river in a thickly wooded ravine called Fish Creek. The rebels were well placed in deep and carefully protected rifle-pits and, although the troops from the other side of the river were brought across and the whole force was engaged during the greater part of the day it was found impossible to dislodge Dumont and his men without an actual frontal charge. This, Captain James Mason—afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel in command of the Royal Grenadiers—offered to lead and begged earnestly for permission to do so. But the General showed his humane disposition by refusing to risk the lives of any more of his citizen soldiers. Enough, he declared, had been lost already. The killed, and those who died of wounds received during the fight, numbered ten and the wounded men over forty. General Middleton had himself received a bullet through his cap and many of the officers had had their horses shot under them.

The night which followed was a sufficiently gloomy one to volunteers unaccustomed to endure repulse with equanimity; and with the sounds of shot and shell and the shouts of combatants still ringing in their ears. The rebels, however, had lost some thirteen killed and eighteen wounded and this appears to have been enough for them as they decamped to Batoche during the night. General Middleton now

decided to stay for some time at Fish Creek in order to complete his hospital arrangements, await expected supplies, and receive some more men who were on the way under Colonel Williams. These came by the steamer *Northcote*, on May 5th, and with them was Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen Van Straubenzie, who had served in the British army in India, China and the Crimea and had been for years connected with the Canadian militia. The infantry was at once formed into a brigade with Van Straubenzie as commander and, two days later, the advance upon Batoche was resumed.

THE BATTLE OF BATOCHÉ

This place had been the headquarters of Riel and his band of rebels from the beginning. Under the direction of Dumont, who possessed some natural instinct for military operations, it had been steadily strengthened by entrenchments and rifle-pits and it was now known that the resistance would be desperate. On May 9th this fact was experienced. The place was shelled and partially surrounded but at the end of a day's fighting no real progress had been made. The General sent off orders to close up the lines of communication in case help should be required; despatched Lord Melgund to Ottawa with important messages and an undertaking that should matters grow more serious he could return from Winnipeg; and camped during the night under the continued fire of the enemy. The succeeding day passed in an exchange of shots and was marked by a slight forward movement on the part of the rebels. On the third day a *reconnaissance* was made with the view of exactly locating the enemy and preparing for the final attack. On the 12th a forward movement was initiated, and developed into a charge which burst through the rifle-pits, carried the enemy's quarters, streamed in triumph through the streets of the village and killed 47 and wounded 163 of the rebels. Riel surrendered three days later and was at once sent to Regina and placed in the hands of the civil authorities.

The battle proved an interesting revelation of the dash and spirit of Canadian volunteers just as the preceding three days showed how they chafed under the delay caused by General Middleton's frequently expressed desire to avert the loss of life amongst his troops as far as possible. Five were killed, however, including four officers, and twenty-five wounded, including two officers, during this last day's fighting. The honours of the day are generally accorded to Colonel Williams of Port Hope. Brave to the point of rashness and impulsive to the point of imprudence he had led in the final charge and won a lasting reputation for the ensuing success. A couple of months later he died as a result of fever and brain inflammation preying upon a system already weakened by hardship and upon a nature sensitive in the extreme to criticism and to the necessary discipline of camps. A monument at Port Hope expresses popular appreciation of the "Hero of Batoche" while public memory has crowned him with a laurel of reputation.

Unfortunately, however, the event has been the cause of considerable controversy and a word must be said here regarding the matter. The responsibility for ordering the charge is largely the point in question though it would seem as if that were hardly a matter affecting the credit of Colonel Williams. If he obeyed orders in advancing and forged ahead of the others, the result is greatly to his honour. If without orders, or in anticipation of them, he led his men in a mad rush upon the entrenchments of the rebels, then he assumed a responsibility which subordinate officers do not usually care to take, or in the regular service, dare to take. The consequences of the charge might have been different and in that case the position of an officer so acting would have been very unpleasant no matter how great his bravery might have been. Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison, one of the best known of Canada's militia officers and a man whose opinion carries weight, takes the somewhat extraordinary

ground in a volume which has attracted much public interest in the last year of the century,* that "attempts have been made to detract from the credit due to Williams by trying to spread the view that he acted under the orders of General Middleton and Colonel Van Straubenzie in bringing on the general action." He goes on to say that as a result of the charge the campaign, as well as the battle, was won.

It is a new contention for obedience to orders upon the field of battle to be stamped as discreditable. Aside from that, however, it is difficult to see how Colonel Williams' reputation can be injuriously affected by any statement of the fact that in leading the charge he did it under command of his superiors. If he was rash and impulsive enough to have led it without orders, as Colonel Denison believes from the evidence before him, then his reputation must rest upon the fact of success followed by death having made it impossible to criticise an action which, let it be repeated, might have had serious consequences of a very different sort. The official statements concerning the matter are sufficiently explicit. General Middleton in his Report of May 31, 1885, states that :

"Two companies of the Midland, sixty men in all, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, were extended on the left and moved up to the cemetery and the Grenadiers, 200 strong under Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett, * * * prolonged the line to the right, the 90th being in support. The Midland and Grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-Colonels Williams and Grasett, the whole led by Lieutenant-Colonel Van Straubenzie, in command of the Brigade, then dashed forward with a cheer and drove the enemy out of the pits in front of the cemetery and the ravine to the right of it."

The General then gives further incidents of the action and finally adds that Lieutenant-Colonels Williams and Grasett "came prominently to my notice from the gallant way in which they led and cheered their men to the left, rush by rush, until they gained the houses on the plain—the former having commenced the rush."

* *Soldiering in Canada*. By Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison. George N. Morang & Company, Limited. Toronto.

There appears to have been no desire on the part of the General to detract from any laurels which may have been won by Williams on this occasion and he distinctly gives him first place in the Report quoted. In a further despatch dated December 30th, he refers to his death in most sympathetic terms and speaks of it as having deprived Canada of one of her best men and himself of a warm and sincere friend. Colonel Van Straubenzie under his own signature,* has stated that "on the occasion of that charge on the rifle-pits of Batoche on the 12th of May last, I ordered the late lamented Colonel Williams, in most emphatic and unqualified language, to advance to the charge, at the same time advancing myself in charge of the attacking party." Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. Boulton, who was an eye-witness of the fight, in his volume of *Reminiscences of the Rebellion*, also speaks of Colonel Van Straubenzie's orders to advance and of himself seeing the rapid rush of the Midlanders on the left and the Grenadiers in the centre, mixed with the 90th.

CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN

It would seem, therefore, reasonably clear that Colonel Williams led in the final charge and was closely supported by Colonel Grasett; that both officers were obeying the orders of the Colonel Van Straubenzie; that the latter, as Brigade Commander, was following the plan of operations already mapped out by General Middleton. The action itself was only the gallant ending of a carefully arranged movement leading up to this result—and it seems as difficult, therefore, to understand how Colonel Williams with his sixty or seventy men could have won the campaign in obeying the order to charge at Batoche as it does to see how the statement of the fact that he was so ordered can detract from his final reputation.

The rest of the campaign may be rapidly reviewed. On May 24th, General Middleton arrived at Battleford; two days later

* *Toronto Mail*. Letter published editorially on July 24, 1885.

Poundmaker and his chiefs surrendered ; on the 30th the General, with gatlings, infantry and cavalry left by steamer to help Strange at Fort Pitt ; within a few days separate forces under Strange and Otter, with Mounted Police from Prince Albert and a body of men under the General himself, were converging from different points upon the trail of Big Bear. After a stern chase over extremely difficult country, however, the pursuit was ultimately abandoned and it was not until July 2nd that the Indian leader came in and voluntarily surrendered. The rising was now at an end. The wearied and war-worn volunteers returned to their homes and, at Toronto, Montreal, Halifax and other points received ovations which are worthy of more than a mere scanty reference here and which stamped a spirit of growing Canadian patriotism deep down into many a hitherto doubting heart.

Riel, after a prolonged trial—held during a keen racial and sectarian controversy aroused through his being partly French by extraction and presumably Catholic in religion—was hung at Regina on the 16th of November. The majesty of the law and the common sense of national order were thus sternly vindicated as they should have been fifteen years before. Eight Indians were hung for murder and a number imprisoned for different terms. Amongst the latter was Poundmaker, who was given three years in the penitentiary and died before his term expired. A medal and clasp was issued by the Imperial authorities to all who participated in the suppression of the insurrection ; the Hon. Adolphe P. Caron, who had proven himself an energetic and effective Minister of Militia, was made a K. C. M. G. ; General Middleton, amidst wide approval, was given the same honour together with the thanks of the Canadian Parliament and a vote of \$20,000.

An unfortunate aftermath occurred to the latter in the discovery of certain alleged irregularities in connection with a seizure of furs belonging to the rebels. The confiscation seems to have been permitted by the

General without much thought and with the knowledge and concurrence of Mr. Hayter Reed, a Government official who accompanied him in an advisory capacity in connection with Indian and Half-breed civil affairs. Some of these furs were divided up amongst the General's Staff, with his permission, and a few were allotted to him. "As to my own share," he said in his pathetic Address to the people of Canada, issued on August 21, 1890, "I never received it, asked for it, or thought about it afterwards." Yet, when the question of these furs was brought up by some irresponsible person, it was promptly seized upon by politicians as a means of damaging the Government and the latter very ungenerously and weakly tried to escape criticism as to their management of civil matters in the North-West during the Rebellion by throwing the responsibility upon the General.

Then came a sort of hue and cry which is sometimes characteristic of democracies, and in this case was intensely discreditable, against the General. At an earlier date the Government had refused to make good General Middleton's recommendations for honours and promotions because there were no French-Canadians included in the list and the members of Parliament and press of that Province had keenly resented the omission. They now joined readily enough in attacking the General, while the Opposition, too, thought they saw some political capital in the incident. Many of them did not like an Imperial Commander of the Militia and considered this as one more opportunity to throw discredit upon the system. The General was, therefore, thrown to the wolves of partisanship and the Report of a Select Committee of the House was distinctly against him. His resignation had to follow and an honest English gentleman and gallant officer, who would rather have cut his hand off than commit a dishonourable action, was compelled to leave the country under suspicion by not a few of having actually stolen furs! The whole episode was discreditable to Canada and to Canadians and the

Imperial Government never did a more just action than in receiving Sir Fred. Middleton with favour and making him Keeper of the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London.

The Rebellion by this time had been long passed, its issues more or less forgotten, its causes obliterated or healed, its subsequent political complications in French Canada soothed and modified. But the fact of Canadian troops having carried themselves so well ; the memories of the killed and wounded at Cut Knife and Fish Creek and Batoche ; the feeling of unity which grew as a result of Canadians from so many Provinces standing shoulder to shoulder in a struggle on Canadian soil ; the remembrance of the spontaneous enthusiasm which everywhere greeted the returning troops ; had combined to develop the slowly-growing national sentiment of the people as neither Confederation nor the great practical measures of progress during ensuing years had been able to do. Out of evil had come good ; out of rebellion had come greater unity ; out of war had come a wider patriotism.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Rise of Mercier; the Riel and Jesuit Estates Questions

THE influence of Quebec in Canadian affairs was a many-sided one during the latter part of the 19th century and this fact was clearly illustrated in the rise of Honoré Mercier, in the Riel question, in the Jesuit Estates legislation, in the evolution of the Manitoba Schools' issue. There have been many incidents in the political history of Quebec from time to time that seemed peculiar to Canadians outside of that Province; there was much in its special combination of Church and State and racial interests that was of serious importance to every citizen of the Dominion.

For twenty years, from Confederation onward, Quebec remained Conservative in its political complexion—loyal to Sir John Macdonald in Dominion policy, loyal to Conservative leaders in local matters, loyal to the Church of the French Canadian in its then unquestioned sympathy with the dominant party. The Conservative Ministries of P. J. O. Chauveau, Georges Ouimet and C. E. B. de Boucherville succeeded one another between 1876 and 1878. Then, after a brief year of Liberalism under H. G. Joly de Lotbinière, the old party re-assumed office under J. A. Chapleau and J. A. Mousseau, J. J. Ross and L. O. Taillon, as successive Premiers up to 1887. A central figure of Conservatism in Quebec during these years was Sir Adolphe Chapleau. Brilliant in speech, clever in political management and, perhaps, not too exacting in political methods, he was for long one of the great leaders of his race and party in both Provincial halls and the Dominion Parliament.

Opposed to him there was no really commanding figure until the appearance on the scene of Honoré Mercier and Wilfrid Laurier.

Resembling each other in vivacity and eloquence and in the graceful charm of French manners, no two men could be more unlike in character, in the faculty of personal growth, and in the test of ultimate success, than were these two leaders of French Liberalism. It was in 1885 that Mercier flashed like a meteor across the political horizon. The moment was opportune. Louis Riel had been executed at Regina for his leadership in a second Rebellion, despite the more or less fiery protests from French Canada—made under a zealously propagated belief that he was being punished at the instigation of the Orangemen of Ontario for being a Roman Catholic and a French Half-breed! Great meetings were held in Montreal addressed by Mercier and Laurier and the rising spirit of anger against the authorities was fanned into a flame. The French members of the Dominion Government—Chapleau, Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron—were urged to resign and the first-named was formally offered the leadership of what was to be called “Le Parti Nationale.” He refused in ringing terms. Mercier accepted with equal eloquence and the battle was on between parties and leaders alike.

An important change in the situation, as compared with past political conflicts, was apparent. Hitherto the Roman Catholic Church had been in antagonism to, or antagonized by, the principles of Liberalism in the Province. Now, a great split in the Conservative party seemed inevitable from the fact of Mercier taking high ground for the Church and winning to the support of his new “National Party” the Ultramontanes, or extreme ecclesiastical element. During 1886 the Provincial elections took place and Mr. Mercier flung himself into the fray with fiery eloquence and force. He battered at the almost invulnerable walls of local Conservatism with all the power born of appeals to racial pride and religious feeling and, in the end, won the day. Mr. Taillon did not immediately resign but, on the meeting of the Assembly, was defeated and Mercier became

Prime Minister on January 27, 1887. It was a striking victory for a man who had never held office except for a few months in the Joly Ministry of 1879 and who had faced the eloquent Chapleau and all the organized power of Quebec Conservatism. The meteor now, for a time, stayed its course and the public wondered what would follow a conflict which had resulted in the overthrow of a powerful Provincial party, the breaking of old political and ecclesiastical ties, the raising in Quebec, Ontario and far-off Manitoba of the twin spirits of race antagonism and religious prejudice.

Meanwhile, this Riel question had precipitated a very important crisis in Dominion affairs. As the tide of Mercierism in Quebec rose higher and higher it looked as if the Conservative party was to be submerged in Dominion as well as Provincial matters. Even the magnetic personality of Sir John A. Macdonald appeared to have lost its influence in this wild war of words over the death of an unhappy rebel. He was freely denounced by French-Canadian speakers as "the enemy of our nationality" and was burned in effigy at Montreal, whilst Chapleau, Langevin and Caron were bracketed together in public resolutions as "traitors to their country." The flame of anger and controversy became almost as pronounced in Ontario as in Quebec; the *Toronto Mail*, an old-time Conservative organ, verged upon direct opposition to the Government, and published bitter though brilliant editorials by Goldwin Smith and Edward Farrer; one of these threw fuel on the fire by declaring "that the Conquest will have to be fought over again" and that the result would do away with the French privileges of 1763. The *Orange Sentinel*, in reply to utterances of its Quebec contemporaries, had declared before the execution of Riel that if the Government dared not hang the rebel the day would not be far distant when "the call to arms will again resound throughout the Dominion," and its expressions continued to be both vehement and provocative.

THE RIEL DEBATE IN THE COMMONS

Such was the position on March 11, 1886, when P. A. Landry presented in the House of Commons his famous Resolution: "That this House feels it its duty to express its deep regret that the sentence of death passed upon Louis Riel, convicted of high treason, was allowed to be carried into execution." This Quebec Conservative member of Parliament described the Government's action in a strain of the fiercest invective and in language which was very frequently duplicated during the ensuing debate. The carrying out of the laws of the land against an unquestioned rebel was to him a provocation flung at the face of a whole nationality, a breach of the laws of justice, an evidence of weakness on the part of the Ministry, the gratification of a long-sought vengeance, the wanton sacrifice of a French-Canadian Catholic upon an altar of sectarian hatred and bigotry. Many other speakers followed. M. C. Cameron (Liberal) denounced the Government for having "trafficked in the destiny of a fellow mortal." Wilfrid Laurier, in a speech which was remarkable for the purity of its diction and the beauty of its language and style, declared his own belief and that of his Province to be that the execution of Riel was "the sacrifice of a life, not to inexorable justice, but to bitter passion and revenge." Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron strongly defended the Government to which they belonged; others described Riel as a blood-stained, calculating, corrupt and twice guilty rebel.

Then came the most important event of the debate—the speech of Edward Blake, Leader of the Liberals, and the first prominent appearance of J. S. D. Thompson in the arena of Dominion affairs. A man of solid attainments, high character and excellent reputation, the latter had been a moderately successful Premier of Nova Scotia, a very successful Judge of its Supreme Court and had, lately, been appointed Minister of Justice at Ottawa. Practically, the House

had not yet heard from him. Mr. Blake, whose leadership had failed of success in the elections of 1882, now turned all his remarkable legal acumen, his keen intellect and patient perseverance in research to build up a case which, by logic and force of argument, should help to bring victory to his banners in 1887. To the fabric of Liberal and French Canadian policy in respect to Riel, he sought, in an admittedly great speech, to give a national basis of solid strength and logical argument. It was a remarkable effort in its close reasoning, its display of constitutional knowledge, its vigorous invective. Precedents and authorities and references flowed from him as though created expressly for the occasion and intended by fate to fit like stones into the foundation of the political building he was seeking to secure. The House expected a great speech and received it.

It was different in the case of Mr. Thompson. Even the most enthusiastic Conservative did not expect this new Minister, about whom he felt some natural curiosity, to do more than present a fair case for himself and his cause. For him to overthrow Mr. Blake's elaborate structure was not thought possible. The Liberals would have laughed heartily had anyone claimed that this short, stout, fresh-coloured, young-looking man from Nova Scotia would prove a match for Edward Blake. Success in such a supposition meant the defeat of the greatest logician and debater in the House of Commons and the complete defence of the Government in a matter involving most intricate constitutional issues. It would mean that a new man had pitted himself victoriously against a veteran in Parliamentary life and constitutional lore. Yet this was exactly what happened, on the 12th of March, in a crowded House and from a speech which received the closest and most critical attention. For two hours the quiet, unpretentious speaker held his audience so that a pin might have been heard to fall. The new Minister was, in fact, master of himself, master of his subject, master of the law in

its theory, practice and precedent, master of the Commons. He pierced the armour of Mr. Blake's argument with the most direct and irresistible skill and, while not appealing in the least to his hearers' passions, prejudices or sympathies, he subdued a critical and censorious body of men by the pure force of reasoning and logic.

Three days afterwards the Government found themselves with a majority of 146 to 42. The threatened secession of the French element in the party had been averted and a new leader had appeared who was to keep on growing in political stature until he became Prime Minister of Canada in 1892. The strength which his speech brought to the Government was sorely needed and so was the not inconsiderable help which the fact of his being a Roman Catholic carried with it. For the time, however, although the Conservative majority in the House was safe, Mr. Mercier and Mr. Laurier held Quebec in the hollow of their hands. Paper after paper went over to the Liberals and fresh disaffection in the Conservative party ranks was a matter of daily report. The Provincial elections, as already stated, went in favour of Mercier and the finger on the wall of fate appeared to indicate the coming defeat of the Dominion Government. But, in January, 1887, when the contest came on, the eloquence of Chapleau was pitted successfully against that of Laurier; the influence of Langevin with the Church, as a whole, was found equal to that of Mercier with the Ultramontane element; the ringing campaign oratory of the Hon. George E. Foster, who had come into the Government about the same time as Mr. Thompson, proved singularly effective in the English Provinces; the logical reasoning of the latter carried conviction to many minds; while over all, and mingled with all the other influences, was the personality of Sir John Macdonald. The result was a Conservative victory, with numbers even in Quebec, a sweeping majority in the Maritime Provinces and the North-West, and a fair one in Ontario. A little later the accession

of Wilfrid Laurier to the Liberal leadership, in succession to Mr. Blake, was announced—the first French-Canadian leader of a Dominion party since the days before Confederation when nominal power in the Canadas rested for a time in the hands of Sir Etienne Taché or Sir Narcisse Belleau.

ORIGIN OF THE JESUIT ESTATES QUESTION

Another question now loomed upon the political horizon which, in the end, appealed to much the same feelings as those which surrounded the name of Riel. The first stages in the history of the Jesuit Estates matter did not seem to involve any serious issue. In July, 1888, a Bill for the settlement of a long-standing dispute between the Society of Jesus, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, and the Province itself, was passed without opposition or contest through the Quebec Legislature and, in due course, was assented to by the Lieut.-Governor and became law—subject, within a certain period, to disallowance by the Dominion authorities should the legislation be considered unconstitutional or inimical to the interest of the country as a whole. At first there was neither popular opposition nor serious criticism. With one or two exceptions, not a paper in Quebec discussed the matter from a hostile standpoint and the Protestant Committee of Public Instruction quietly accepted the promise of \$60,000 for their schools which was included in the measure.

It seemed, therefore, as if this was to prove a satisfactory settlement of a prolonged local controversy. In origin the issue had been simple enough. During the heroic missionary labours in early Canada, the Jesuits had acquired lands and wealth for their Order while winning laurels of martyrdom and personal fame for themselves. In 1791, after the general suppression of the Order by the Pope, the King of Great Britain issued a proclamation endorsing its suppression in Canada, but allowing the use of their estates and in-

comes to the members so long as any of them should be alive. By 1800 the last Jesuit in Quebec had passed away and the properties of the Order, it was claimed, were escheated to the Crown. But, in cases of escheat, a liberal proportion is frequently appropriated to the carrying out of the intention of the donours, or to indemnifying those who may morally consider themselves entitled to it. It was, therefore, believed by many, and including some of the leaders in the Church, that the reinstatement of the Jesuits by the Vatican, together with their incorporation by the Province, gave them certain moral rights; on the other hand the hierarchy of the Church in Quebec claimed that, under the terms of original suppression by the Pope, the estates should have passed to the Church and not to the Crown.

Hence a political situation in a Catholic Province which made it very difficult for successive Governors or Governments to move in the matter of satisfying either section in the Church, or of selling the lands so as to benefit the people at large. At every attempt to do so they were met by vigorous protests against the diversion of any of the properties from the charitable or religious purposes to which they had been originally devoted by private donours, or by grants from the King of France. There was only one authority, in connection with the subject, whom both elements of thought in the Church could recognize and whose decision would be accepted without demur. But to the Pope no Provincial Government had hitherto cared to appeal. Complications were possible and political troubles, greater than any ills which would follow the further postponement of the matter, were always in view. Mr. Mercier, however, was nothing if not courageous. He decided to settle the affair—and at the same time please the Ultramontanes who had stood by him in the elections—by referring it to Pope Leo XIII, as a sort of arbitrator, and His Holiness, after full explanations had been made at the Vatican, accepted the position.

The Quebec Premier succeeded, under these conditions, in making an arrangement by which the Jesuits were to receive \$400,000 in quittance of claims aggregating \$2,000,000 and a much-vexed question was to be apparently disposed of; this agreement or understanding had been approved by the Pope before it was embodied in legislation. In the preamble to his measure, Mr. Mercier introduced the Pope's name as a sort of supreme arbiter between parties and sections in the Province. It was not an unnatural thing to do in a French and Catholic Province; for the moment it passed unnoticed by the people of Quebec as a whole. Elsewhere the result was very different. If Quebec had been in a flame of fury over the Riel matter Ontario now was roused, slowly but surely, to a white-heat of indignation over this introduction of the Pope's name and power into Canadian legislation. Of course, in each case, it was only a portion of the people who were so greatly stirred up, but it was not the less a vociferous element and one which found plentiful means of expression.

A KEEN SECTARIAN CONTROVERSY

Aggressive Protestantism in Ontario became fiercely angry. Orange lodges poured out denunciatory resolutions and the *Toronto Mail* renewed its keen philippics against Quebec and its religious institutions. The Jesuits, as an Order and as individuals, were painted in the blackest shades which tongue or pen could produce and all the pages of history were ransacked for illustrations which would inflame public opinion. Very soon the Protestant minority in Quebec caught fire from the flames of agitation elsewhere and a portion of them began to feel that they must have been deeply injured and that they should help the movement to compel the Federal Government to disallow the obnoxious measure. On the other hand the French press took speedy and intense offence at the remarks of their critics in other Provinces and, before long, as keen a sectarian struggle as Canada had ever seen developed the usual political complications.

For some time it was unknown what the Dominion Government would do. From a political standpoint they were on the horns of a serious dilemma. If they disallowed the measure Quebec would probably be lost to the party; if they allowed it to become law Ontario promised an equally serious loss of support. On February 13, 1889, the first mutterings of Parliamentary thunder were heard as J. A. Barron rose in his place to ask certain questions about the Jesuit Estates Act of the Quebec Legislature. The Minister of Justice, in clear and concise terms, replied that the Government had considered the matter and that he had, himself, reported the Act to the Governor-General as one which should (from a legal and constitutional standpoint) be left to its operation. Mr. Thompson was at once made the centre of a fierce campaign. His attitude in the Riel question was forgotten and it was declared that religious prejudices had guided him in the present case. The Rev. Dr. George Douglas of Montreal, Dr. Carman, head of the Methodist Church in Canada, Canon (afterwards Bishop) Du Moulin, Principal Caven of Knox College, Toronto, and many other divines, attacked him personally, and the Government generally, in terms of fiery invective and indignation.

Meetings were held in Toronto and elsewhere as fiercely Protestant in their tone as the Montreal gatherings of 1885 had been French and Catholic in character. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., a leading lawyer and eminent pleader, a respected and able politician, championed an alleged policy of Equal Rights for all Provinces, religions and races in speeches of force and effect. Finally, after much political perturbation, action was taken in the Commons with a Resolution presented on Mch. 26th by Lieut. Colonel W. E. O'Brien. It was not yet known what the Liberal Opposition would do, nor was the strength of the extreme Protestant feeling in the House clearly understood. It was evident, however, that Mr. McCarthy, who was

the real leader of the movement, could hardly get enough followers to defeat the Government, even in coalition with the Liberals, unless the French Conservative members should refrain from voting altogether. The motion was in the following words:

"That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General setting forth: (1) That this House regards the power of disallowing the Acts of the Legislative Assemblies of the Provinces, vested in His Excellency-in-Council, as a prerogative essential to the national existence of the Dominion; (2) that this great power, while it should never be wantonly exercised, should be fearlessly used for the protection of the rights of a minority, for the preservation of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and for safe-guarding the general interests of the people; (3) that in the opinion of this House the passage by the Legislature of the Province of Quebec of the Act entitled 'An Act respecting the settlement of the Jesuit Estates' is beyond the power of that Legislature. Firstly, because it endows from public funds a religious organization, thereby violating the undoubted constitutional principle of the complete separation of Church and State. Secondly, because it recognizes the usurpation of a right by foreign authority, namely, His Holiness the Pope of Rome, to claim that his consent was necessary to empower the Provincial Legislature to dispose of a portion of the public domain and, also, because the Act is made to depend upon the will, and the appropriation of the grant thereby made as subject to the control, of the same authority. Thirdly, because the endowment of the Society of Jesus, an alien, secret and politico-religious body, the expulsion of which from every Christian community wherein it has had footing has been rendered necessary by its intolerant and mischievous inter-meddling with the functions of civil government, is fraught with danger to the civil and religious liberties of the people of Canada. And this House, therefore, prays that His Excellency will be graciously pleased to disallow the said Act."

This lengthy indictment of the Act and criticism of the position assumed by the Government, is given in full here because it summed up succinctly and clearly the case presented in many speeches upon a myriad platforms during the succeeding year. It was skilfully worded and intended to obtain support from all who believed in limiting Provincial powers of legislation; of all who disliked or dreaded Roman Catholicism; of all who shared in a popular Protestant aversion to the Papal temporal power and the extension of Jesuit influence. The debate which followed was a most interesting one

from the amount of historical research that was in evidence, if for no other reason. The Jesuits were defended or denounced in every phrase of praise or execration which could be found in the pages of the past.

Mr. McCarthy made a clear and cutting arraignment of the Government and all concerned in the passing or permitting of such a measure. After him came Sir John Thompson (he had been knighted in 1888) in a speech which was as great in matter and form as his famous effort upon the Riel question. Other speakers followed, notably Mr. Laurier, Sir John Macdonald, and Sir Richard Cartwright, and then a division took place in which the motion was lost by 118 to 13. It had, of course, been known before this that the Opposition was going to vote with the Government, as a whole, and in order to vindicate the cherished Liberal principle of Provincial rights for which it had fought in various contests of the past—especially in Ontario and Manitoba—and which now proved an easy platform for both parties to stand upon.

Various mass meetings followed in Ontario, where the little Parliamentary minority was designated the "Noble Thirteen" and, on June 12, 1889, at a Convention held in Toronto, the Equal Rights Association was formed. This body assumed that the Protestants of Quebec required safe-guarding and undertook to do that, as well as to resist the alleged encroachments of the Church of Rome. It had a number of influential officers, with D'Alton McCarthy as its Parliamentary leader, and a strong support from Orangemen and others throughout the Province; there also arose the Protestant Protective Association, or P. P. A., as an avowed and bitter antagonist of Roman Catholicism in private as well as public life. The Governor-General was petitioned by Hugh Graham, of Montreal, (the Lord Atholstan of later days) to refer the constitutionality of the Act to the Supreme Court of Canada for consideration, but this

was refused by advice of the Minister of Justice whose reasons were given at length in a State paper which was published in August. Petitions were also presented asking for disallowance—the one from Ontario containing 156,000 signatures and one from Quebec having 9,000 names signed to it. On August 2nd a deputation waited upon the Governor-General bearing these petitions and asking him to exercise his personal prerogative by disallowing the legislation in question. Lord Stanley of Preston listened attentively to the arguments of Principal Caven and others. His reply amounted to the simple statement that he could not, and would not, veto a measure in the face of his own Ministry and of a large Parliamentary majority comprising the bulk of both parties in the Dominion.

FINAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE QUESTION

Shortly after this the Protestant Committee of the Quebec Council of Public Instruction accepted the public trust imposed upon them for the distribution, or use, of the \$60,000 granted under the terms of the famous measure. Certain conditions were made, however, which Mr. Mercier accepted without hesitation and, on November 5th, the closing scene in an interesting political drama occurred in the City of Quebec. There, in presence of a large gathering of representative men, the \$400,000 was distributed as previously decided upon. A cheque for \$100,000 was given to the Society of Jesus, \$40,000 went to Laval University and the rest was divided in sums of \$10,000 and \$20,000 amongst certain interested Dioceses. The Protestant educational authorities also received their cheque. Nothing now remained for the Equal Rights party but political revenge and, under McCarthy's leadership, they sought it, without success, in the House of Commons by a motion against the using of an official dual language in Manitoba or the North-West Territories and by a Resolution advocating the proposed submission of the constitutional issue to the Supreme Court. In Ontario, an agitation was raised

against the extension of the Separate School system under the Provincial Government of Oliver Mowat and, later on, the mutterings of the Manitoba School question began to be heard. With the rapid subsidence of sectarian sentiment, however, the movement gradually collapsed and the success of the Conservative party in the Dominion elections of 1891 and of the Liberal party in the Ontario elections of 1890 practically killed the Equal Rights Association.

Meanwhile Honoré Mercier had been revelling in the pleasures of political success and in a popularity which well became his picturesque personality. He was essentially French in his characteristics—enthusiastic, vivacious, optimistic, eloquent in language and averse to the details of administration. He won a place in the hearts of his people which even adversity did not eradicate; he had, during this period, visited Rome, been received with open arms by the Papal authorities and decorated with an Order of Knighthood and the title of Count.

Then came whispers of political corruption; of a "toll" taken by or for his Government upon financial transactions. Finally, the Baie des Chaleurs Railway affair became public; proof was produced that someone acting for his Government, or himself, had received \$100,000 for the letting of the contract, and a Royal Commission, by majority report, declared the Premier guilty of corruption on this and other points. Lieut.-Governor A. R. Angers promptly dismissed him from office. De Boucherville became Prime Minister and, in the elections which followed, swept the Province once more for the Conservative party. All Mercier's eloquence and personal popularity failed to affect the verdict, to retain him in the actual leadership of his party, or to reinstate him in political influence. A few years later this most brilliant and likeable public man died in practical retirement.

CHAPTER XXV

Tariffs, Reciprocity and the 1891 Elections

DURING the years immediately following the adoption of the National Policy of Protection, in 1879, there could be little doubt as to popular approval of the tariff while the Elections of 1882 and 1887—though in the latter case other issues arose—seemed to still further stamp its strength upon the public mind. Trade had expanded immensely, then shrunk a little, then grown again until in 1891 it was \$218,000,000. Railways had increased in mileage from six to thirteen thousand, and in traffic from eight to twenty-one million tons. Business failures had decreased by one-half, or over fourteen millions of dollars, while deposits in the chartered and savings banks had risen from \$78,000,000 to \$192,000,000 and the revenue had increased sixteen millions in amount. The tariff averaged, meanwhile, 35 per cent, or about half that of the American Republic. There could be no doubt, also, of the increase in many lines of industry and the steady growth of factories and accumulation of savings amongst the poorer classes.

POSITION OF THE PARTIES

But all was not quite as it should be and there were, naturally, shadows thrown even by the sunshine of success. To the Opposition, standing out in the cold during year after year and through election after election, these shadows darkened until they covered the sun and the skies and made the Liberal party feel that some very severe measures were required to cauterize growing ills in the fiscal, political and social system. There were some reasonable grounds for pessimism on the part of the Opposition just as there were excellent reasons for optimism in the minds of the Government party. The exodus of Canadians to the United States continued and had come,

in the course of years, to number hundreds of thousands of enterprising and energetic young men.

The population of the country had not increased very rapidly—only some 500,000 in the years between 1881 and 1891. The public debt had grown largely under a policy of heavy expenditure made necessary by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the deepening of the Canals. The farmers suffered greatly from the effect of the McKinley tariff legislation of 1890 and at least one important agricultural industry—the production of barley—was practically ruined. The reciprocity in tariffs which Sir John Macdonald had promised in 1878 would compel reciprocity in trade had not succeeded in that aim and the farmers were said to be pining for the great American market of 60,000,000 people. The times were not as good as they had been and the burden of the coming financial crisis of 1893 was, perhaps unconsciously, being felt by people in Canada as well as elsewhere. Corruption was alleged to be rampant; monopoly was said to be triumphant in the persons of the protected manufacturers; the net effect of the tariff was claimed to be a robbery of the consumers and the country.

To this extreme view Conservatives opposed the fact of the distinct progress visible in Canada as a whole, the redundancy of revenue, the policy of railway expansion, the expenditure of \$125,000,000 upon necessary public works in a dozen years of power, the increased industrial employ of labour, the protection of the home market for the home producer, the rise in national credit, the enhanced prestige of Canada abroad, the development of Manitoba and the North-West. Meanwhile, in the years between 1878 and 1891, the Liberal party had not stood stationary in opinion or policy; its mutations, in fact, had been many. During the time of the Mackenzie régime the Premier and Sir Richard Cartwright had maintained a policy of tariff for revenue only. During the years which followed 1878

the latter had stood by these political guns and had shotted them with the most heated invective against all forms of protection and, especially, against manufacturers clamouring for fiscal aid as being little less than "thieves and robbers." In 1876, Laurier, Charlton, Joly, Mills, Paterson and other present or future Liberal leaders appear from their speeches to have been inclined toward moderate protective duties. But they stood by their party for the time and nothing came of opinions in this direction which were expressed but not vigorously maintained.

In 1882 Edward Blake, then Leader of the Opposition, declared himself as still opposed in principle to protection but as recognizing that "we are obliged to raise, yearly, a large sum—mainly by import duties laid to a great extent on goods similar to those which can be manufactured here; and it results as a necessary incident of our settled fiscal system that there must be a large and, as I believe, in the view of moderate protectionists, an ample advantage to the home manufacturer." Sir Richard Cartwright and other leaders, however, continued to denounce protection and neither the manufacturers nor the public seemed to think Mr. Blake's position strong enough, or his views clear enough, to warrant confidence in the existing fiscal policy being reasonably conserved under his auspices.

In 1887, therefore, he determined to make the situation better for himself and his party by a practical declaration that the National Policy would be maintained if they were returned to power. At Malvern, on January 22nd, in a speech which formed the keynote of the ensuing campaign, he explained that his opinions of 1882 had grown in force with every passing year and that the additions to the public debt, the increase in the annual charges, the deficits between revenue and expenditure, had made even the moderate readjustment of the tariff which he had then proposed impracticable: "It is clearer than ever that a very high scale of taxation must

be retained and that manufacturers have nothing to fear." And then he proclaimed his programme to be a fiscal readjustment which should be directed "to such reductions of expenditure as may allow a reduction of taxation; to the lightening of taxes upon the prime necessities of life and upon the raw material of manufactures; to a more equitable arrangement of the taxes which now bear unfairly upon the poor as compared with the rich; to a taxation of luxuries just so high as will not thwart our object by greatly checking consumption; to the curbing of monopolies of production in cases when, by combination or otherwise, the tariff allows an undue or exorbitant profit to be exacted from the consumers; to the effort—a most important point—to promote Reciprocal trade with our neighbours to the south."

Still, the electorate remained obdurate. The people did not care, apparently, to entrust the administration of a protective tariff to leaders who had frequently opposed the principle—even though they now acknowledged a change of conditions and a modification of policy. The second failure, however, to carry the country, bitterly disappointed the Opposition. They had fully expected to win the Elections upon the combined influence of Riel's execution and the acceptance of the moderate protective policy. Fate had decreed otherwise and, in the autumn of 1887, after Mr. Blake had disappeared from the leadership and Mr. Laurier had done a little coquetting with the new Imperial preferential idea at Somerset, Quebec, Sir Richard Cartwright declared, boldly, in a speech at Ingersoll, on October 17th, for a clear-cut policy of Reciprocity with the United States in agricultural and industrial products. Free trade with the American Republic was to be the new policy, the path to power, the road to a great 60,000,000 market, the way to wealth for the farmer, the miner and the fisherman.

It was a courageous programme, proposed by a man who never

lacked courage during a long political career, or words of biting force and sarcasm with which to express his meaning. He once more threw down the gauntlet to the protectionist. He proclaimed, and very truly, the impossibility of obtaining a limited reciprocity in agricultural products only. He declared his willingness, if it should be necessary, to discriminate against Great Britain in favour of American products. He described the American market as the one thing needful to produce general Canadian prosperity and unlimited expansion in trade and production. The policy was not altogether a new one, although the title "Unrestricted Reciprocity" was certainly original. Away back in 1870, on March 16th, L. S. Huntingdon, of subsequent Canadian Pacific contract fame, had moved a Resolution in the House of Commons in favour of a Continental trade system and customs union. Parliament promptly voted it down and only now and then had the idea since been heard of in irresponsible quarters in Canada and the United States. Reciprocity, itself, had been frequently advocated and promised, but speakers and writers were alike careful to limit and restrict it to agricultural products and those of the mine and the sea. In 1885, Mr. (afterwards Sir) L. H. Davies had, indeed, moved in the Commons for "additional reciprocal freedom in the trade relations of the two countries," but the phrase was a sufficiently vague one to mean anything.

THE UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY MOVEMENT

Now, the plunge had been taken, and a few days later quick endorsement came in an unanimous Resolution of approval passed by an Inter-Provincial Conference which met at Quebec during the same month and year in which Sir Richard made his speech at Ingersoll. It was attended by the Liberal Premiers of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—Messrs. Mercier, Mowat, Blair and Fielding; by John Norquay, Premier of Manitoba—whose opinions in Dominion politics were somewhat nebulous—and by other

representatives of these Governments including the Hon. A. S. Hardy, Hon. G. W. Ross, Hon. F. G. Marchand and Hon. J. W. Longley. The Conference passed various motions calculated to embarrass the Federal Government and amongst other things recorded the opinion "that Unrestricted Reciprocity would be of advantage to all the Provinces of the Dominion" and expressed its belief that such a policy would improve relations with the United States without affecting Canadian loyalty towards British connection.

Strong help came, also, in the way of speeches and pamphlets and articles in newspapers from Dr. Goldwin Smith, Erastus Wiman, Valancey E. Fuller and J. W. Longley of Nova Scotia. It is questionable how far Goldwin Smith was really serviceable to the movement. His reputation for holding annexationist views was a pronounced one and he did not now hesitate to declare publicly that Unrestricted Reciprocity meant the acceptance of the American tariff against the world—including the British Empire—and that it was really synonymous with the Commercial Union plan which was being advocated in the United States and which involved adoption of an uniform Continental sea-board tariff with free-trade across the Canadian-U. S. borders. Mr. Wiman was an energetic and useful supporter. He was at this time an eminently successful business man in New York, apparently proud of his birth-right as a Canadian, kind and helpful to everyone from his native land, in control of one of the great telegraph lines of the Dominion and very ambitious to be a successful public leader.

During the next four years Sir R. Cartwright, Mr. Longley, Liberal Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, Mr. Wiman and Dr. Goldwin Smith fought vigorously and spoke frequently for the new policy. They had, also, for some time and through the ensuing elections, the powerful aid of the *Toronto Mail*—which had been steadily drawing away from Sir John Macdonald since the days of the Jesuit Estates

agitation and which did not return to its Conservative allegiance for several years after this time. Gradually, the Liberal party swung into line behind its leaders in support of freer trade "with the continent to which we belong" as Mr. Wiman, rather unfortunately, phrased it. The support was given in varying degrees and under differing names for the policy itself while the attacks upon Protection developed renewed strength and were used as collateral to an aggressive campaign in favour of the American trade idea. Sir R. Cartwright, on March 14, 1888, moved in the House of Commons the following Resolution:

"That it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse should obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States and that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in, or the natural products of, either of the said countries, should be admitted free of duty into the ports of the other—articles subject to duties of excise or of internal revenue alone excepted. That it is further expedient that the Government of the Dominion should take steps at an early date to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith."

This explicitly defined the new stand of the Opposition and precipitated an issue which the Government met with an amendment proposed by Mr. Foster, Minister of Finance, and couched in equally clear and explicit terms: "That Canada in the future, as in the past, is desirous of cultivating and extending trade relations with the United States so far as they may not conflict with the policy of fostering the various industries and interests of the Dominion which was adopted in 1879 and which has since received, in so marked a manner, the sanction and approval of the people." The amendment was duly carried, after prolonged discussion, and upon a party division of 124 to 67. Later in the Session a similar Resolution to that of Sir Richard was moved by A. G. Jones—afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia—and defeated; while in the succeeding year, on March 5th, Sir R. Cartwright took advantage of favourable Commercial

Union motions having passed the House of Representatives at Washington to again urge that steps be taken "for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade" with the Republic.

Meantime, recognizing clearly, though not publicly, the difficulty of negotiating trade treaties, or making any commercial arrangement with the United States which would involve a preference against Great Britain, through British plenipotentiaries, the Liberal leaders were urging and advocating the Colonial right to negotiate independently of Imperial authorities. On February 18, 1889, Sir R. Cartwright embodied this collateral policy, or branch of the general party policy, in a motion which he presented to the House of Commons and which declared that "the Government and Parliament of Canada should acquire the power of negotiating commercial treaties with foreign States" and should be enabled, by Imperial permission, "to enter into direct communication with any Foreign State for the purpose of negotiating commercial arrangements." Such was the general issue before the people when the elections of 1891 were fought. There is no doubt that the Government, in the years between 1887 and 1891, underestimated the progress of this movement and the growing strength of a free trade feeling in the country which had been fostered by the growth of commercial depression, by the continuous propaganda of the now active and fighting Opposition, and by a growing belief amongst the farmers that protection had not been as beneficial to them as it should have been and that they might, perhaps, be helped by trying a new policy.

Sir John Macdonald disliked the American tendencies of the movement and what he believed to be the inevitable toboggan-slide towards Annexation and away from Britain which would be created by any system of Continental commercial union; and he appears, at first, to have thought that the mass of the people felt this as strongly as he did. Fortunately, for this view, a number of men unconnected

with, or indifferent to party affiliations recognized the danger of allowing things to drift and the history of the Imperial Federation League in Canada during these years is an active record of strong, steady opposition, in a stream of pamphlet and leaflet literature and by a continuous succession of public meetings, to anything savouring of anti-British fiscal legislation. The League and its leaders did more than this. They provided an alternative policy, another principle, and urged, strenuously, the new idea of a closer commercial relationship with the Motherland.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1891

The situation, however, was a sufficiently serious one when Sir John Macdonald, early in 1891, decided to appeal to the country. He had been roused to the necessity of doing something in the preceding year and no occurrence in his career better illustrated the natural tact and political *finesse* of the veteran leader than the negotiations into which he had entered, in December, 1890, with the United States. There is little reason to suppose that he expected success at a time when the Canadian Opposition was announcing its willingness to go much further in trade concessions than he would, or could, dream of doing and when the United States leaders were pretty well known to be in favour of a complete commercial union between the two countries while opposed—as they had been since 1866—to any ordinary modification, or renewal, of the old Reciprocity Treaty. However, it was a clever stroke which followed the announcement of the dissolution of Parliament, on February 3, 1891, with the publication of a despatch sent by the Governor-General to the Colonial Secretary on the preceding 13th of December and which outlined the terms of certain negotiations into which his Ministers desired to enter with the American Government. It was proposed that a joint Commission, similar to that of 1871, should be formed with power to deal with the following questions:

1. Renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854-66 with necessary modifications.
2. Reconsideration of the Fishery Treaty of 1888, which had been rejected by the United States Senate, with a view to reciprocity in fish and in the privileges of buying bait, trans-shipment of fish, etc.
3. Protection of mackerel and other fisheries on the Atlantic coast and in the inland waters of the country.
4. Relaxation of the sea-board coasting laws of the Dominion and the Republic and also of those in force on the Great Lakes.
5. Mutual salvage and saving of wrecked vessels.
6. Arrangements for settling the boundary between Alaska and Canada.

The indignation of the Opposition at this announcement showed its importance. Everything that could be done to minimize its value was done, however, even to the publication of a letter signed by James G. Blaine, the U. S. Secretary of State, declaring that only the very widest form of Reciprocity—the Opposition policy in fact—would be considered by the American Government. To some extent this effort was successful and, seeing that it was necessary to stimulate the sentiment of his own party and to rally around him an element which had become dissatisfied with the Liberal policy and its tendencies, Sir John Macdonald, for the first and last time in his career, issued a political Manifesto. It was published on February 8th, and contained the most stirring appeal to British sentiment and Canadian loyalty which had been addressed, since the days of Brock, to the people of British America.

He declared the policy of the Conservative party to be one of fostering the resources of Canada by every possible means consistent with its position "as an integral portion of the British Empire." He denounced the Opposition policy of free trade with the United States as involving "among other grave evils, discrimination against the Mother-country"; and expressed his earnest belief that it would, in that event, "inevitably result in annexation to the United States." He gave reasons for believing that the loss of revenue from American goods under such a policy would involve direct taxation

of the people to the figure of at least \$7,000,000. He declared that in consequence of the Canadian tariff against other countries having to be the same as that of the United States, in order to prevent the wholesale importation of goods by way of Canada under its existent lower grade of duties, the proposed policy meant the practical control of the Canadian tariff at Washington. He appealed in ringing words to the loyalty of the people to past affiliations and traditions, to British institutions and ideals, to their affection for the throne and the flag of Empire and liberty. He concluded an Address which deserved high place for its literary excellence, as well as for its historical significance, with a paragraph marked by pathos as well as patriotism:

"A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die. With my utmost strength, with my latest breath, will I oppose the 'veiled treason' which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance. During my long public service of nearly half a century I have been true to my country and its best interests, and I appeal with equal confidence to the men who have trusted me in the past and to the young hope of the country with whom rest its destinies in the future, to give me their united and strenuous aid, in this my last effort, for the unity of the Empire and the preservation of our commercial and political freedom."

The Manifesto had an instant effect upon the situation and the declaration of being born and intending to die a British subject rang through the community like a slogan of war. "The old man, the old flag, and the old policy" became the party war cry and echoed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the backwoods of Nova Scotia to the prairies of the West and the mountains of the Pacific Province. Wilfrid Laurier, as the leader of the Liberal party, although Sir R. Cartwright had been the leader in the Reciprocity agitation from the first, promptly answered Sir John's Manifesto with an Address to the people of Canada which was issued on February 12th. In it he denounced the premature dissolution of Parliament as being intended to stampede the public into a hasty and unconsidered ver-

dict; declared the existing Franchise Act a measure of gross injustice and calculated insufficiency; arraigned the National Policy as injurious to the farmer and a failure in stopping the migration of people to the States, or in promoting individual employment and better wages; proclaimed his personal and party loyalty to the Crown and to British connection; expressed his belief that, under the proposed reform of "absolute reciprocal freedom of trade between Canada and the United States," direct taxation would be unnecessary and an assimilation of tariffs not inevitable.

Upon the all-important point of discrimination against Great Britain, under free trade with the United States, and the Conservative statement that it was involved in the very nature of things, he submitted a simple denial and the following significant but vague statement: "It cannot be expected, it were folly to expect, that the interests of a Colony should always be identical with the interests of the Motherland. The day must come when, from no other cause than the development of national life in the Colony, there must be a clashing of interests with the Motherland and, in any such case, much as I would regret the necessity, I would stand by my native land." In the contest which followed a keen and spirited interest was taken by the people and, as its issues developed in Imperial and international importance, the press of the United Kingdom, of the far-away Australasian Colonies and of the United States, made it a subject of critical comment and consideration. The result became more and more doubtful as the days progressed and party calls from all parts of the Dominion came to Ottawa for the personal presence of Sir John Macdonald. His health was not good, he had reached an age when some measure of rest and relief from responsibility and active campaigning was necessary, his physicians warned him that to take a prominent part in the battle could only be done at the risk of his life. But he could not resist the pressure of popular demand

from within his party, the personal conviction of how much depended upon the result, the knowledge that the issue was in grave doubt. He, therefore, threw himself with intense vigour into the campaign, and, from his standpoint, not a moment too soon.

VICTORY AND DEATH OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

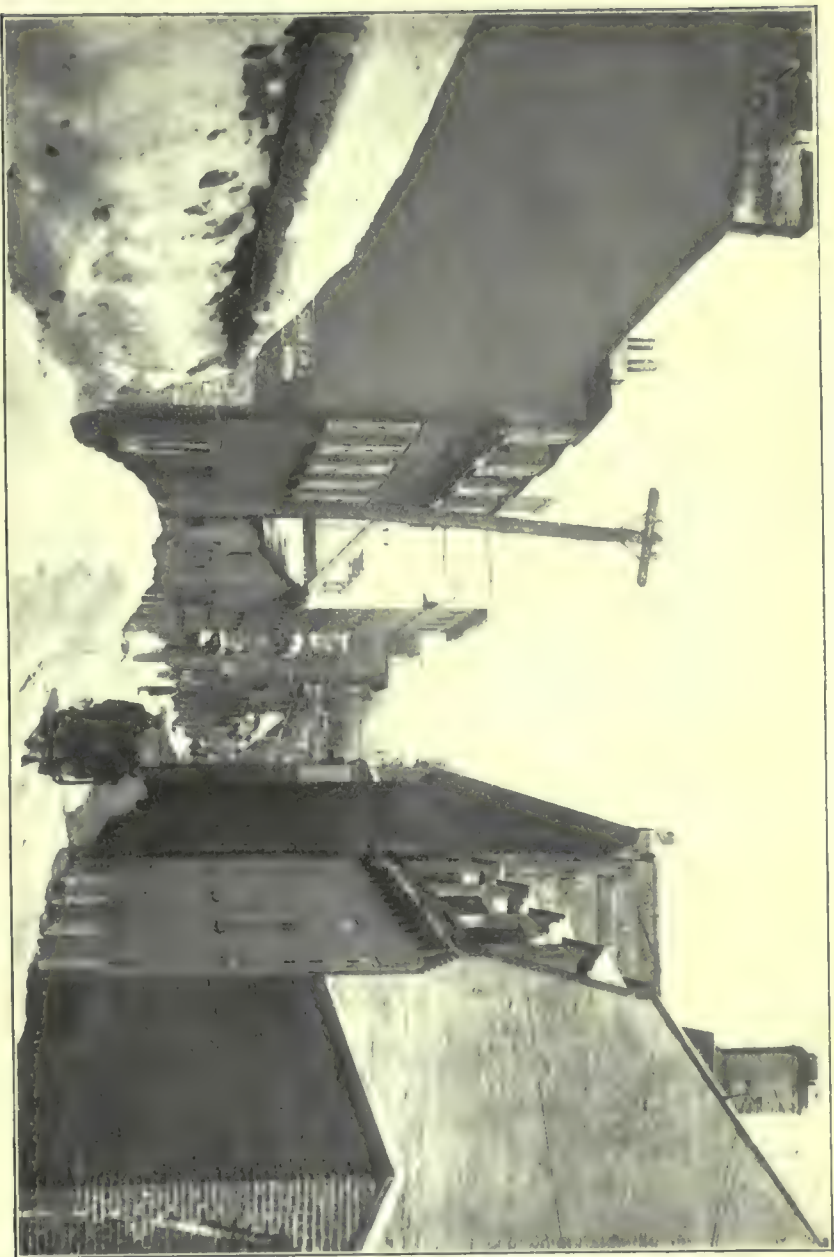
The result of the struggle was a victory for the Conservative chieftain and his Government by a majority of between twenty and thirty. Two members of the Ministry were defeated, C. C. Colby and John Carling, and two leaders of the Opposition, A. G. Jones and Peter Mitchell. It was Sir John Macdonald's last political success. Against the earnest advice of his physicians, the veteran leader, then in his 77th year, had gone into the contest with an energy which seemed marvellous for one of his admittedly feeble frame. He had been everywhere urging on the struggle, putting life and soul into his supporters, arousing the enthusiasm of great audiences as only his magnetic personality could have done, soothing differences and smoothing away obstacles with his curious combination of tact and personal charm, giving to the campaign, in short, that swing of victory which was needed to overcome the many adverse circumstances of the moment. Without him the party would most certainly have been defeated and, knowing this, he had fought one more battle for what he believed to be the fundamental principles of Canadian nationality and progress—British connection and loyalty to the close and honourable union of the Dominion and Empire.

His efforts in managing the campaign and addressing audiences almost daily for weeks—upon one occasion he spoke five times in the 24 hours—were too much for his physical strength and he came back to Ottawa to die. At first it was only reported that he needed rest and then, after the opening of Parliament at the end of April, he was said to be unwell; the serious attack did not come until the 29th of May, although there were many premonitory symptoms.

Then, in a moment, the paralytic seizure came and stilled the busy brain, numbed the splendid faculties and silenced forever the voice which had so long been the voice of Canada. During the week of anxious waiting which followed political lines were obliterated and the people of Canada stood beside the sick-bed at Earnscliffe where the greatest of the outpost builders of Empire, the wisest of Canadian leaders, lay fighting a last silent struggle with the most powerful of all foes. Parliament had promptly adjourned, the Queen sent daily cables of enquiry, the people began to understand what a great figure was passing away, the politicians commenced to tremble for the future of the party which he had led and made almost synonymous with himself. On June 6th Sir John passed away and the mourning which followed throughout the Dominion was as remarkable in its intensity and personal note of pain as the scenes surrounding the state funeral of the late Premier from Ottawa, to his burial place at Kingston, were notable for their splendour. During immediately succeeding years monuments were erected to his memory at Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, Hamilton and Montreal but it is historically safe to say that his most enduring memorial was his place in the hearts of his countrymen.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

Politics were now in a turmoil. The late leader had been unable to suggest a successor during his last days but the man who should, properly, have followed him in power was his life-long friend and right-hand supporter—Sir Charles Tupper. His work for Confederation, his labours for Canadian Pacific Railway construction, his battles for the National Policy, his foremost place beside Sir John Macdonald in the fight against Unrestricted Reciprocity, all pointed him out as the legitimate leader of the party. But he was away in London again acting as High Commissioner; it was thought by many that he would not care for the position; he did not hold a seat in



SOUS LE CAP, QUÉBEC
Typical of the European streets of this famous old fortress city, showing the houses built flush to the street line. In the upper left-hand corner appears a portion of one of the towers of the Chateau Frontenac, one of the most magnificent hotels in Canada.



CITY HALL, TORONTO

Toronto is the largest city in Ontario, and the second in size in the Dominion; its population according to the Census of 1921 is 521,893.

Parliament and he made no sign, himself, that he cared to assume such a responsibility. Hence different wings of the party nominated their favourites. Principal Grant urged Sir Charles Tupper, as did many others; Mr. Chapleau pressed the name, and justly praised the ability, of Sir John Thompson; *Le Monde* and other French journals urged the prolonged service of Sir Hector Langevin and the fact of his being the recognized leader of the party in Quebec; there was talk of W. R. Meredith, who for many years had led the Conservative Opposition in the Provincial Legislature of Ontario; there was a presentation of the claims of D'Alton McCarthy whose ability and Imperialistic views overshadowed the memory of his past differences with the party. Finally, it was announced that the Governor-General, after a conference with Sir John Thompson and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott—the latter was Conservative leader in the Senate and known as a man of wide constitutional knowledge and keen executive ability—had asked Mr. Abbott to take the Premiership.

His Government was much the same in composition as the preceding one and it had no easy task before it. The corruptions and scandals apparently inevitable to a Canadian Administration, 14 years of age, were met in an avalanche of charge and denunciation during the first Session of the new Government and the leadership of Sir John Thompson in the Commons. Under it Sir Hector Langevin disappeared from public position; Sir Adolphe Caron had to fight for his political life; Hon. J. G. Haggart had to face serious charges, as did Hon. J. A. Chapleau. It was the most arduous Session since Confederation and certainly the most unpleasant. It revealed the existence of carelessness in some of the Departments and of considerable corruption in public life but it did not prove personal dishonesty or corruption against any of the Ministers. The Census of the Dominion had, meanwhile, been taken and had

shown an increase of population from 3,686,000 in 1871 to 4,324,000 in 1881 and to 4,829,000 in 1891. A redistribution of seats and representation was, therefore, necessary and in April of the succeeding year Sir John Thompson introduced a measure to this end which finally passed after bitter Opposition denunciation as being a gerrymander and "a plan for deliberately stifling the voice of the people."

Meantime, the aftermath of the political struggle of 1891 had come in two very important events. On the day following the general elections a long letter was published from the pen of Edward Blake as written to his constituents in West Durham some time before election day. It explained minutely, though not always clearly, his reasons for retiring from public life at that juncture and declining renomination for Parliament. It denounced the National Policy in great detail and in the severest terms and painted so dark a picture of the country, and its present and future position, as to make the document a veritable triumph of pessimism in thought and language. Then the writer turned to the subject of Unrestricted Reciprocity and declared that it would give the country the blessings of a free trade greater than was otherwise attainable; would advance the Dominion's material interests and its most natural and largest industries; would create an influx of capital and population and, in a word, give to the country its chiefest needs—men, money and markets.

But it would, also, he declared, involve differential duties against the United Kingdom and the rest of the world; it would cause great gaps in the revenue and leave the country with an immense deficit which could only be met by direct taxes—and these he believed to be impossible under existing conditions of popular opinion; it would require "as to the bulk by agreement and as to much, from the necessity of the case, the substantial assimilation in their leading features, of the tariffs" of Canada and the United States; it must of

necessity be a permanent arrangement in order to conserve financial credit and industrial interests and this was impossible without a control of the Canadian tariff by the American Congress—in which the Dominion “would have much less influence in procuring or preventing changes than she would enjoy did she compose several States of the Union.” He concluded an elaborate presentation of the whole political issue in the late campaign with the following words:

“This tendency in Canada of unrestricted free trade with the States, high duties being maintained against the United Kingdom, would be towards political union; and the more successful the plan, the stronger the tendency, both by reason of the community of interests, the intermingling of populations, the more intimate business and social connections, and the trade and fiscal relations amounting to dependency which it would create with the States; and of the greater isolation and divergency from Britain which it would produce; and also, and especially, through inconvenience experienced in the maintenance, and apprehensions entertained as to the termination, of the Treaty.”

This deliverance came like a thunderbolt upon the Liberal party. Had it been published when written, and before election day, Sir John Macdonald would, probably, have had the largest majority in Canadian history. As it was, presentation of the issue in this explicit form shocked the inherent loyalty of Canadian Liberalism and changed the view of many an honest and honourable advocate of the policy which Sir John had so strenuously denounced in words deemed by his opponents to be the mere echo of partisan thoughts and fears. The practical result was seen in the bye-elections which followed in 1892, from the unseating of a number of members, and in which the Conservatives swept everything before them with swinging majorities. During this period a further incident in the history of this trade and fiscal movement took place. In pursuance of their pledges to the people at the elections the Canadian Government arranged, after many delays on the part of American authorities, for a Conference to discuss international relations. James G. Blaine and J. W. Foster represented the United States and Mackenzie

Bowell, Sir John Thompson and George E. Foster, the Dominion. After a prolonged discussion—February, 1892—upon trade and reciprocity matters it was found impossible to come to any understanding. Mr. Blaine insisted, absolutely, upon the free admission into Canada of American manufactures and declared that an arrangement could only be consummated “by making the tariff uniform for both countries and equalizing the Canadian tariff (against Great Britain, etc.) with that of the United States.” The statements of the American negotiators were most explicit and were recorded in an official document signed by the Canadian negotiators and endorsed by Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, in the words: “I concur in the above Minute of Proceedings.”

This was the end of the Unrestricted Reciprocity, or Commercial Union movement. The Liberal leaders turned to the safer paths of simple tariff denunciation and the advocacy of freer trade in general. These were embodied in a Resolution presented to the Commons by Sir R. Cartwright on February 16, 1893. During the succeeding year, on March 28th, the same leader once more presented a motion which, nominally, constituted the Liberal fiscal platform in the Elections of 1896: “That the highest interests of Canada demand the adoption of a sound fiscal policy which, while not doing injustice to any class will promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity to our people; that, to that end the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government, should have eliminated from it the principle of Protection to particular industries at the expense of the community at large, and should be imposed for revenue only; that it should be so adjusted as to make free, or bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life and to promote freer trade with the whole world—particularly with Great Britain and the United States.” The motions were, of

course, defeated by party divisions but they clearly indicated the gradually-changing lines of policy.

On June 20, 1893, a Convention of Liberals had been held at Ottawa to define the position of the party and it had taken lines similar to those embodied in the above motion. The Resolutions passed declared that the tariff of the Dominion "should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service"; denounced the National Policy as having developed monopolies, trusts and combines, decreased the value of farm lands, oppressed the masses in favour of the few, checked immigration, driven people out of the country and impeded commerce; proclaimed protection to be "radically unsound and unjust to the masses of the people"; declared the necessity of tariff changes which should afford "substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labours." References were also made to the desirability of Reciprocity, the success of the old-time Treaty of 1864 and the belief of the party that a fair measure might still be obtained which should include "a well-considered list of manufactured articles." During the next three years, however, Reciprocity dropped largely out of Liberal advocacy and in the 1896 elections, though the quotations given constituted the nominal policy of the Opposition, still less was heard of it and nothing at all of the unrestricted form. Other issues had come up and upon them the battle was fought and, this time, won by Liberalism and Laurier.

CHAPTER XXVI

The West, the Manitoba School Question, the Elections of 1896

THE story of Western progress during the years which succeeded the Fort Garry rising and the admission of the youthful Province into Confederation on July 15, 1870, up to the fateful national elections of 1896, is an oft-told tale which yet never lacks interest. The slow growth, at first, of the little town at the junction of the Red River and Assiniboine which took the place of the Fort where such severe struggles against nature, and amongst men, had raged since the days of Selkirk; the coming of the Canadian Pacific and the rapid rise of Winnipeg into a city of 40,000 people; the steady accretion of farmers in the vast and fertile prairies stretching away beyond the distant horizon; the phenomenal "boom," typical in its inception and progress of all western periods of expansion, which came to Manitoba in 1879 and 1880; the process which merged the solid investments of thousands of Ontario business men in fantastic land schemes and non-existent prairie villages of which surveys had often not been made; the ensuing reaction and the slow, but steady and substantial progress which, in time, came to the Province; these things were pretty well known to Canadians of a later day.

Less clearly was the political condition of the country known, or the wild and free spirit, drawn from the experiences of a pioneer life which had not been brought into close touch with eastern civilization, understood. The ox-cart, even at the end of the 19th century, touched the electric street car or the luxurious coach of the modern railway. The fringed and faded Indian rubbed shoulder with the white farmer and the commercial traveller for some Eastern firm. The unsettled and nomadic half-breed hunter looked across the

table of his hotel at the latest tourist from Piccadilly or habitu  of Hyde Park. The forts of the Hudson's Bay Company still stood throughout the West in occasional loneliness, but were more and more coming into contact with farm-houses of prosperous settlers, or face to face with the growing villages of an increasing population from the boundaries of Ontario to the mountains of the Pacific Coast. The buffalo had gone, but his horns were still picked up on the boundless prairie and sold by Indian squaws on the platforms of a continental railway.

CONTINUOUS CHANGES IN MANITOBA

The white people of Manitoba had, meanwhile, greatly changed since the stormy days of 1870. The pioneer life of farmers who had drifted in by tens, and hundreds, and thousands, to till the rich and easy soil of the prairie was one of inevitable hardship at times, and especially so in seasons of untimely frost, or occasional flood, or unwelcome drought. They encountered serious discouragement from a severe climate, not at first understood, and they often suffered from intense solitude and hard labour, while dangers from cold and storm were not few or slight. But all these things were really nothing to the early perils of the French or Loyalist pioneers of Eastern Canada from wild animals or wilder Indians; whatever they may have been, the conditions were conquered and out of them had come a people delighting in the life of the prairie and the cold of its winters, loving the fresh and fragrant air of their healthful country, instinct with western vigour and progressiveness, and pulsating with strong belief in its future progress.

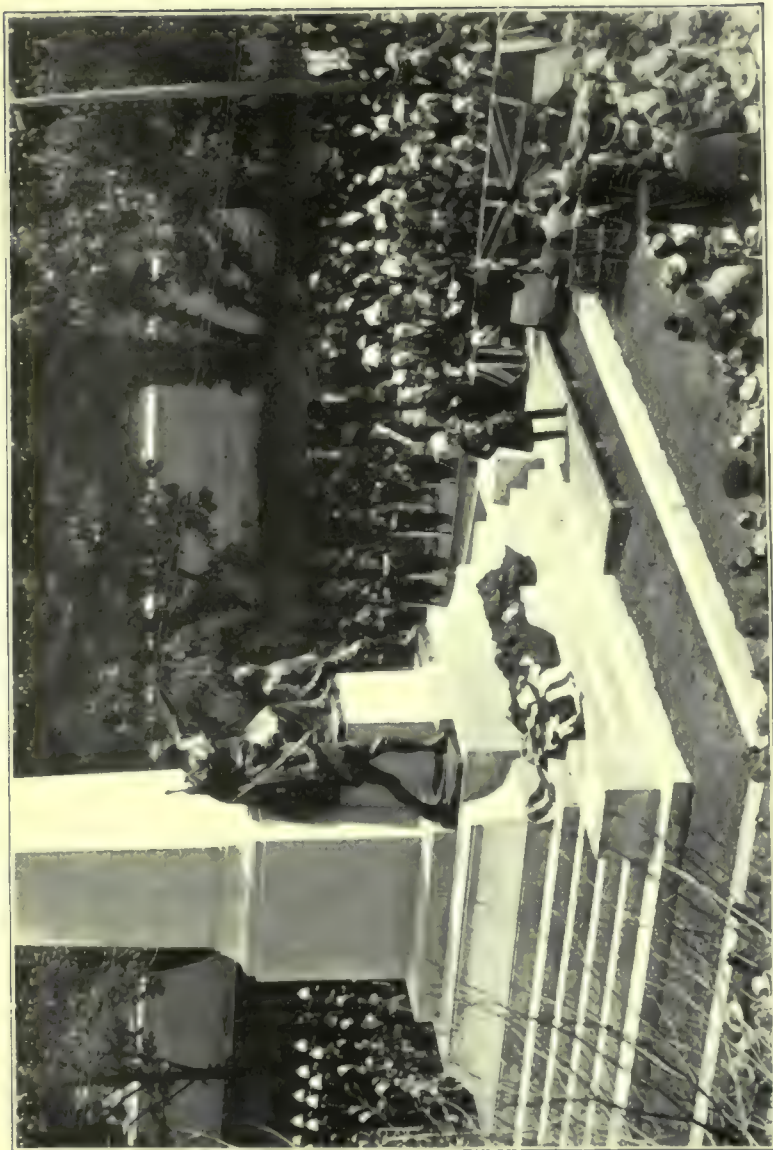
Of a kind with the complexities of general development was the political record of Manitoba and out of it came a problem which was destined to shake the parties and principles of Canadian public life to their very roots. For many years the local politics were of a purely parish nature, and government consisted in legislating for schools

scattered over a large area amongst isolated settlers, providing the beginnings of municipal life, practising the forms of constitutionalism, and guarding the interests of the small though growing population of farmers. Alfred Boyd, M. A. Girard, H. J. H. Clarke, R. A. Davis and John Norquay succeeded each other as Prime Ministers. Then came the era of railway construction, the boon proffered by Eastern Canada to its Provincial sisters in the West. With the Canadian Pacific came also questions of monopoly, of the right to control competitive lines, of the necessity of competition and control of rates, of the location of branch lines and all the complications incident to a time of public expansion and the sudden growth of transportation interests. These problems were gradually settled, or they settled themselves, in one form or another. There was, at times, friction between the Provincial Government and the Dominion authorities but never violent trouble; except, perhaps, in the matter of the Red River Railway.

Three or four men developed in the public life of the Province who may, in diverse ways, be described as remarkable characters. Archbishop Taché was a pioneer of religious progress, a man of intense missionary zeal, of strenuous labour for the cause of his Church, of wide-spread public influence. From the day, in 1845, when he started by boat, or ox-team, for the far-away banks of the Red River, he had traversed every part of the vast North-West and, in varied degrees of hardship and toil, established Roman Catholicism as one of the chief religious features of the new country. He became a Bishop in 1850, received the higher honour in 1871, and died in 1894. With the public questions of the day in growing Manitoba and the expanding West, he was closely associated from the share he took as mediator in the Riel rising of 1870 and his place in the controversy created by the same irrepressible personage in 1885, to the forcible position assumed by him in the Manitoba School question of 1890.



THE "SOO" LOCKS
A "whaleback" entering the Canadian Locks at Sault Ste. Marie—a most important link in the chain of navigation on the Great Lakes.



UNVEILING OF THE NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO CANADIANS WHO FELL IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Lieut-General Sir John D. P. French, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. Toronto, on May 24, 1910.

Archbishop Machray held a very similar place in the pioneer history of the Church of England in the North-West from the time of his consecration, in 1865, through more than half a century of active life. His intense personal energy and earnest piety made a deep impression upon its people and their denominational and educational progress. He was not, however, nearly so striking a political figure as his great ecclesiastical and religious rival of this period. A curious contrast to both these men was the Hon. John Norquay. A Half-breed by birth he impressed his virile, forceful disposition upon the politics and progress of Manitoba, became its Prime Minister in what may be termed the growing time of Provincial youth, and remained in power from 1878 to 1887. His moderation of view won him respect and popularity, as a young man, in the troubles of 1869-70, and the same qualities served him well in later years; while his huge, uncouth frame and curious personality and strange manners made him an unique figure in general politics. After a brief interregnum filled by the Premiership of D. H. Harrison, he was succeeded, in 1888, by the Hon. Thomas Greenway—a farmer by profession, a Liberal in politics, and in no way remarkable, personally, except for the fact that he held office from that time until the end of the century.

The extraordinary personal force of his Administration, and the most unique product of Canadian western politics, was the Hon. Joseph Martin, who acted as Attorney-General from 1887 to 1891. A Radical in politics, he had a rough, self-educated personality, was gifted with tremendous vigour in speech and pluck in action, and had a perfect passion for political fighting. Absence of actual and defined principles was freely charged against him by opponents; his natural ability rendered him an acute antagonist and a useful, though untrustworthy, ally. After he had won an election for Greenway by the abolition of Separate Schools in Manitoba and had laid, incident-

ally, a mine of dynamite for the destruction of the Conservative Government at Ottawa, he moved to British Columbia. There he served a short term of office as Attorney-General, suddenly resigned the position and overthrew the Government he had belonged to, formed another, and, in 1900, was badly beaten at the polls. Later he went to London, and, for a time, sat in the British Parliament. A much more attractive character was that of Sir John Christian Schultz. A pioneer in the fur trade, in the practice of medicine and in political development, he shared the ups and downs of Manitoba life to the uttermost and served several terms in the Dominion House of Commons, held a place in the Senate, and acted for seven years as Lieut.-Governor of his Province.

THE INFLATION OF 1880

The central incidents of modern Manitoba history are the "inflation" of 1880 and the School question. The former was a condition of affairs only possible in a very new country, during the prevalence of what are called good times, and through a sudden increase of land values arising from such a cause as the proposed construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Visions of a great and growing Province beyond anything that was reasonable and possible seemed, in 1880, to be born in a night out of long-continued indifference and ignorance. People throughout Canada who had known nothing of, and cared less for, the vast possibilities of the wheat-belt of the West seemed suddenly and fully conscious of its existence and of what might be done by the building of a railway through its fertile areas. Aladdin's lamp was to be as nothing in comparison with the effect of this factor in Provincial development. Population, wheat-fields, cities and towns, industries and wealth, all presented themselves before the eyes of the investing public. The "boom" that followed was of a most distinctly American type. The price of building lots in Winnipeg rose above the value of land centrally located in Montreal or

Toronto. All kinds of land schemes were floated in the other Provinces as well as in the local capital. Towns and cities grew up (on paper) as by magic and thousands of people in Ontario, especially, sold solid securities and took over all their little savings, or even mortgaged salaries and properties, in order to invest in prairie village lots of which a first survey had hardly been made.

The result was a natural and inevitable one. For a time everything prospered and every kind of public enterprise went ahead. Population did increase a little and money poured into the country for investment. Land values rose all over the southern part of the province. But, in the autumn of 1882 the end came, the bubble of inflation broke and millionaires in prospect found themselves paupers in fact. A great part of the small community became insolvent, the banks lost heavily, investors in Ontario and elsewhere suffered severely and Manitoba was given a serious set-back. Then came the Riel troubles of 1885 on the Saskatchewan, which reacted upon the Prairie Province in reputation and credit and helped further to hamper its progress and settlement. Gradually, however, these difficulties were overcome; steadily the richness of its soil and the qualities of its wheat made headway in the public mind of the Dominion; slowly and surely the completion of the Canadian Pacific promoted its prosperity by making the Province known abroad, by bringing in new settlers, by facilitating the transport of products, by bringing it into the arena of national interests and progress.

ORIGIN OF THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

Then came the Manitoba School question. At first it was purely a Provincial issue; then it developed into a sort of Dominion irritant; finally, it became a political storm of the most pronounced kind and threatened the public peace as only a semi-religious question can in a country like Canada. There had been many struggles over

sectarian education in the Provinces of British America. Prior to 1863 Ontario was torn with dissensions upon this point and the Hon. George Brown had led a stormy agitation against Separate Roman Catholic Schools. Confederation settled the issue to a considerable degree through a compromise by which the Protestant minority in Quebec and the Catholic minority in Ontario were guaranteed a secure system of Separate Schools. It was reopened for a time, in the latter Province, by alleged new and increasing privileges to these schools at the hands of the Mowat Government and, during some years, W. R. Meredith and D'Alton McCarthy took high ground in the matter though their agitation came to nothing. In New Brunswick the abolition of Separate Schools, not long after Confederation, was an action which politicians wisely refused to make serious capital out of and which the Courts finally declared to be constitutional.

In Manitoba the situation was very different and the result much more important and interesting. The system in vogue there was not the same as elsewhere in Canada; the Province did not, in this respect, enter the Dominion upon the same terms as the older parts of the country; its circumstances and local conditions changed more rapidly and completely than anywhere else. In 1870, when the country came into Confederation, its small population was about equally divided between Protestants and Catholics and, as a large influx of French-Canadian settlers was then confidently expected, it was believed that this balance would be fairly well preserved. There is practically no question that the Red River people of that time, and of the Catholic faith, thought that their religious and educational customs—they could hardly be termed a system—would be conserved.

As a matter of fact, when authority was given to the new Legislature, by the Federal Act of 1870, to deal with Education, it

was done, as in all the Provinces, subject to the preservation of rights existing at the time of the Union; although no law, ordinance or regulation was technically in force in the much-troubled Red River Settlement of that time. The controversy of the future was to turn, therefore, upon how far the "practice" then prevalent was a privilege and right under the terms of Union. Archbishop Taché, who was present at the birth of educational facilities in the North-West and who for so long rocked the cradle of their early development, claimed with emphasis that there had been, in 1870, a number of effective schools for children and that some of these were regulated and controlled by his own Church, and some by different Protestant denominations. The means required for the support of the Catholic portion of the schools were supplied partly by fees and partly out of Church funds. During this early period neither Catholics nor Protestants had interest in, or control over, any schools but those pertaining to their respective beliefs.

In 1871, shortly after joining the Dominion, a law was passed by the Manitoban Legislature which established an organized system of denominational education in what were called the common schools. By this Act, 12 electoral divisions, comprising in the main a Protestant population, were to be considered as constituting 12 Protestant school districts under the management of the Protestant Section of a Provincial Board of Education. Similarly, 12 districts, made up chiefly of a Roman Catholic population, were constituted an equal number of Catholic school districts and were placed under the control of the Catholic Section of the Board of Education. Each school division raised the contribution required, in addition to the amount given from the public funds, in such manner as might be decided at its annual meeting. It was, at first, and in some respects, an application of the Quebec system to a new Province. But the conditions were, of course, greatly different and that difference

increased radically as the Protestant part of the population grew in numbers. Modifications in the system were introduced, in 1873 and 1876, suited to changed and changing conditions, but the general principle was still maintained. Nor did the system, as a whole, work badly or cause any serious friction, in these years, between the different elements of the people.

Some agitation had arisen in 1876 owing to the gradual growth of villages and towns and the general increase of what might be termed, somewhat tentatively, an urban population. But it was settled by the amendments of that year which gave the school districts facilities for the issue of debentures and the erection of suitable buildings. The Provincial Board was also reconstituted in a satisfactory manner. For years after this time matters progressed without sectarian trouble until, in 1890, there were 628 Protestant schools and 91 Catholic schools in the Province—the Government grant still being divided proportionally between the two sections of the Education Board. Meanwhile, however, sectarian feeling had been growing in Quebec and Ontario; the ebb-tide of the Riel and Jesuit Estates questions had reached Manitoba; the instinct of a certain type of politician dominated the mind of Joseph Martin, and a favourable and popular moment was taken, in the Session of 1890, to abolish the existing School system.

The principle of National and unsectarian schools is a most desirable one where it can be put in force without injustice to a minority or to those who cannot accept it. But the incidents surrounding this particular action of the Greenway-Martin Government were unpleasant and aggressive and the legislation, itself, assumed to the minority the aspect of a repudiation of Provincial and Dominion pledges. The ensuing protests of the Roman Catholic Church in Manitoba, and the energetic onslaughts of Archbishop Taché upon the Government, in a series of historical letters published in the

Winnipeg *Free Press*, were serious enough in their effect upon the Catholic population elsewhere in Canada to soon carry the question far beyond the local arena. At the same time the minority had not sufficient local strength to overcome the large Protestant majority or to prevent Mr. Greenway from obtaining a popular victory and endorsement in the ensuing elections of 1892.

Under the new Public School system the Board of Education was, of course, completely changed and all school taxes, whether derived from Protestant or Catholic, were devoted to the maintenance of the Public Schools of the Province without any religious distinction. The Provincial Cabinet became the Board of Education, assisted by an Advisory Board made up of a few members appointed by the Government, two elected by the teachers of the Province, and one selected by the University of Manitoba. The Department, or Government, was to perform all Executive work in connection with education; the Advisory Board was really to be a Committee of experts controlling all matters of a technical nature such as teachers' qualifications, text-books, standards of admission and promotion in the schools, classification, examinations, and the forms of religious exercise. Local districts, with trustees chosen by popular vote, were established. Upon the whole this system worked well, the standard of education generally advanced, the number of schools increased to 1,018 in 1897 and the Provincial grant rose to \$190,000 in that year.

But to the Roman Catholics both the legislation and system were obnoxious. They believed it to be their duty in Manitoba, as in Quebec and Ontario, to send their children to a school where religion was a first consideration and secular education a secondary matter. They objected to the Protestant religious exercises, no matter how deleted they might be, and wanted schools of their own. These they proceeded to maintain by private contributions and despite the fact of having to pay taxes for the Public Schools. Naturally,

the question was soon widely discussed in other Provinces where Catholics also had rights and privileges which they believed to be guaranteed by the pact of Confederation.

THE SCHOOL ACT IN DOMINION POLITICS

The first step taken in the matter, in a Dominion sense, was a strenuous effort to obtain the disallowance of the Act as an infringement of the rights of a Provincial minority. A petition, dated March 6, 1891, was presented to the Federal Government signed by the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the Dominion and declaring that the Manitoba School Act—and the subsidiary measure abolishing dual language privileges in the same Legislature—were “contrary to the dearest interests” of a large portion of the Queen’s loyal subjects; contrary to “the assurances given during the negotiations” which determined the entry of the Province of Manitoba into Confederation; contrary to the terms of the B. N. A. and Manitoba Acts; contrary to the principles of public good faith.

A little later, on April 4th, the French press of Quebec published a pastoral letter, issued by Cardinal Taschereau and the hierarchy of that Province, which was read in all the Catholic churches of Canada. It declared that the legislation in question would “destroy the faith of the Catholic children” of Manitoba and would “despoil the Church of her sacred rights.” It urged once more “the control of the Church over the education of Catholic children” in the schools and called upon all Catholics “to pray and to work for justice.” Following, however, the precedent which they had set themselves in the Jesuit Estates case the Dominion Government resisted this religious pressure, and the even more potent political pressure which was a natural accompaniment, refused to interfere with the Provincial legislation in the matter and allowed the two measures to go into operation. In connection with the School Act Sir John Thompson,

as Minister of Justice, had submitted a Report to the Government advising this allowance of the measure.

It was dated March 21, 1891, and afterwards became the cause of keen controversy and important results. He reviewed the powers of the Provincial Legislature and declared that the matter should be left to the Courts. If, finally, the minority in Manitoba were worsted in legal warfare the time might come for the Dominion Government to interfere under the terms of that portion of Section 22 of the Manitoba Act which declared that "an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects, in relation to education. Parliament may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this Section and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council."

Meanwhile, local efforts along legal lines had been vigorous. An appeal was early entered in the Manitoba Courts by J. K. Barrett, on behalf of the Catholic rate-payers of Winnipeg, against two City by-laws which imposed a rate of taxation upon men of all religious faiths for the support of the public schools. In this test case it was claimed that the old law was still in force owing to the new one being unconstitutional and because of the 22d Section of the Manitoba Act, under which the Province entered the Dominion, and which declared that "nothing in any such law (Provincial) shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Province at the Union." The Manitoba Government maintained, as against this plea, that a Separate School system was not really in existence at that time and that, therefore, the Roman Catholic minority possessed no guarantee whatever. On February 22, 1891, the Court of Queen's Bench of the Province sustained the

validity of the Act, three Judges being favourable and one opposed—the latter a French-Canadian and Catholic. Appeal was at once taken to the Supreme Court of Canada and, in October following, a unanimous judgment was given by that body declaring the Act *ultra vires*, allowing the appeal and quashing the City by-laws.

There was, of course, much excitement in Winnipeg over the result and the Greenway Government at once announced its intention of carrying the case to the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. Late in July, 1892, the decision of the highest Court of Appeal in the Empire was duly rendered. It upheld the Manitoba Courts, declared the legality of the Act of 1890, and over-rode the judgment of the Canadian Supreme Court. An agitation immediately began for an appeal to the Dominion Government for remedial legislation and this was the commencement of a storm which raged during four years and, eventually, crushed the Conservative Government at Ottawa between the two rival forces of Catholic and Protestant sentiment. Sir John Thompson's Report of 1891 became the centre of intense discussion and Section 22 of the Manitoba Act a subject of Dominion policy and politics. Strong language was used on both sides in connection with the possibility of the Government at Ottawa interfering in the matter.

The Liberal organs and speakers in Ontario demanded respect for Provincial rights and proclaimed Sir John Thompson a slave to the interests and influence of his Church. The *Toronto Mail*, which was still a nominally independent paper—though bitterly opposed to the Conservative Government in reality—declared that “the tribunal of last resort has pronounced Manitoba free; and free that Province shall be if the English population has any voice in the Government of this country.” Mr. Mercier, who was striving to regain his lost place and power in Quebec, tried to arouse sentiment there and, at Montreal on February 23, 1893, urged the people of

the Province to "put aside all the divisions and hatreds of the past and join in a fraternal union of 2,000,000 French-Canadians against the oppression of Manitoba by other Provinces."

While these sounds of strife were in the air the Government appointed a Sub-Committee of its own members, composed of Sir John Thompson, Mackenzie Bowell and J. A. Chapleau, to hear the appeals from the Manitoba minority and to hear J. S. Ewart, Q.C. of Winnipeg, on behalf of the petitioners. Mr. Ewart and D'Alton McCarthy presented the opposite sides of the case with strength and skill and, on January 6, 1893, the Sub-Committee submitted a synopsis of the discussion to the Dominion Government and recommended that another hearing be given in which the Manitoba Cabinet should be represented. The latter Government refused, however, to consider the question as in any way an open one, or to send any representative. The Report also indicated certain points for consideration in the question as to whether the Governor-General-in-Council really had the power to grant remedial legislation under existing conditions and these subjects were subsequently brought before the Supreme Court of Canada in the form of six questions of a constitutional character.

They were dealt with on February 26, 1894, by a judgment of interpretation which held that the Roman Catholic minority had no ground upon which to solicit Dominion legislation. The Court stood three to two upon the question and, curiously enough, Mr. Justice King who, as Premier of New Brunswick, had many years before been instrumental in abolishing the Separate Schools of that Province supported the Catholic contention while Mr. Justice Taschereau, a French-Canadian, opposed the claims of his own co-religionists. From this decision an appeal was taken to the Imperial Privy Council and, in January, 1895, a decision was announced declaring that the Dominion Government, under the Confederation Act, possessed the

right to grant the remedial legislation which had been described as constitutional and possible in the Report of the Minister of Justice in 1891.

That distinguished lawyer and statesman had, meanwhile, become Premier of Canada in December, 1892, and had died suddenly and tragically at Windsor Castle in December, 1894. Sir Mackenzie Bowell ruled in his place and there was much trouble and perplexity in the Government upon the School question. Parliament and the press were also vigorously discussing the question and the possible results of the coming decision. An interesting debate had taken place in the House on March 6, 1893, when this second reference to the Privy Council was announced and J. Israel Tarte had proposed a motion disapproving the action of the Government. Sir John Thompson defended the policy from a constitutional standpoint and D'Alton McCarthy, who represented, probably, at this time a very large body of public opinion, answered the Minister with force and vigour. He denounced the Government for its delay in settling a vexed question. The decision one way or the other was vital: "It is whether the Province of Manitoba with a population of 150,000, of whom not more than 20,000 are Roman Catholics, is to have imposed upon it, against its will, a Separate School system."

Wilfrid Laurier, in the course of a denunciatory speech along general lines, made some remarks which afforded interesting reading a few years later and were uttered in connection with the charge that the limited religious teaching in the Public schools of Manitoba made them really Protestant schools. "If," said he, "this be indeed true; if under the guise of public schools the Protestant schools are being continued and Roman Catholic children are being forced to attend these Protestant schools; I say, and let my words be heard by friends and foes over the length and breadth of the land, the strongest case has been made out for interference and the Roman Catholics of

Manitoba have been put to the most infamous treatment." A little later, however, when the Liberal leader visited the Prairie Province he refused to say, definitely, whether this supposition was a fact or not.

CABINET CRISIS AND THE REMEDIAL ORDER

From the day in January, 1895, when the judgment of the Imperial Privy Council was received at Ottawa, events moved rapidly, the political sky became more and more stormy, the controversy more critical in its various aspects—constitutional, sectarian and partisan. The issue was one which had become so difficult to handle that only a great statesman such as Sir John Macdonald could have evolved anything like peace out of the chaos of conflict which had now developed. And even the greatest ability and mental force might have been useless without the tact and *savoir faire* which Sir John had possessed in such pronounced measure. There were men of high ability in the Cabinet, but they did not possess the combination of qualities required, and the disorganization grew steadily greater. They were also opposed, in the person of Mr. Laurier, by a man whose charm of manner and grace of bearing constituted a character of growing influence, and one in which ability and tact were combined to a degree unequalled since the days of Sir John Macdonald himself.

Meanwhile, the French-Canadian members of the Cabinet wanted remedial legislation and many of the English members disapproved of it. The result of the difference was so pronounced as to become public property in all kinds of distorted forms. Finally, in March, 1895, it was decided to unite upon what was termed a Remedial Order. This document commanded the Provincial Government, under the terms of the constitution and in accordance with the decision of the Privy Council, to remedy the just grievances of the minority in Manitoba and to restore any educational rights and

privileges which may have been taken away from them—under pain of Dominion legislation to the same end.

At the same time as this Order was issued Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper—son of the veteran Sir Charles Tupper—Minister of Justice, urged the bringing on of the general elections immediately and there is every probability that if this course had been pursued the party disaster of 1896 would not have occurred. His advice was not followed and a somewhat hasty resignation of his office, as a consequence, was not accepted. Manitoba absolutely refused to obey the Remedial Order and early in July, a Cabinet crisis occurred. Messrs. J. A. Ouimet and A. R. Angers, with Sir Adolphe Caron, resigned office. For a few days all was confusion and then George E. Foster, who was acting as leader in the Commons—Sir M. Bowell being leader in the Senate—announced on the 9th of the month that Mr. Ouimet and Sir A. P. Caron had withdrawn their resignations; that immediate communication would be entered into with the Manitoba Government with a view to effecting some settlement; and that if no satisfactory result could be reached the House would be asked in the ensuing January to legislate along the lines of the Remedial Order. For the moment the crisis was over though the calm was a deceitful one and the political soil was still breeding storms.

The Manitoba Government had not the slightest intention of losing a strong party position and the prospects of a successful Provincial election campaign, as well as the chance of hurting a Conservative Dominion Government, for reasons of nominal peace and quietness. They would, therefore, do nothing. Rumours also continued to grow regarding dissensions in the Dominion Cabinet and, on December 11th, the Hon. N. Clarke Wallace, Comptroller of Customs and leader of the Orangemen of Canada, resigned office. Within a few weeks the Manitoba Government advised the Federal authorities distinctly and definitely that they would have nothing to

do with the re-establishment of Separate schools in any form and then appealed to the people for approval. They were given, in January, 1896, a sweeping majority and, on February 27th, the new Legislature, by 31 to 7 votes, protested against any Dominion interference in Provincial school affairs. Meanwhile, the Dominion Parliament had been opened on January 2nd, and the announcement made that legislation would be shortly introduced to carry out the terms of the Remedial Order. It had hardly more than met, however, before another and far more serious Cabinet crisis occurred. Seven Ministers—Messrs. George E. Foster, John G. Haggart, W. B. Ives, W. H. Montague, A. R. Dickey, J. F. Wood and Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper—resigned on the 5th of the month.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1896

It was simply a long-continued disagreement and disorganization coming to a head. Sir Mackenzie Bowell was not a strong enough leader to hold together a Cabinet of conflicting opinions and personal differences in the face of a public crisis and a most complex national issue. He was a man of the highest character and administrative ability but would have been the first to disclaim the qualities of a great leader. The trouble lasted for some days and ended in Sir Charles Tupper, who had recently come from England to further the proposed fast Atlantic Line of Steamships, giving up his High Commissionership, taking a position in the Ministry and the lead in the House of Commons. To the latter he was shortly afterwards elected from Cape Breton Island. It was a brave and unselfish thing to do and the task before him was enough to appal a much younger and more ambitious man. The other Ministers rejoined the Government and Parliament was soon able to proceed with the discussion of the Remedial Bill which was introduced, as promised, on February 11th.

Early in March Sir Charles Tupper moved the second reading of the measure and, on April 27th, the retirement of Sir M. Bowell

and his own accession to the Premiership were announced. Meantime, Sir Donald A. Smith—afterwards Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal—the Hon. Alphonse Desjardins and the Hon. A. R. Dickey had been sent to Winnipeg as a Commission to try and effect a compromise or settlement of the School question. But the mission was unsuccessful and, unfortunately for the Conservative party, Sir Charles Tupper was equally unsuccessful in getting the Remedial Bill through Parliament. The Opposition obstructed its progress until the time came when the House had legally to be dissolved and the general elections held. The Tupper Government went to the country largely, though not of their own desire, upon the School issue and met with an overwhelming defeat. Mr. Laurier became Premier, and, in November, 1896, an arrangement was made between the new Liberal Government of Canada and the older Liberal one of Manitoba which the party in power termed a successful compromise and absolute settlement and which the Conservative Opposition described as a veritable farce.

It was to the general effect that the non-sectarian character of the schools should be maintained but provision made for a form of bi-lingual teaching and for Catholic religious teaching within certain defined hours for children of that faith. Mutterings of dissatisfaction were still heard in Quebec, however, and in March, 1897, the Pope issued an Encyclical instructing the Bishops of that Province to suspend all further expression of opinion or action until His Holiness had investigated the matter thoroughly. The result was the despatch of Mgr. Merry del Val to Canada as Papal Ablegate and the practical disappearance of the issue from Canadian politics after his conferences with the Hierarchy and return to Rome.

CHAPTER XXVII

Imperial Relations and the South African War

CANADA'S relations toward the Empire changed greatly in the years following Confederation—especially in the last decade of the 19th Century. Loyalty to British connection had always been a strong but fluctuating feeling—often unexpressed and frequently misunderstood. There were times when it was greatly tried, and this was especially the case in regard to the United States and British relations with that country. If, however, Great Britain had not always valued the waste lands of the continent in which she already held so large a stake, and was unable to see the future importance of certain places and boundaries which slipped out of her hands, she did, certainly, maintain her right to vast regions of territory. If there was a tendency in England to misunderstand and too readily accept American threats of war it was after all chiefly because of a pacific attitude and policy which Canadians themselves were prone to preach. If, at times, British statesmen thought or spoke slightly of certain Canadian interests, or territorial rights, they did little more than many people of the Dominion itself have since done as to the Hudson Bay regions, the prairies of the West, or the lands of the further North.

If there was an occasional British disposition to avoid American controversy and submit to a sometimes arrogant assertion of claims it was mainly because Canadians would, after all, be the first and greatest sufferers from war. If there were recollections of British negligence and of occasional losses of territory through diplomacy, there were, also, in the heart of every British subject in Canada memories of struggles for life and home and country in which Canadians had fought side by side with British troops—from the time

when they were painfully spared by an exhausted Mother-land in 1812 and 1814, through the troubles of 1837, in the frontier raids of the two succeeding years, during the Trent affair, when thousands of British troops were poured into the Provinces to defend them against a possible war, in the period of the Fenian Raids and during the events of the first Riel Rebellion.

There were many reasons for the maintenance and development of this loyal sentiment. The influence of an hereditary liking for monarchical institutions amongst French-Canadians, and of an intense personal feeling of allegiance amongst the United Empire Loyalists of the other Provinces, had a distinct effect upon their descendants. The personal factor in this connection received great impetus in the accession of Queen Victoria to the Throne, in the respect felt for the life and work and memory of the Prince Consort, and in the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1860. The latter event was one of direct interest and importance. The young Prince, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, and a large suite, visited all the principal places in Canada, and at Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and other points received ovations which fully illustrated the strength of existing loyalty to British institutions.

Another factor of great weight was the presence, influence and personality of successive British Governors. Lord Durham was the recognized founder of practical constitutionalism in Canada. Men like Lord Metcalfe and Lord Dalhousie impressed even hostile critics and antagonists with their personal honour and high principles. Lord Elgin was a model of courtesy in manner and of clever conciliation in rule. Lord Monck was a strong factor in promoting Confederation, and went further than the constitution, under ordinary circumstances, would have warranted, in pressing it to an issue. Sir Howard Douglas and Sir John Harvey, in the Maritime Provinces, were

models of careful, honourable administration. Lord Lisgar and others who preceded and succeeded him gave the society and the people of a new country most useful and practical examples of the best phases of English life and customs and manners. Lord Dufferin was a power in eloquence and popularity, which went very far towards consolidating and promoting British and Canadian sentiment in the geographically separated Provinces.

As the years rolled on towards the end of the century other forces came to the front. The formation of the Imperial Federation League in London—and afterwards in Canada—and the speeches, from year to year, of men like Lord Rosebery, W. E. Forster, Lord Brassey, Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) and others of a new school of Imperial statecraft, rolled away many a cloud of doubt which had shadowed the minds of even loyal Canadians, as to the British attitude toward the Colonies. Gradually, too, that wretched yoke upon the neck of Empire and unity, the Manchester School, disappeared from the area of influence, though not altogether from sight and sound. Better men were placed in charge of the Colonial Office, and, finally, Mr. Chamberlain came into a position of power which he did not hesitate to wield, and which changed the whole character of Imperial administration.

With the birth of the 20th Century came new conditions and the commencement of what may accurately be designated as the new Imperialism—a mixture of awakening sentiment, of varied practical considerations, of international changes and internal growth, of increasing knowledge and breadth of view, of national instincts which found a place within, rather than without, the Imperial idea. The death of Queen Victoria in 1901, was like the passing of a great era, and evoked an expression of feeling in Canada, as well as in other parts of the Empire, which was unexpected in its intensity and force; the accession of King Edward emphasized the stability of British

institutions, increased the popularity of the Crown and the influence of the Sovereign at home, in the external Empire and abroad; the character and policy of the King during his brief reign, the interest and sympathy evoked by his pre-Coronation illness, and his premature death in 1910, brought the personality of the Crown home to the people of Canada. So with the Royal tour of the Empire in 1901.

On September 17, 1900, it had been announced by the Colonial Office that the Queen had assented to the request of the Australian Colonies that H.R.H. the Duke of Cornwall and York (afterwards King George V) should open their newly-established Federal Parliament in the spring of 1901. On March 14th the Duke sailed from Portsmouth with the Duchess on a nine months' tour of the Empire—a distance of 40,000 miles by sea and land under the British flag and amongst communities owning the sovereignty or suzerainty of the British Crown. When they landed at Quebec on the 16th of September following they entered upon the first State visit of Royalty to the Dominion of Canada, and the first one which had reached out to the newer and vaster West. Quebec and Montreal, Winnipeg and Calgary, Edmonton and Regina, Vancouver and Victoria, Sherbrooke and Halifax, St. John and Charlottetown, vied with one another in the cordiality and loyalty of their reception. During the month of travel which followed and all along the 3,000 mile route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with its return and branch-line trips, brief stops were made at many small places as well as at the large ones; everywhere, whether the Royal train—which was a splendid special suite of cars prepared for the tour by the Canadian Pacific Railway—stopped or not, and whether the time was day or night, crowds stood at the stations to cheer and, if possible, to see their future King.

In 1908 the Prince of Wales—as the Duke had then become—again visited Canada to honour the Quebec Tercentenary, to stamp

that celebration of the founding of Quebec by Champlain with Imperial approval, to join in welcoming, on Canada's behalf, the representatives of the United States and France who joined in the demonstration with warships which helped to make it memorable, to witness the Pageant of French-Canadian history which scenery and art, nature and human skill, made so wonderful, to help Earl Grey, Governor-General since 1904, in his effort to weld French and English Canadians in kindlier and closer unity, to review 11,000 of the picked troops of Canada, with seamen from the splendid British men-of-war which had accompanied him from England, to attend a great Imperial banquet in the Citadel at Quebec—given by Lord Grey on July 25th and attended by F. M. Lord Roberts and the Duke of Norfolk, from Great Britain, with representatives from Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland.

His Royal Highness did not, on this occasion, go beyond Quebec, but in 1906 Prince Arthur of Connaught visited various centres in the country; in 1905 Admiral H.S.H. Prince Louis of Battenburg traversed the Dominion and made some able speeches on naval matters; in 1911 H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught came to Canada as Governor-General. In this latter year the Coronation of King George excited great interest amongst Canadians and, with these other events, served to strengthen the new Imperial sentiment and to help in casting it in a monarchical mould. The Preferential tariff of the Laurier Government in 1897 contributed another element to this process of growth, and was followed by similar action in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. On May 15, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, undertook in his famous Birmingham speech the tremendous campaign for British Tariff Reform and Preferential Empire policy which was destined to shatter the Conservative party of the United Kingdom, for a time; to remain for a decade one of the great issues of British politics and to become, in after-war years, a

recognized principle in certain phases of British fiscal and financial policy.

This remarkable speech produced a new ideal and principle of Empire; whether successful or not in its actual tariff details was not in the end material. The whole situation was new and absolutely different from anything which Bright or Cobden and the original free-traders could have conceived possible. As for Chamberlain, Preference and Reciprocity was his motto; a self-sustaining and self-sufficient Empire his ideal. In this way there arose the most strenuous agitation and political propaganda since the days of the Corn Laws abolition in England; from this speech there developed the resignation of the Colonial Secretary on September 18th; around it and succeeding ones waged a keen controversy which included every part of the Empire; out of it came the checking of German fiscal war upon Canada and the decision of that country not to retaliate upon the Dominion or upon Great Britain (by its threatened abrogation of the most-favoured clause) because of Canada's preferential policy and its surtax upon German goods as announced in Mr. Fielding's Budget of April 15, 1903. From it, also, came a tremendous impetus to the Canadian ideal of Preferential tariffs which had been fought for in Congresses of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire in 1892, 1896, 1900 and 1903 and, with renewed energy, in those of 1906 at Montreal and 1909 at Sydney; which the Laurier Government had put in operation for Canada and asserted at the Colonial Conferences of 1897, 1902 and 1907; which their Conservative predecessors had supported at the Conference of 1894 in Ottawa.

These Conferences require some consideration. They did not attempt the exercise of authority; they were purely consultative and advisory; they aimed at no constitutional change and effected no vital alteration in the machinery of Empire government or the practical process of unity. Yet they gradually developed from the

purely Colonial body of 1894, and the casual gathering of Colonial Premiers attending the Jubilee in 1897, into a permanent Imperial Conference meeting every four years with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom as President, *ex-officio*, and with a variously composed membership; they helped, in Canada, to change the idea of Imperial unity from an intangible aspiration into a certain reality; they brought Empire defence before the people as a necessity vital to themselves instead of being a far-off concern of the Mother-land alone; they aided in making Empire trade and tariffs and constitutions and party policies a tangible entity to many minds; they made the interests of Australia and South Africa and New Zealand and Newfoundland familiar to Canadian statesmen; they proclaimed such events as the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia, the opening of its first Parliament in 1901 by the Prince of Wales, and the inauguration in 1910 of the Union of South Africa, and its first Parliament by the Duke of Connaught, as interesting and potent events within a new Empire.

Other things helped in this development of a wider thought and policy. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association visited England in 1905, while the Imperial Press Conference of 1909 brought leading Canadian journalists into touch with British life and the inside politics of the Empire; the Coronations of 1902 and of 1911 took Canadians in thousands to London and gave them some perception of the pulse and heart-beat of Empire. The Queen's Own Regiment of Toronto was taken to England, in 1910, by Colonel Sir Henry Pellatt, to train with the British regular troops, and this helped to promote Canadian interest in the British army, while the exchange of British, Indian and Colonial officers with those of Canada, organized through Colonial arrangements, also brought Imperial and Canadian troops more closely together. The South African War built another brick into this edifice of unity. British visitors and British money

during the first decade of the 20th century poured into Canada—as did British emigration.

Apart from Royal visits a stream of British notables and public organizations came over in these years and, by speech, discussions and their personalities, helped the process of unification. The British Medical Association met in Toronto in 1906, and the Chambers of Commerce Congress was held in Montreal, while the British Association for the Advancement of Science went to Winnipeg in 1909. Many eminent men attended these gatherings, and in 1903 there began a rather remarkable succession of individual visits by notable British leaders—Bryce, Morley, John Burns, Kipling, Milner, Northcliffe, Beresford, Cardinal Logue, and a host of other celebrities, journalists, noblemen, financiers and investors, who travelled through Canada, and especially its great West.

Meanwhile, and very naturally, British investments in the Dominion had increased with phenomenal rapidity. The country and its great riches were becoming known; the United States was losing ground as the one-time magnet for the money of the world; the legislation of the British Parliament was not—to use the mildest terms—calculated to promote the home investment of capital. According to a careful estimate of the *Toronto Monetary Times* \$605,000,000 of British money came into Canada for investment during 1905-9. E. R. Wood, a financial authority of Toronto, put the comparative investment in Canadian securities during 1910 as follows: British \$189,000,000, Canadian \$38,900,000, United States \$3,500,000. At the close of 1910, according to the expert calculations of Sir George Paish, before the Royal Statistical Society in London, Great Britain had \$15,959,000,000 invested abroad, of which \$7,770,000,000 was invested in India and the Colonies. The visible or known British portion of this invested in Canada was \$1,865,000,000 as compared with \$2,930,000,000 in the United States—a country of

twelve times the population with over a century of progress and development to its credit.

CANADA IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

Into these developments of Empire thought or action was interjected in 1899 the South African struggle. Primarily this War was fought to preserve and conserve the liberty of British subjects in that far-off region, secondly to hold vast regions for the Empire as a whole, and thirdly to assert the absolute integrity of British soil against invasion. It appealed to Imperial sentiment everywhere though to Canadians this appeal ran counter to a century of education along pacifist lines of anti-war thought. Into the result were woven many currents of feeling and action. So far as the Dominion was concerned its final response and policy were partly the product of a new sentiment of military pride which had first been aroused by the gathering together of Canadian troops to subdue the Insurrection of 1885; partly as the consequence of a growth of Canadian sentiment which was local in scope and character, yet curiously anxious to make the Dominion known abroad and peculiarly sensitive to British opinion and approbation; partly as the outcome of genuine loyalty amongst the people to British institutions and to the Crown as embodied in the personality and *prestige* of the Queen; partly a result of the shock to sensitive pride which came from seeing the soil of the Empire in South Africa invaded by the Boers and the position of the Mother-land in Europe threatened by a possible combination of hostile Powers led by Germany. Upon the surface this last-mentioned cause was the principal and most prominent one.

There was no considerable precedent for the proffer of troops to the Imperial Government. During the Crimean War nothing had been done by the then unorganized Provinces except the voting of a sum of money for widows and orphans and the enlistment of the Hundredth Regiment. In the days of the Trent Affair and the

Fenian raids, the Fort Garry rising and the Saskatchewan rebellion, volunteers were available; but it was for the purpose of fighting upon Canadian soil in defence of Canadian homes. During the Soudan War of 1885 a small body of Canadian volunteers and voyageurs, paid from Imperial funds and enlisted by request of the British Commander, had gone up the Nile in Lord Wolseley's expedition and under the immediate command of Lieut.-Colonel F. C. Denison. But there was not much public interest in the matter and it hardly created a ripple upon the slow-rolling stream of Canadian thought. A large force, amid much local enthusiasm, had also departed from the shores of New South Wales. No doubt these precedents had some effect, but a greater factor was the one already mentioned of military feeling aroused amongst the people as a result of the battles of 1885 upon North-West soil and the sufferings, privations, and casualties amongst the soldiers who had then gone to the front. Imperial Conferences of a trade and political character, Imperial Leagues and Societies, the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886, Imperial Cables and Penny Postage had, perhaps, some indirect influence in preparing the path for military co-operation, but it was very indirect and not very visible in effect.

That a struggle should break out in far-away South Africa and create in Canada and Australasia an instantaneous intensity of interest is one of the most curious incidents in history. The fact of its being a war in which the territory of the Empire was threatened was the real reason for this stirring expression of loyal sentiment; the advance of public opinion in this respect is shown when it is remembered that in 1862 Canadian soil was menaced by the Trent affair and in 1866 by the Fenian raids without eliciting any special signs of sympathy from Australasia; while in 1878 the Empire of India was threatened with invasion by Russia, and again at the time of Pendjeh incident, without creating any great stir in either Canada or

Australia. So with the peril which faced Natal in 1879 from the blood-stained Impis of Cetywayo. In the case of the Transvaal embroglio, however, Canada showed a special interest from the first and the diplomatic contest between Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner was watched with keen attention; there was considerable isolated talk of volunteering for the front in case of war—though this was checked by a feeling that the struggle would be short and insignificant.

INTEREST SHOWN IN THE IMPERIAL SITUATION

Still, there was amongst military men a strong undercurrent of desire to raise some kind of volunteer force for active service and, in this connection, Lieut.-Colonel S. Hughes, M.P., was particularly enthusiastic. He introduced the subject in Parliament, on July 12th, while final negotiations were under way between President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain. The result of the discussion was that, despite the fact of Queensland having already offered troops and Colonel Hughes' expressed belief that 5,000 men would readily volunteer in Canada, the Government preferred not to take any immediate action, and the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, expressed a hope and belief that, in view of the absolute justice of the Uitlanders' claims, recognition would eventually be given them and war averted. On July 31st more definite action was taken, and the following Resolution, moved in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and seconded by the Hon. G. E. Foster in the absence, but with the approval of, Sir Charles Tupper as leader of the Opposition, was carried unanimously:

"That this House has viewed with regret the complications which have arisen in the Transvaal Republic, of which Her Majesty is Suzerain, from the refusal to accord to Her Majesty's subjects now settled in that region an adequate participation in its government. That this House has learned with still greater regret that the condition of things there existing has resulted in intolerable oppression and has produced great and dangerous excitement among several classes of Her

Majesty's subjects in Her South African possessions. That this House, representing a people which has largely succeeded, by the adoption of the principle of conceding equal political rights to every portion of the population, in harmonizing estrangements and in producing general content with the existing system of Government, desires to express its sympathy with the efforts of Her Majesty's Imperial authorities to obtain for the subjects of Her Majesty, who have taken up their abode in the Transvaal, such measure of justice and political recognition as may be found necessary to secure them in the full possession of equal rights and liberties."

The members, after passing the motion, sprang to their feet and sang "God Save the Queen," amid a scene of striking enthusiasm which was duplicated a little later in the Senate. Leading papers took up the subject and approved the sending of a force in case of necessity and, on October 2d, a few days before the war began, a large and representative meeting of Militia officers was held in Toronto and the following Resolution passed with enthusiasm on motion of Lieut.-Colonels George T. Denison and James Mason: "That the members of the Canadian Military Institute, feeling that it is a clear and definite duty for all British possessions to show their willingness to contribute in the common defence in case of need, express the hope that, in view of the impending hostilities in South Africa, the Government of Canada will promptly offer a contingent of Canadian Militia to assist in supporting the interests of our Empire in that country."

On the following day the Prime Minister was interviewed at Ottawa and expressed the opinion that it would be unconstitutional for the Militia, or a portion of it, to be sent out of Canada without the permission of Parliament, and that it would take some weeks to call that body together. Sir Wilfrid Laurier added that: "There is no doubt as to the attitude of the Government on all questions that mean menace to British interests, but in this present case our limitations are very clearly defined. And so it is that we have not offered a Canadian Contingent to the Home authorities." Meantime,

however, the matter had been under consideration, all the independent offers to serve from individuals or regiments had been duly forwarded to the Colonial Office, and each had received the stereotyped reply that, while negotiations were in progress, no further troops were required.

Public sentiment in Canada soon proved too strong for what might have been, in other circumstances, a legitimate constitutional delay. On September 27th Sir Charles Tupper, in a speech at Halifax, offered the Government the fullest support of the Conservative Opposition in the sending of a Contingent, and, on October 6th, telegraphed the Premier to the same effect. The British Empire League in Canada passed a Resolution declaring that the time had come when all parts of the Queen's dominions should share in the defence of British interests, and the *St. John Telegraph*—a strong Liberal paper—declared, on September 30th, that "Canada should not only send a force to the Transvaal, but should maintain it in the field." The *Montreal Star* sought and received telegrams from the Mayors of nearly every centre in the Dominion endorsing the proposal to despatch military assistance to fellow-subjects in South Africa. J. W. Johnston, Mayor of Belleville, represented the general tone of these multitudinous messages in the words: "It is felt that the Dominion, being a partner in the Empire, should bear Imperial responsibilities as well as share Imperial honours and protection." The *Toronto Globe*—the leading Ontario Liberal paper—also supported the proposal, and soon the country from Halifax to Vancouver was stirred as it had not been since the North-west Rebellion of 1885—perhaps as it had never been in the sense of covering the entire Dominion.

ATTITUDE OF FRENCH-CANADIANS

There was, inevitably, some opposition, and it was largely voiced by the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works in the

Dominion Government. It was not apparently a note of disloyalty; it was simply the expression of a lack of enthusiasm and the magnifying of constitutional dangers or difficulties. It was not to be expected that French-Canadians, amongst whom Mr. Tarte was a part leader, would regard the matter with just the same warmth of feeling as actuated English-Canadians; and very few believed that the absence of this enthusiasm indicated any sentiment of actual disloyalty to the Crown or the country. The people of Quebec had not been educated up to the point of participation in British wars and Imperial defence; they were, as a matter of fact, in much the same position that the people of Ontario had been in ten or fifteen years before. The influences making for closer Empire unity could never in their case include a racial link or evolve from a common language and literature. The most and best that could be expected was a passive and not distinctly unfriendly acquiescence in the new and important departure from precedent and practice which was evidenced by the announcement, on October 12th, that a Canadian Contingent had been accepted by the Imperial Government and was to be dispatched to South Africa.

The feeling of the country, generally, was too fervent to permit this particular obstacle from having more than an ephemeral and passing influence, while any opposition which did exist amongst French-Canadians soon assumed a passive character. Toward the end of October an already announced pledge from an anonymous friend* of Sir Charles Tupper's to insure the life of each member of the Contingent to the extent of \$1,000 was redeemed and, on October 24th, the following message was received through the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "Her Majesty the Queen desires to thank the people of her Dominion of Canada for their striking manifestations of loyalty and patriotism in their voluntary offer to send troops to co-

* This action was afterwards found to emanate from the ever-generous Lord Strathcona.

operate with Her Majesty's Imperial forces in maintaining her position and the rights of British subjects in South Africa. She wishes the troops God-speed and a safe return."

THE FIRST CONTINGENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The first Contingent of one thousand men steamed down the St. Lawrence from Quebec on October 30th, 1899, after farewell banquets to the officers and an ovation from immense crowds in the gayly decorated streets of the "Ancient Capital." For weeks before this date little divisions of 50, or 100, or 125 men had been leaving their respective local centres amidst excitement such as Canada had never witnessed before. St. John and Halifax, on the Atlantic coast, were met by Victoria and Vancouver, on the shores of the Pacific, in outbursts of patriotic enthusiasm. Toronto and Winnipeg responded for the centre of the Dominion and, at the Quebec "send off," there were delegations and individual representatives from all parts of the country. Every village which contributed a soldier to the Contingent also added to the wave of popular feeling by marking his departure as an event of serious import, while Patriotic Funds of every kind were started and well maintained throughout the country. It was, indeed, a manifestation of the military and Imperial spirit such as Canadians had never dreamed of seeing, and for many months the words upon every lip were those of the popular air—"Soldiers of the Queen."

The Commander of the Contingent was Lieut.-Col. W. D. Otter, who had seen active service in the North-west Rebellion. The troop ship *Sardinian* arrived at Cape Town on the 29th of November, and the Canadians were given a splendid reception—Sir Alfred Milner cabling Lord Minto that: "The people here showed in unmistakable manner their appreciation of the sympathy and help of Canada in their hour of trial." The Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry, as the Contingent was called, at once went up to De Aar,

and later on to Belmont, the scene of Lord Methuen's gallant fight. From here a portion of the Canadian troops took part in a successful raid upon Sunnyside, a place some distance away, where there was an encampment of Boers. A number of the enemy were captured, but the incident was chiefly memorable as the first time in history, as well as in the war itself, when Canadians and Australians had fought side by side with British regular troops.

Meanwhile, public feeling in Canada seemed to favour the sending of further aid, and its feasibility was more than shown by the thousands who had volunteered for the first Contingent, over and above those selected. But it was not until some of the earlier reverses of the war took place that the offer of a second Contingent was pressed upon the Home Government. On November 8th it was declined for the moment, but on December 18th events in South Africa and the pressure of loyal proffers of aid from Australia and elsewhere induced the Imperial Government to change their minds, the second Contingent from the Dominion was accepted, and once again the call to arms resounded throughout Canada. The first troops had been composed of infantry, the second was made up of artillery and cavalry. Eventually, it was decided to send 1,220 men, together with horses, guns and complete equipment, and they duly left for the Cape, in detachments, toward the end of January and in the beginning of February, 1900. A third force of 400 mounted men was recruited in the latter month and sent to the seat of war fully equipped, and with all expenses paid, through the personal and patriotic generosity of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the Canadian High Commissioner in London. In addition to "Strathcona's Horse," another independent force of 125 men was offered in similar fashion by the British Columbia Provincial Government and duly accepted at London and Ottawa though, for local reasons of political change, never despatched.

In 1901 another force of Canadian Mounted Rifles—900 men strong—was enlisted for service in South Africa under the authority of the Canadian Government and at the expense of the Imperial Government, while over 1,200 men were also enlisted on the same conditions for service in the South African Constabulary. Including in the total the 1,004 officers and men who volunteered for special garrison duty at Halifax in order to relieve the Imperial troops stationed there, this would give a contribution to the War, in this period, totalling 6,200 officers and men. In May, 1902, 509 officers and men sailed from Canada to the front, but were too late for active service. A Report on the Canadian Contingents issued at Ottawa on November 24, 1902—Peace had been signed on May 31st—gave the total Canadian force which went to South Africa as 7,368. Of these 224 died of disease or were killed and 252 were wounded.

As to details of Canadian experiences at the front a volume might be filled with interesting and even important data. The Royal Canadian Regiment, under Colonel Otter, was the largest unit from the Dominion. It won a high reputation for efficiency and discipline, and its share in the Battle of Peardeburg and defeat of Cronje on Dec. 18 and 27, 1901, was a clear proof of Canadian courage and military usefulness; the Battle of Hart's River, on March 31, 1902, was more than creditable to the gallantry of Lieut. Bruce Carruthers and a handful of other Canadians; the much-prized Victoria Cross was won upon different occasions by Lieut. H. Z. C. Churchill, of Toronto; Lieut. R. E. W. Turner, of Quebec, and Sergeant E. J. Holland, of Ottawa, and by Lieut. A. H. L. Richardson, of Strathcona's Horse.

Canada's place in the War was an important one and out of all proportion to the number of men sent to the front from the Dominion. The 7,000 Canadians in South Africa, the 15,000 volunteers contributed by Cape Colony, the 5,000 given by little Natal, the 8,000 sent

from Australia, indicated the assertion of a new and great principle of Imperial defence; a revolution was effected in war methods by the proved and superior mobility of Colonial forces in the contest; the actual record of the men themselves showed steadiness, reasonable discipline and bravery. The conduct of the Colonial troops was, indeed, such as to win general praise and to thoroughly warrant the statement in the Queen's speech at the opening of the British Parliament, on August 8th, 1900, that the war has "placed in the strongest light the heroism and high military qualities of the troops brought together under my banner from this country, from Canada, from Australasia, and my South African possessions."

CHAPTER XXVIII

American Relations and the Alaskan Boundary

THE relations between Great Britain and Canada under the Crown have no exact, or even near parallel in history; so also with their relations to other countries or nations. British America was acquired, in the first place, rather as a graduated result of the world-wide struggle between France and England than because of any set British plan or purpose. It was not conquered because any particular value was expected to accrue from its acquisition, nor was it retained for any other reason than a feeling of responsibility to its people and honour in its possession.

Prior to this time the whole region had been a veritable shuttlecock of fortune; mere cards in a great game of European war and maritime adventure. New France, Acadie, and the Hudson's Bay country, had been mixed up in whole, or in part, in numerous treaties before the final settlement came. The Treaty of Susa in 1629, the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, the Treaty of Westminster in 1655, the Treaty of Buda in 1667, the Treaty of Tyswick in 1697, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, all dealt with the interests or territory of the scattered populations of the region which afterwards made up the Dominion. With the settlement afforded by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, came a new complication in affairs, the removal of all foreign factors from the great American Continent—except in the far South—and the creation of a common tie of British allegiance between the one-time French and English Colonial enemies.

Twenty years sufficed to change conditions again and, by the Treaty of 1783, to recognize the Thirteen Colonies as an independent and alien Power and to constitute the French population, by the strange irony of fate, as the guardians of British territory and its

restricted continental influence. The Treaty did more than this. Relying upon anticipated American friendship, free trade and alliance, it endowed the United States with all the vast natural wealth of the Mississippi and the Ohio Valleys and just avoided transferring Quebec to the same country and people. It, in fact, provided the United States with enlarged boundaries on the south and west and north which determined its coming power and influence. Other treaties relating to boundaries, and ineffective in operation except as they tended to advance American claims and to indicate a British spirit of conciliation, were signed in 1794 and in 1803 by representatives of the two countries.

The War of 1812 effected changes of great importance. It settled the drift of destiny in British America along British lines; it established a new and strong tie between Great Britain and the immense, unknown territory which was thus preserved to the Crown by the bravery of its sons; it drew a line of fluctuating, but still distinct character, against American expansion to the north. The Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, by which the struggle was concluded, contained no very new assertions or principles, though out of it came a couple of somewhat important arrangements. By an informal diplomatic agreement between Sir Charles Bagot, British Minister at Washington, and Richard Rush, acting U. S. Secretary of State, in April, 1817, it was decided that all armed vessels on the Great Lakes should be dismantled and no more built, or armed therein. Great Britain and the United States should, however, each be allowed one vessel, not exceeding one hundred tons burthen and armed with an 18-pound cannon, on Lakes Ontario and Champlain, and two similar vessels on the Upper Lakes. The agreement was to be binding until six months' notice was given by either Power and, though never formally ratified by Congress or specially approved by Parliament, it gradually came to have the force of a treaty.

EARLY NEGOTIATIONS AND TREATIES

The Convention of London, in 1818, was negotiated and signed with a view to the settlement of the Fisheries question and the claims made by the United States to fish freely in British waters. The matter has been partly gone into elsewhere in this volume, but it is of such importance to a comprehension of general international relations that the Convention may be stated here to have given United States fishermen the right to fish outside of a three-mile limit of the British shores in America and to enter British bays or harbours for shelter, food, water and repairs. At the same time, the United States Government renounced definitely any liberty on the part of their fishermen to take, dry, or cure, fish on, or within three miles of, the coast of British North America. So far the arrangement was a good one for the Colonists and their country. At this point, however, the terms of the Convention passed on to deal with boundary matters and a combination of British indifference to territory and of utter ignorance of American character, aggressiveness and ambitions marked every phase of the negotiations. It was provided that the international boundary should be along the 49th parallel of north latitude from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains and that the country west of that great range, which was claimed by either party, should be free and open to the people of both nations for ten years.

Such an extraordinary clause as the latter was, perhaps, never included in a treaty before. The claims of the Americans to any of the country afterwards included in the States of Oregon and Washington were, at best, tentative and very weak. It is not likely that a strong stand would have been resented at this time to the point of war and, in any case, ten years' prolongation of the claims and agitation could only serve to strengthen American feelings, American rights of occupation and American power. The "Settlement" simply

postponed consideration of the matter until United States citizens should have time to pour into the country and claim it by virtue of present colonization, if not by right of discovery, or early and temporary occupation. Excuse for the apparently utter absence of statecraft in this arrangement is, perhaps, found in the severe sufferings and increased poverty of the poorer classes in Great Britain which followed the conclusion of the tremendous struggle with Napoleon; the rising influence of George Canning and his policy of attempted alliance with the United States against the despotic Powers of Europe as voiced in the creation of the original Monroe Doctrine; the entire absence in the public mind of England of any knowledge or appreciation of the possible value of these regions—a condition brought home to Canadians themselves more than a century later by Mr. Blake's description of British Columbia as nothing but a "sea of mountains."

The next Treaty affecting British America was that of 1825, between Great Britain and Russia, by which it was provided that "the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, shall forever enjoy the right of navigating freely and without any hindrance whatever, all the rivers (in Alaska) which in their course toward the Pacific Ocean may cross the line of demarcation." This clause was considered, and admitted, as binding upon the United States when the Republic afterwards purchased and took over the country from Russia. In 1842 and 1846 came two arrangements with the United States which stamp the astuteness of American leaders and the blunders of British statecraft in broad and vivid outline upon the map of Canada.

Around and through them runs the thread of political thought which did so much in its day to diminish British power and to weaken British prestige—the policy of the Manchester School. What were

territorial rights, or the future interests of Canadians, or the development of British power on the American continent, in comparison with an undisturbed peace which might facilitate the sale of a few more bales of cotton goods and promote immunity from increased responsibility or a little fresh taxation? They certainly were nothing to men like John Bright, who had begun to dominate public sentiment in England upon questions of this kind and who was able, not long after these events, to express pious and cosmopolitan aspirations for a future American Republic which should stretch in one unbroken expanse of life and liberty and happiness from southern seas to the Arctic regions!

TREATIES OF 1842 AND 1846

The Maine and Oregon boundary questions, which were disposed of by these Treaties, very nearly carried the two nations into war. The Maine question had been simmering since 1783 when the Treaty of that year determined the boundary between the State and the Province of New Brunswick to be the St. Croix River, with a line drawn from its source to the highlands dividing the waters falling into the Atlantic from those emptying into the St. Lawrence. The first form of the dispute was as to which river was the true St. Croix. This was settled against the Americans by a discovery of the remains of De Monts' unfortunate colony on the island at its mouth. Then, as the river had branches widely separated at the mouth, the issue turned upon which branch was meant in the Treaty. This was, also, settled in favour of the British by special Commissioners. Then, finally, the dispute turned upon the highlands; what they were and where they were. The American claim would have given the United States many of the chief tributaries of the St. John and a large part of New Brunswick. Not an iota of their contention would they abandon, or compromise, and ultimately, as settlers came into the disputed region, matters grew serious.

After a particularly violent quarrel, involving the despatch of British troops and Maine militia to the scene, the question was referred, in 1829, to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands. He declared, after prolonged examination, that the matter was beyond his power to determine and suggested a division of the territory in dispute. This was acceptable to neither country and the quarrel dragged on until 1839, when American cities bearing upon Upper Canada were sending out hordes of Fenian and other filibusters to prey upon their neighbour's territory. From Maine went a lot of lumbermen who entered the disputed territory to take logs in the teeth of the laws of both State and Province. The authorities of Maine and New Brunswick each despatched men to guard their interests and a fight took place amid the snow and ice of the forest wilderness. Sir John Harvey, Governor of New Brunswick, immediately issued a proclamation asserting British rights and demanding the retirement of American troops; Governor Fairfield, of Maine, responded by calling out 10,000 troops for active service.

WAR WITH AMERICA IMMINENT

War seemed imminent. Daniel Webster and other antagonists of England in the Republic clamoured for the arbitrament of force. The papers and the politicians were full of determination to take the territory. New Brunswick responded by sending regiments and artillery and volunteers to the front and the whole Province teemed with war excitement. The Canadas promised substantial aid and Nova Scotia voted £100,000 and all her militia amid intense enthusiasm and in a crowded house. Great Britain temporized, however, and the *London Times*, then and for many years the narrow but powerful organ of the Little Englanders, proposed that everything should be given up to the Americans which lay west of the St. John River. At the same time President Van Buren despatched General Winfield Scott to the scene of trouble with apparent instructions to

try and effect a compromise. Scott was a brave and judicious officer who had served against Harvey at Lundy's Lane and Stony Creek in 1812 and it was not long before the two came to an agreement which involved a temporary joint occupation of the disputed territory.

Three years later Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster were appointed Commissioners to settle the dispute. They were admirably fitted to duplicate the events of 1783 and 1818. The one was a good-natured believer in peace—at a high price if necessary—and was personally interested, through his connection with the Barings, in American financial securities. This latter point might not have directly affected his action, because no one has ever disputed his personal sense of honour, but the fact of his being a member of the Manchester school of political thought which considered British external responsibilities as a burden and Colonial possessions as useless is beyond question. His appointment was, therefore, a disgrace to the Melbourne Government. In 1843, after the Treaty was negotiated, he declared, according to Greville's *Memoirs*, that "the whole territory was worth nothing" and, in 1846, he assured the House of Commons regarding the kindred Oregon territory dispute that it was "a question worthless in itself." Webster, on the other hand, was a keen American statesman, with a shrewdness which bordered on unscrupulousness and without any hampering friendship for England or for British interests.

The result of such negotiations was inevitable. Out of the 12,000 square miles of disputed territory, 5,000 went to New Brunswick; 7,000 square miles of the most valuable portion went to Maine; the Dominion of the future was shut off from an Atlantic winter port; a wedge of American soil was pushed up into the heart of the Maritime Provinces; and Lord Ashburton returned to England with a treaty of renewed peace and amity. Incidentally, Mr. Webster was able to ensure the ratification of the Treaty in the American Senate

by showing that body a map drawn by Franklin in connection with the arrangements of 1783 and marked by a red line which revealed the British contention to be absolutely correct. Such was the Ashburton Treaty and its environment of events.

That of Oregon was even worse for British and Canadian interests. By the Convention of 1818, as already mentioned, there was a large extent of unoccupied territory on the Pacific coast which England seemed to care little about and which was held for the Crown by the very insecure and vague lease of the Hudson's Bay Company—the claims of which were supported by the discoveries of Captain Cook, Vancouver, and other seamen or travelers. The whole region had been thrown open to general settlement in 1818 and, in 1826, the 49th parallel was accepted as the Continental boundary line. This left the British Columbia of to-day on one side of the line and the future States of Oregon and Washington upon the other—with the Hudson's Bay Company exercising its commercial privileges and a sort of shadowy sovereignty over the whole region. About 1845, however, their diplomatic success in the Maine matter had been so marked, and the desire to expend westward had grown so strong, that United States papers and politicians, and the people themselves, began to clamour for the whole Pacific coast territory right up to the bounds of Russian Alaska. The agitation grew with what it fed upon and very soon the cry of "fifty-four, forty or fight"—in reference to the Southern boundary of Russian America being at latitude $54^{\circ} 40'$ —rang through the Republic in very threatening tones.

Commissioners were appointed and, although the American Government did not get all they desired, they did obtain, by the Oregon Treaty of 1846, the splendid Puget Sound region and the lower valley of the Columbia, to which it is hard indeed to find any legitimate right or proven claim. The further question of the

boundary delimitation through the Fuca Straits, under this Treaty, caused the San Juan question of a later date, the joint occupation of the little island by British and American troops in 1856 and the arrival of General Winfield Scott, in 1859, to once more act the part of pacificator. A temporary settlement, which lasted until 1872, was patched up and then the German Emperor, acting as Arbitrator under the terms of the Treaty of Washington, decided in favour of the American contention as to the boundary channel and awarded San Juan Island to the United States.

THE FENIAN RAIDS

A word must be said here as to the Fenian raids. References have already been made to them but their scope and character were of such a nature as to fittingly warrant special consideration in this place. Like the raids made by the rebels of 1837 and by their filibustering friends from across the border in 1838-39, these incidents of frontier aggressiveness grew naturally out of the bitter feelings against England which had been cultivated as a duty and a pleasure by Irishmen living in the United States. When the United States, in 1866, began to press Great Britain for compensation in the Alabama case and to develop the keen feelings of animosity which found vent in the rejection of the Reverdy Johnson Treaty and in the abrogation of the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood of New York and other cities found its opportunity for self-assertion and attempted achievement. Popular ignorance of the condition, population, sentiments and constitutional system of British America had something to do with the large and immediate response to a call to arms issued by the organization; popular belief in the fact of British tyranny and the British flag being synonymous terms, and of similar application in Ireland and in Canada, also assisted; while the existence of a large body of men who had become accustomed to the free, fighting life of soldiers in the Civil War and

were not now inclined to settle down in the industrious paths of peace, was a source of much strength to the movement.

After months of public drilling and arming in American border towns, the announcement came across the frontier in March, 1866, that an invasion might be expected on St. Patrick's Day. Ten thousand militia were promptly ordered out by Major-General Sir P. L. McDougall, then Commander of the Forces in British America, and 14,000 appeared on parade the day after the order was issued. They were on duty for some weeks but as no hostile action was taken, except an attempt to seize an island on the coast of New Brunswick which was promptly met by the calling out of the Provincial militia, the most of them were allowed to return home. On June 1, 1866, however, the actual raid commenced with the landing of 1,000 Fenians from Buffalo on the banks of the Niagara River, near Fort Erie, and the capture of that place. Colonel Peacocke, of the 16th Regiment, was placed in command of the forces on the frontier and these soon included 500 regular British troops, a battery of Royal Artillery, the 13th Battalion of Militia under Lieut.-Colonel Booker, the York and Caledonia Companies of Volunteers, the Dunnville Naval Volunteers, the Governor-General's Body-Guard of Toronto under Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Denison, the 19th Battalion of St. Catharines, the Queen's Own and Royal Grenadiers of Toronto—the former under Lieut.-Colonel Stoughton Dennis—and the Welland Artillery. There were about 2,300 men altogether.

The intention of the Fenians was to destroy the Welland Canal, but at Ridgeway they were met by 840 militiamen under Colonel Booker. Owing to the failure of a subordinate officer to carry out certain instructions, the arrangements for co-operation between the forces of Booker and Peacocke failed to materialize and the former's force, after fighting for some time, finally retired before the Fenians with a loss of nine killed and thirty wounded. The battle of Ridgeway

was nominally a defeat and especially regrettable because it prevented the capture of the Fenian army which might have been accomplished had the original plan of operations been carried out. However, it saved the Canal and seems to have sufficiently scared the invaders. Neither Colonel Peacocke nor Colonel Booker were to blame for the result, although both have suffered much from unjust and ignorant criticism. Shortly after the fight the Fenians escaped across the river under guard of an American gunboat. For several weeks, however, seven thousand of them remained concentrated at Buffalo, threatening another attack, and a strong force was maintained at Fort Erie to meet any such attempt. Meanwhile, a large body of filibusters arrived at Ogdensburgh, N. Y., but the presence of 2,000 regulars and volunteers who had rapidly gathered at Prescott, and of a gunboat patrolling the St. Lawrence, effectually prevented an attack. On June 7th, some eighteen hundred of the enemy crossed the frontier into the Eastern Townships of Quebec but, on hearing of the concentration of 1,100 regulars and militiamen at Huntingdon, with a reserve of 5,000 troops at Montreal, they very wisely did not press the advance and shortly afterwards dispersed. This ended the Raids of 1866.

Four years afterwards large numbers of Fenians gathered on the frontiers of Quebec and again the militia had to be called out. Within three days of the call, 13,489 men, with 18 field-guns, were in position at the points designated and, on May 25, 1870, a skirmish took place at Eccles' Hill, in Mississquoi, in which 200 Fenians were driven out of a strong position and across the border by forty men of the 60th Battalion and some thirty-seven farmers of the neighbourhood, under Lieut.-Colonel Brown Chamberlin. A second invasion in the Huntingdon direction was met and similarly repulsed. In Ontario there were other alarms and threatened invasions, but no actually hostile effort. Over a year later, in October, 1871, a small

band of Fenians crossed the Manitoba border, but were followed by American troops and taken back without having time to inflict any injury. This ended the Fenian raids which, in direct expenditure, cost the Provinces a million and a quarter dollars and, in the more indirect losses to business and trade, a much larger sum.

They are notable as showing the extraordinary inconsistency at times visible in American politics and diplomacy. Although demanding immense sums from Great Britain for the accidental escape of the *Alabama* from a British harbour, the same Government and people openly permitted these Fenian invaders of a presumably friendly state to arm and drill within American territory, to march out of that territory on an avowed mission of war and bloodshed, and to return again without fear and without punishment. They let this go on for years and result in repeated invasions; even while repudiating responsibility during concurrent negotiations. And, finally, they refused all indemnification, or even a consideration of it, to the Canadian victims of this "neutral" system. The raids are interesting, also, as illustrating the attitude of England towards the States, her intense desire to avoid irritating subjects of discussion, her willingness to pay Canada's claims upon the Republic rather than to herself press demands for compensation. In this way, and for these reasons, the losses of Canada were not considered in the Treaty of Washington, and the United States escaped all responsibility for its practical, though not technical, share in the invasions.

THE BEHRING SEA QUESTION

Following the Treaty of Washington (dealt with elsewhere) which settled Anglo-American disputes for a few years, came the Atlantic fisheries trouble which would have been disposed of in 1888 by the Treaty negotiated in that year between Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, had the arrangement been ratified by the American Senate. Then, the Behring Sea

question developed and the United States practically demanded the control of the seal fisheries of the Pacific Coast and the right to suppress British fishing in the waters of that region. The real reason for this action was found in the claims of the Alaskan Seal Company—an American corporation of great wealth and influence—to a monopoly in those waters; the nominal reason given was the prevention of pelagic, or open sea, sealing in order to avert the extinction of the herd. This latter point was practically disposed of by the Report of a Commission of Inquiry appointed by Great Britain and composed of Sir George Baden-Powell, M.P., and Prof. George M. Dawson of Ottawa. It showed clearly that the herd was, in the first place, in no danger of extinction and that, if it were, the Alaskan Company and the American sealers were hardly the best guardians of its welfare.

In 1892, a treaty was made by which the whole matter was referred to arbitration and, at the tribunal which subsequently met at Paris, with Sir John Thompson, Premier of Canada, as one of the British Arbitrators, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper as British Agent and Christopher Robinson, Q.C., of Toronto, as one of the British Counsel, a decision was given upholding Canada and Britain in practically every point. Damages for the seizures which had been made in Pacific waters of British ships were awarded and the amount left to future assessment. After prolonged controversy this also was settled by a Convention held at Washington in 1896, and nearly half a million dollars was paid to Canadian sealers in compensation for their losses.

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY QUESTION

Meantime, another boundary trouble had developed in Alaska as a result of the United States purchase of that region from Russia in 1867, and the negotiation of a treaty two years later which proved abortive. The question was a complicated one involving old-time

records and Russian treaties together with the question of an ocean outlet for the Canadian Yukon. In 1872, shortly after British Columbia had joined the Dominion, its Legislature passed a Resolution urging the proper laying down and definition of the boundary line. The Canadian Government pressed this matter upon the London authorities, and Sir Edward Thornton wrote to Earl Granville, on November 18th, that President Grant had promised to recommend an International Commission. This was done on December 2d in his annual message to Congress, but action was refused on the ground of expense. The question in succeeding years was discussed from time to time. On June 16, 1874, the Canadian Government urged a settlement in the matter, while the British Minister at Washington again, and unsuccessfully, pressed for action.

On November 23, 1874, the Canadian Government urged an "expeditious settlement of the boundary," and in September, 1876, there was a prolonged discussion between the Governments concerned as to the location of the boundary in the neighbourhood of the Stikkeen River. In March, 1877, on October 1st, and again on December 6th, and December 24th, the Canadian Government made fruitless efforts to obtain proper international surveys and a delimitation of the boundary line. Finally, a Convention was signed on July 22, 1892, for a co-incident or joint survey of the region in question with a view to the consideration and establishment of a boundary line. This agreement was afterwards re-affirmed and the time extended to December 31, 1895. But nothing was done, and a similar fate followed the signing of another convention on January 30, 1897. Then came the gold excitement and the Joint High Commission which met at Quebec and Washington in 1898.

Upon this occasion the British Commissioners proposed a compromise by which the United States should retain Dyce and Skagway, and other portions of the territory in dispute, while Canada

should have Pyramid Harbour, and thus obtain an ocean outlet from the Yukon. This was refused, and the British Commissioners then asked for arbitration by a tribunal of jurists—one being an umpire appointed by some mutually friendly Power. This was rejected, as was also a proposal to have an arbitration based upon and following the lines of the Venezuela settlement. On the other hand, Canada and Great Britain refused to agree to the proposal of a Judicial Commission plus acceptance of the undisturbed ownership by the United States of all territory then occupied by its citizens. Upon this latter point negotiations broke down and the Commission adjourned indefinitely.

SETTLEMENT OF THE BOUNDARY QUESTION

A few years later negotiations were resumed between the three Governments concerned, and, on January 24, 1903, a treaty was signed at Washington by the Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, and Sir Michael Herbert, British Ambassador. By its terms seven questions were to be submitted to an international tribunal: "The Tribunal shall consist of six impartial jurists of repute who shall consider judicially the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe an oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented to the Tribunal, and will decide thereupon according to his true judgment." In the House of Commons at Ottawa, Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared on March 13th, following, that the treaty was an "eminently fair" one and "a great victory over the pretensions advanced by the United States." As Arbitrators the United States appointed the Hon. Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge and Senator George Turner, of Washington. The British representatives were Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England; Sir Louis A. Jetté, Lieut.-Governor of Quebec; A. B. Aylesworth, K.C., successor to Hon. J. D. Armour, who died soon after his appointment. The Commission sat in London, and, after a discussion

which was followed by partisans on both sides of the Atlantic with intense interest, announced its decision on October 20, 1903.

By its award the right of the United States to control a strip of land sufficient to shut Canada off from tidewater north of Portland was confirmed, and the rich mining districts of Glacier Creek and the Porcupine River were laid under the jurisdiction of the United States. The disputed entrance to Portland Canal was defined by a line passing by Tongas Inlet and to the northwestward of Wales and Pearse Islands, and a line drawn from the head of Portland Canal to the 56th degree, north latitude. The interior frontier of the strip adjudged to the United States was drawn by lines connecting certain mountains between Portland Canal and Mount St. Elias, retreating inland at the head of Lynn Canal, to provide the ten marine leagues which had been stipulated by treaty as the maximum width of the strip. The two Canadian representatives, who had stood firmly for what they believed to be Canada's rights, refused to sign the agreement, which was therefore, handed down as a majority decision. It must be said that neither the United States nor Canadian Commissioners appear to have remembered the judicial side of the matter; each stood for his own country and its claims.

Meanwhile, through Washington dispatches in Canadian papers, and by means of the American cables which formed the basis of all Canadian news from Great Britain, the people of the Dominion had been led to expect a surrender by Lord Alverstone in the "interests of peace," and this feeling in the end became an almost universal Canadian fear. It paved the way for the outburst of indignation which followed the announcement of the decision on October 20th, the protest and refusal of Messrs. Aylesworth and Jetté to sign the Award and the fact that Canada appeared to get the worst of the judgment. Lord Alverstone's elaborate statement in the premises was not cabled to Canada, few Canadians ever saw or heard of it,

and only two or three newspapers republished it long afterwards from belated English journals.

Public opinion was, therefore, formed upon the protests and statements of the two Canadian Commissioners and their belief that the decision was "a sacrifice of the interests of Canada." Mr. Aylesworth was given a notable banquet in Toronto on November 2d, and allayed, by caution and coolness, something of the violent feelings which had been aroused. Meanwhile the Prime Minister had declared in the House of Commons that the only way to meet this or similar issues in the future was for Canada to make its own treaties subject only to veto by the Crown. The issue as a whole was distinctly detrimental to Imperial sentiment in Canada; had not the South African War evoked and consolidated British feeling a short time before, the result might have been a serious one.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Laurier Government, Reciprocity, and the Elections of 1911

MEANWHILE the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had, since 1896, been making history while Canada was advancing steadily along lines of larger development toward a new stage of national growth and political change.

The coming into power of Mr. Laurier and the Liberals in 1896 had closed an historic period of nearly 18 years of Conservative rule in Canada with Sir John Macdonald as the dominating personality and influence—a factor even after his death in 1891. Varied and disintegrating influences had developed in these later years, however; the rapidly-succeeding deaths of Sir John Abbott and Sir John Thompson, and the absence in England of Sir Charles Tupper, removed men of light and leading from the party; Sir Charles Tupper came back too late to effect the necessary readjustments and restore public confidence. Meanwhile, a new star in the firmament of politics had been steadily forging to the front. Like Sir John Macdonald, Wilfrid Laurier had a distinct, vivid personality of his own, though in all specific details no two men could be more unlike. Picturesque in appearance, even as a young man, Mr. Laurier became more so as he grew older; eloquent in youth, as the years passed he was one of the few orators of Canadian public life; possessed of many of the finest characteristics of his race, he came, in time and despite all the exigencies of politics and the animosities aroused by vital issues, to hold the personal affection of his followers and the respect of the people.

He rose steadily and surely in public life. As a young man he forged his way into the Legislature in 1871, into the Commons in

1874, into the Dominion Government in 1877; he came into the leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada in 1887, into the Premiership of Canada in 1896, into the Privy Council of Great Britain in 1897. At this point it may be said that the young lawyer and politician was rather fortunate in leaving Montreal in 1867 and starting the practice of law in the little village of Arthabaskaville. He thus avoided complications which might easily have environed him in connection with the excitable politics and conditions of that period in Montreal; it certainly provided him with his seat in the Quebec Legislature where, on November 10, 1871, he made a speech which was so fluent, cultivated, charming, polished in language and elevated in character as to attract immediate attention. In the House of Commons on April 15, 1874, this first speech dealing with the Fort Garry Rebellion of Louis Riel also made a pronounced impression and a friendly critic who heard it has left a description of his sonorous and vibrating voice, his wealth and variety of intonation, his chaste simplicity of gesture, and natural ease and grace of attitude. In another famous speech on Political Liberalism, Mr. Laurier, in 1877, enunciated certain ideals which practically created a new Liberalism in French Canada, paved the way for the removal of Church hostility which had been aroused by various events in the previous twenty years, and made a splendid basis for racial conciliation and friendship—if the precepts were lived up to in practice.

The succeeding career of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was filled with scenes of picturesque character and of complicated public and party nature, or strenuous controversial issue with varied incidents of Imperial splendour or National importance. Picture him on the Champs de Mars, Montreal (November 20, 1885), standing beside Honoré Mercier and before a sea of faces alight with the passionate feeling of his race, declaring that the Government of Sir John Macdonald, in allowing Riel to be hung, had "committed an act of

inhumanity and cruelty unworthy of a civilized nation." Picture him in Tory Toronto facing a great audience during the elections of 1887 and proclaiming similar sentiments with eloquent tongue and with a courage which deserved and received its mead of public admiration. Picture him in the bitterness of disappointment over the elections of 1891, and in profound pessimism of spirit as to the future of a country he believed to be guided by a loyalty to Britain which was only the covering for party corruption, telling a Boston audience that "the time will come in the very nature of things when separation (from Great Britain) will take place." Picture him years afterwards, in 1897, as Prime Minister of Canada, fresh from a great victory, with buoyant spirits and characteristic French cheerfulness, loaded with British honours to supplement those of his own country, telling audiences in Great Britain that the time was coming when she should call Canada to her Councils.

The Elections of 1896 were fought chiefly upon the issue of a Government described by the Opposition as moribund and unable any longer to handle public affairs; upon the matter of Separate Schools in Manitoba which Mr. Laurier handled with remarkable skill; upon the, as yet, unexpressed and quite unmeasured desire of the French-Canadians to have one of their own, in race and religion, as the head of the Dominion. Sir Charles Tupper had put up a splendid and, for a man of his age, remarkable fight, but in the end he was beaten and, on July 8th, the new Laurier Government was sworn in by Lord Aberdeen as Governor-General. The Cabinet included a group of notable men. There was Sir Oliver Mowat, a tried and trusted Premier of Ontario for nearly 24 years; Hon. W. S. Fielding, for a dozen years Premier of Nova Scotia; Hon. A. G. Blair, for a similar period, Premier of New Brunswick; Sir Richard Cartwright, a Liberal veteran of unexcelled skill in debate, of great Parliamentary constitutional authority and lawyer of high repute; Hon. J. Israel

Tarte, a French-Canadian of aggressive character and political experience. Sir H. Joly de Lotbinière, Hon. William Mulock, Hon. S. A. Fisher, Hon. R. W. Scott, Hon. Clifford Sifton, Hon. James Sutherland, combined to constitute a government fitted in character and capacity to lead Canada along new lines of development.

During the next decade Canada made substantial progress. Its trade increased, its industries expanded, its population grew by immigration, its production increased, its Railway mileage leaped upwards, its Bank deposits multiplied ninefold, its revenue and expenditure increased greatly. In the 12 years of 1897-1908 the total trade of Canada was \$5,152,259,709 as compared with \$2,626,-221,618 in 1885-96. The Government first effected a compromise with the Manitoba Government as to the School question which proved fairly satisfactory; it carried through Parliament a Plebiscite Bill for a vote on Prohibition of the Liquor traffic which resulted in a large majority against Prohibition in Quebec and a total, from the whole Dominion, of 13,916 in favour; in 1897 the Government appointed a Committee of the Government to enquire into fiscal conditions. Mr. Fielding, as Minister of Finance, remodelled the Tariff (1) by reducing duties slightly upon certain necessities and staple commodities; (2) by placing on the Free list certain articles of necessity to the farmer, miner and fisherman and some raw materials for the manufacturer; (3) by simplifying the classification of articles for duty purposes. More important than these changes was the establishment of a British Preferential tariff under which goods from Great Britain were admitted to Canada at a rate of 25 per cent less than similar foreign products. A little later this preference was increased to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

Meanwhile, in order to make this preference applicable, in certain legal respects, Great Britain gave notice to Germany and in due course abrogated certain trade treaties with that Power and

Belgium; this action and the Preference itself were resented and retaliation upon Britain threatened because of Canada's action; the Dominion itself was placed under the German maximum tariff as a penalty. Canada responded with a Surtax, or a duty in addition to the ordinary one, of one-third and the trade of Germany in Canada fell by 50 per cent. Incidentally, the Laurier Government took the line that they did not ask a return Preference from Great Britain because such a request would be interfering with British free-trade policy and, later on, the Cobden Club awarded a medal to Sir Wilfrid for his adherence to the Free-trade principle or theory. Some years later an "anti-dumping" law was passed to protect Canadian manufacturers against the "slaughtering" of American goods which then was a well-known method of acquiring control of a country's market; in 1902 the duty on Printing paper was reduced from 25 to 15 per cent in order to break an attempted "Combine" in that product. From time to time, following this period, the Tariff was revised in various moderate forms—the chief revision being in 1906 when an Intermediate rate was created; the Preferential rate was extended to most of the other British countries and a return preference given in New Zealand, South Africa and Barbadoes; a commercial treaty was made with Japan and its minimum tariff granted to Canada while a treaty arrangement was also made with France along lines of mutual reduction; it was claimed that the rate of average Customs taxation of Canada had been reduced from \$18.28 in 1896 to \$15.66 in 1907.

The General Elections of November, 1900, turned largely upon whether the Government had done its full duty in helping Great Britain during the South African War. Sir Charles Tupper, who had led the Conservative Opposition since his own defeat in 1896, claimed that more men should have gone from Canada and that the Government should have encouraged them to go and paid all expenses



SIR WILFRID LAURIER



LADY LAURIER



THE LAURIER HOME

According to the will of the late Lady Laurier this residence of the late Liberal Chieftain was left, with its historic contents, to be the Ottawa home of future Leaders of the Liberal Party in Canada.



THE PRINCE OF WALES' RANCH
near High River, Alta.

—instead of only \$2,000,000 for the first Contingent. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, campaigned Quebec against any idea or belief that this sending of troops would be a precedent for future wars and denounced the Conservatives as ultra-Imperialists. The Premier urged his British Preferential policy upon the electorate of Ontario as an indication of his loyalty to Empire interests. The result showed a Conservative majority of 18 in Ontario, a Liberal sweep of Quebec where the Government got 58 seats out of 65, and a net Liberal majority over the Dominion of 53. Three Conservative leaders—Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. G. E. Foster and Hon. H. J. Macdonald—were defeated in their constituencies. At the beginning of the 1901 Session of Parliament the Conservative leader resigned and Robert Laird Borden, K.C., member for Halifax, who had only been five years in public life, was chosen to succeed him.

In 1903 the growing development of the Canadian West was recognized by the inception of the Grand Trunk Pacific project. On March 27th the House of Commons received a petition asking for the incorporation of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Co. with a capital of \$75,000,000 and with the following incorporators: Hon. George A. Cox, E. R. Wood and Lieut.-Col. H. M. Pellatt, Toronto; Hon. William Gibson, Beamsville; John R. Booth, Ottawa; Hon. H. B. Rainville, M.L.A., Quebec; Charles M. Hays, Frank W. Morse and William Wainwright, Montreal, and John Bell, K.C., Belleville. The route proposed was from Quebec to Port Simpson, or Bute Inlet, on the Pacific Coast with, also, branch lines to Port Arthur, Brandon, Regina and Calgary, respectively, and a branch from British Columbia to Dawson City. Three days later the incorporation measure was introduced, and on July 31st, after the proposed line had been discussed in Committee of the House and in the press with much vigour and variety of opinion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier presented to Parliament his "Act to provide for the con-

struction of a National Trans-continental Railway." In an eloquent speech the Premier pointed out that the measure was divided into two parts. The first provided for a Commission, to be composed of three members, which would be empowered to build the Government portion of the line from Moncton to Winnipeg; the second part provided for the ratification of a contract which had been entered into between the Government and the gentlemen who were seeking incorporation, as above, to build from Winnipeg west to the Pacific.

Before going into details the Premier stated his belief that there was an almost universal wish in the country for a transcontinental railway which should be absolutely and entirely upon Canadian soil, and thus meet a national as well as a commercial need. He did not believe in delay; "The flood-tide is upon us that leads to fortune; if we let it pass it may never occur again. If we let it pass the voyage of our national life, bright as it is to-day, will be arrested in the shallows." The project was necessary to meet the needs of the growing West; it was needed in order to advance the independent interests of Canada, with an entire Line on Canadian territory, and its terminus in Canadian waters. The best and most effective way to maintain friendship with our American neighbours was, he declared, to be "absolutely independent of them." He did not anticipate any large eventual cost to the country and his first estimate (Parliament, July 30, 1903) was about \$12,000,000 of responsibility for Interest on certain bonds; it appears to have been thought that the Grand Trunk Railway and the new Company would be able to meet all obligations of construction and interest. The Premier (July 30) added: "The sum total of the money to be paid by the Government for the construction of that line of railway from Moncton to the Pacific will be in the neighbourhood of \$12,000,000 or \$13,000,000."

R. L. Borden and the Opposition, during weeks and months of

ensuing debate in this Session, and in that of 1904, criticized the project, the arrangement, the terms of construction, as involving a serious check to Government ownership of railways in Canada; as enabling the Grand Trunk Railway to practically control the Intercolonial; as reversing the policy under which the latter Government road had been extended to Montreal; as enabling the Grand Trunk to direct the entire traffic of the new road to Portland and other United States ports; as costing the country a sum varying in estimate from \$65,000,000 to over \$200,000,000; as being built for the benefit of partisan capitalists rather than of the people. Mr. Borden presented an alternative proposal which included the extension of the Intercolonial to a Georgian Bay port by the Government acquisition of the Canada Atlantic Railway; the acquisition of running rights on the Canadian Pacific from North Bay around the shores of Lake Superior to Fort William; operation by an independent Commission; assistance to the Grand Trunk Pacific Co., on reasonable terms, to build a line north of the Canadian Northern as far west as Edmonton.

He did not think that there was any present demand for extension beyond Edmonton. In the Session of the following year he declared for public ownership and construction of the entire road. The Government policy was approved by Parliament and construction at once proceeded with, while the Elections of 1904 were fought chiefly upon the details of the plan. Eventually, the total cost ran into the hundreds of millions and, through war-time conditions of a world-wide nature was, in 1918-19 transferred to the shoulders of the people of Canada. Before the 1904 Elections took place, there occurred in 1902, the resignation of Mr. Tarte from the Government upon the nominal ground of belief in higher protective duties than his colleagues would accord, and, in 1904, that of A. G. Blair, Minister of Railways, because of differences with the Premier upon the

Railway policy. Bounties on iron and steel products were increased, in 1903, on a graduating scale which came to an end in 1910.

An important incident of 1904 was the dismissal of Lord Dundonald from the command of the Canadian Militia. This distinguished British officer, in a speech at Montreal, criticized the Minister of Militia indirectly, and the administration of affairs directly, by the charge that political influence controlled militia appointments and policy. That there was truth in the charge became obscured in the mass of constitutional verbiage which ensued, in the Government claim that no appointed officer could or should criticize, in public, the Minister he was serving, and in the declaration that Canadian autonomy must be conserved. A storm was raised in Ontario by the dismissal, Lord Dundonald was given ovations at several great mass-meetings, the position he had held was abolished and the command of the militia was nominally placed in the hands of a Militia Council with a Chief of Staff who was, however, a British officer and in practical control of things.

A redistribution of seats had followed the Census of 1901, and in the general elections of 1904 the Laurier Government were once more confirmed in power by a continued majority of 54 to 11 in Quebec, and a total majority in the Dominion of 64. There was no very definite issue except that of the Government policy in railway matters and Mr. Borden's contention that if the country built, or was responsible under loans and guarantees for building, the Grand Trunk Pacific, the country and not a corporation should own it. The succeeding year, 1905, was memorable for the birth of two new Provinces in the West and for a new sectarian and educational controversy. In granting autonomy and Provincial powers within the Dominion to the greater part of the region hitherto known as the North-West Territories the Government and Parliament of Canada recognized the growing greatness of the West, its increasing popula-

tion and interests and its right to new privileges in a new nation. Under the terms of the measure presented to Parliament by Sir Wilfrid Laurier on February 21st, and out of the 1,112,527 square miles in the Territories, 550,345 square miles were apportioned almost equally between the two new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, while the balance of land in the far north—not supposed to be fitted for agricultural settlement—was left to a reorganized Territorial administration.

Each new Province was supposed to have about 250,000 people and the ownership of the public lands, on account of Dominion interest in settlement, immigration, etc., were retained under Dominion control. What then seemed the liberal financial terms of \$50,000 a year each for Civil Government, \$200,000 per capita allowance—increasing pro-rata until the population reached 8,000,000—\$405,375 as a Debt allowance and \$375,000 as a compensation allowance for retaining the public lands, were granted. This total of \$1,030,370 a year, to commence with, would, in each Province and for five years, be supplemented by a special Dominion grant for buildings and public works. After these details had been treated at length by the Premier, in his speech to Parliament, he came to the vital and delicate question of Education. Practically, and stripped of all constitutional and technical details, his policy and legislation was the rendering permanent in the new Provinces of any educational rights held by Roman Catholics upon their entry into Confederation—in other words the establishment for all time to come of Separate School rights for the minority in those regions. As Sir Wilfrid explicitly said: "The minority shall have the power to establish their own schools and the right to share in the public moneys."

This policy at once aroused the ultra-Protestant sentiment of the country and stirred to wild excitement the Orange element in

Ontario. Protests poured into Ottawa, meetings were held everywhere in English Canada—outside of the Provinces actually affected and which seemed indifferent to the issue. Quebec was rallied to the support of the Laurier Government. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, resigned in protest against “the forcing of Separate Schools” upon the future great population of the West; F. W. G. Haultain, Premier of the Territories, spoke vigorously against it and took part in a couple of heated by-elections in Ontario; R. L. Borden, upon the second reading of the Bill on March 22nd, declared in an amendment—rejected by 59 to 140—that the new Provinces should be and were entitled to “full powers of Provincial self-government, including power to exclusively make laws in relation to Education.”

The measure passed in due course, however, and the new Provinces were formally inaugurated on September 1st with Edmonton as the capital of Alberta, and Regina as the capital of Saskatchewan; with G. H. V. Bulyea as Lieut.-Governor of the former and A. E. Forget of the latter; with Liberal Premiers appointed by these gentlemen—A. C. Rutherford in the case of Alberta and Walter Scott in that of Saskatchewan; with the exclusion from office of Mr. Haultain, the independent Premier of the Territories, because of his opposition to the Educational clauses of the Autonomy legislation and under the influence—it was claimed—of the Laurier Government which had selected the Lieut.-Governors. Elections followed in both Provinces and, in each case, the new Government was sustained. Mr. Haultain led the Opposition in Saskatchewan and obtained a fair support; the Rutherford Government swept Alberta. This Western constitutional development was marked by, and accompanied in the next few years with, a tremendous influx of immigrants and money, a remarkable railway expansion, the growth of villages over night and the evolution of settlements into cities within a decade.

Other inter-Provincial issues developed in these years. There

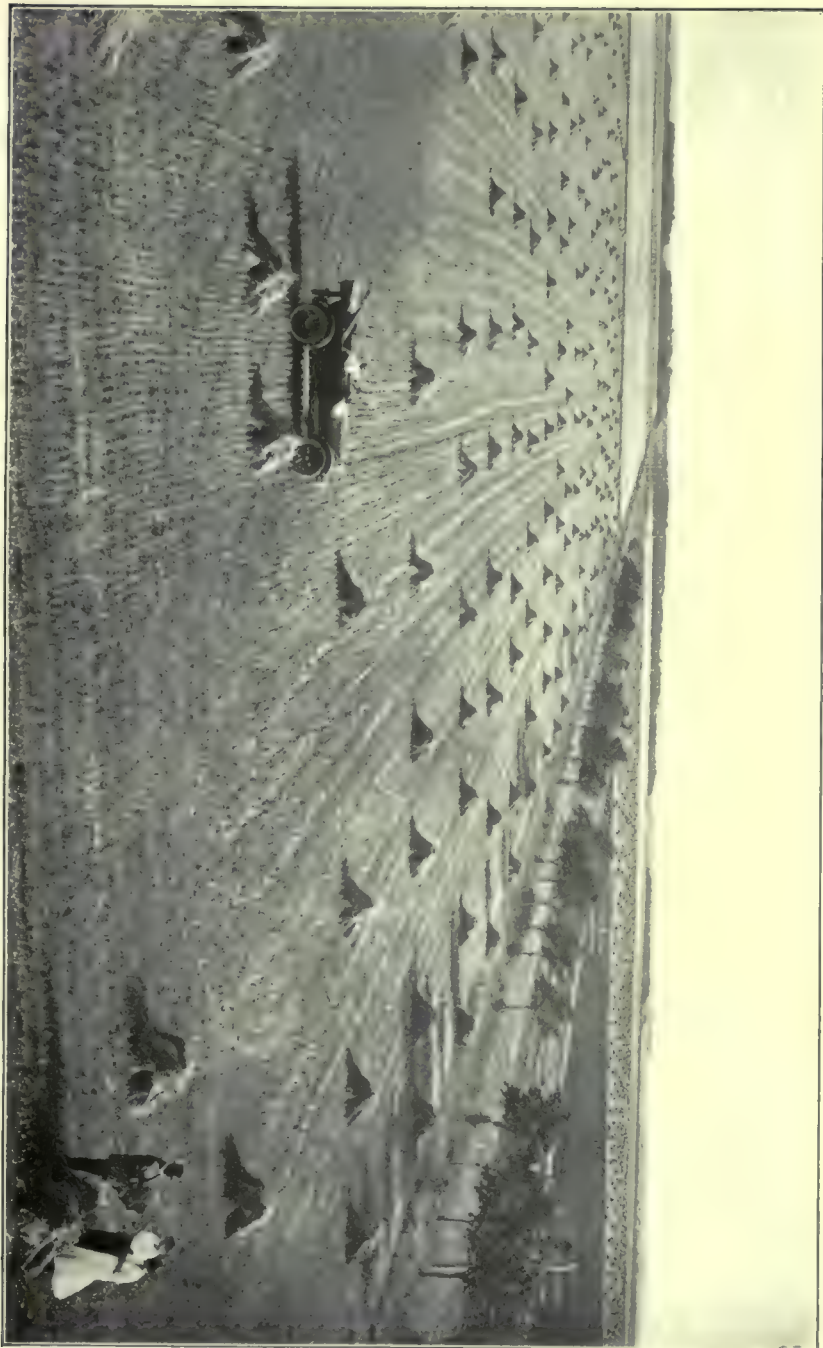
had been a Conference of Provincial Governments in 1887 and in 1902 with an increase in Federal Subsidies to the Provinces as the great issue. Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan each wanted an extension of boundaries to Hudson's Bay; New Brunswick, Quebec and P. E. Island pressed for a division amongst them, and the other Maritime Provinces, of the Award given at Halifax in 1877 by which the Dominion had received from the United States \$4,900,000 in connection with the Atlantic Fisheries dispute; P. E. Island urged its claim for continual winter communication with the Mainland, or else the construction of a tunnel under the Straits; British Columbia wanted special financial consideration because of its geographical and mountainous condition, small population, great resources and large contribution to Federal taxation; Manitoba wanted control of its swamp lands, and its school lands, and the extension of its boundaries. At the 1902 Conference all the Provinces were represented, and all except Ontario and British Columbia approved a Resolution asking an amendment to the B. N. A. Act, increasing the total Dominion subsidy to all the Provinces of \$2,372,008. Eventually this was effected by Parliamentary and Imperial enactment; though the other matter, owing to political conditions, remained for a time unsettled.

The chief political development of 1907 and 1908, the most prominent issue in the general elections of the latter year, was one of an unpleasant and not very wholesome character. Details are impossible here, but the Opposition presented 60 distinct charges of corruption or maladministration against Government departments in the 1907 and 1908 Sessions of Parliament. Of course some of these allegations had been repeated from preceding years, a large proportion were never actually proven, and Liberal partisans claimed that none were proved. The situation, however, was none the less unpleasant, and during these years the country heard much of alleged

graft, rake-offs and middlemen. If anything was bought there was said to be a political taking of tolls upon the transaction; if anything was sold a middleman was said to stand between the Government and the purchaser and to get a profit. There were also the Civil Service Commission Report and conditions in the Marine Department, the Hodgins' charges against contractors and management in the National Transcontinental Railway, the attacks of men like Rev. Dr. Pringle upon moral conditions in the Yukon.

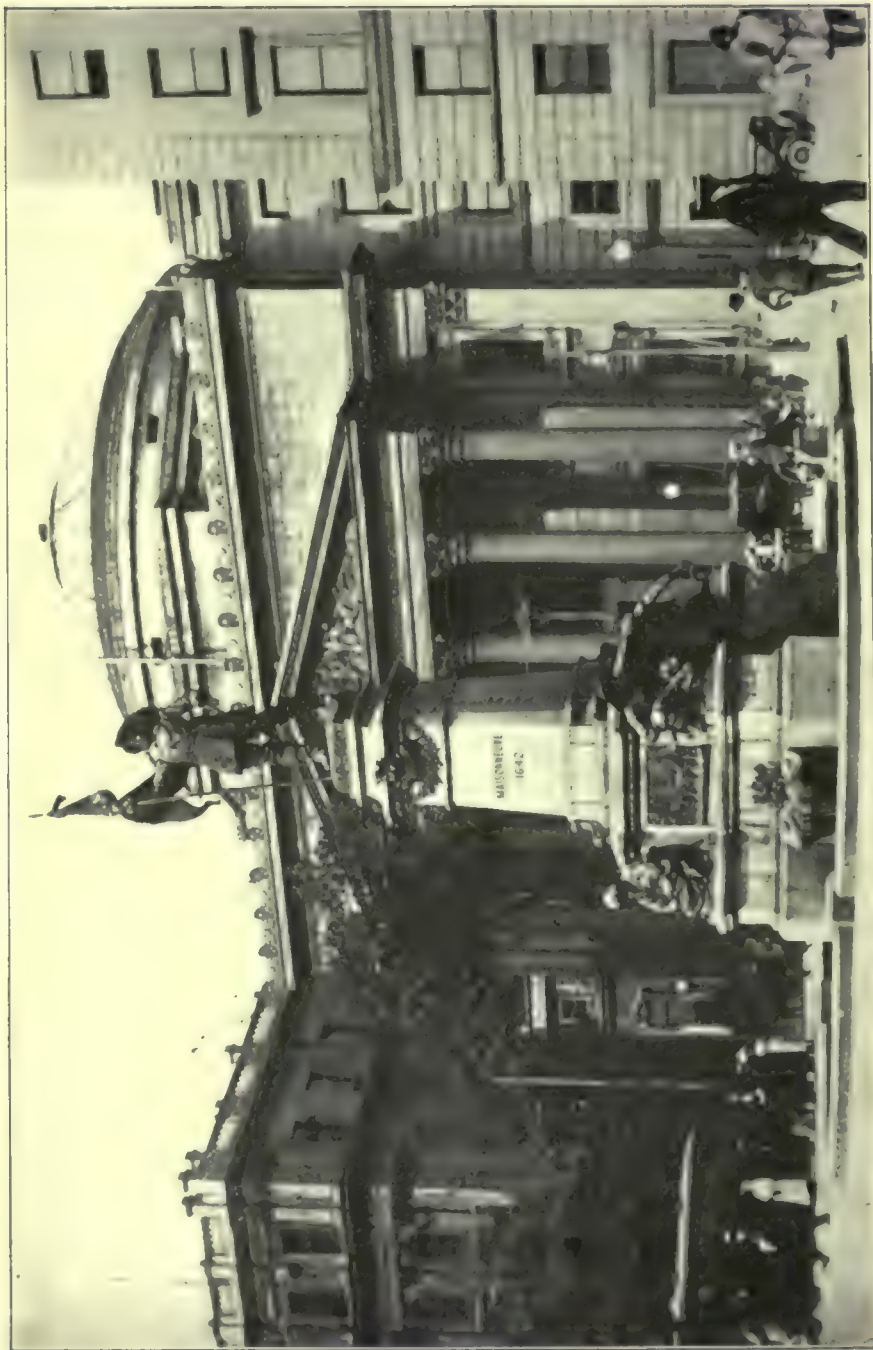
To these handles for criticism, to all the smaller items of local or of general charge, there were added the reiterated declarations by R. L. Borden, his speakers and the Conservative press, that honest and economical administration at Ottawa would cut \$10,000,000 a year off existing expenditures; and the claim that out of \$300,000,000 of excess revenue in Liberal hands since 1896—over the amount received by Conservatives during the preceding twelve years of administration—only \$60,000,000 had gone into constructive enterprises. Other matters pressed by Conservatives during the elections of 1908 were the planks of Mr. Borden's Halifax speech of August 20, 1907, and including the advocacy of an Imperial Preferential tariff system of a mutual character, the grant to Alberta and Saskatchewan of the control of their public lands, reform of the Senate, greater care in immigration matters and as to the class of people encouraged to come to Canada, improved postal facilities (including free rural mail delivery), the better equipment of national ports and a general improvement in transportation facilities.

The Liberal policy presented was practically a review of twelve years of administration, and was, therefore, of historical interest. It was claimed that the Preferential Tariff of 1897 had increased imports from Great Britain by \$64,000,000, and had substantially reduced taxation to the Canadian consumer. Anti-combine and anti-dumping legislation had been passed; Canada had practically obtained the



WHERE THE FARMS ARE ON A VAST SCALE

Typical modern farming scene along the Western line of the Canadian National Railways.



MAISONNEUVE MONUMENT, PLACE D'ARMES SQUARE, MONTREAL

Erected to the memory of *Sieur de Maisonneuve*, who founded Montreal in 1642. The monument is the work of the famous French-Canadian sculptor, Louis Philippe Hébert.

power to negotiate its own treaties; the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes waterway system had been variously improved in the deepening of canals to 14 feet, in improvement of harbours, in bettering the ship-channel from Montreal to the sea, in extending the Government telegraph system and in reducing marine insurance rates; the Crow's Nest Pass Railway had been built by a subsidy of \$3,630,000 and a rich region in British Columbia opened up; the Intercolonial (Government) Railway had been extended from Levis to Quebec and from Quebec to Montreal, and its equipment improved; a Railway Commission had been established and recognized as of great national service; the Western Provinces had been enormously developed and agriculture had been aided by cold-storage facilities, improved inspection of exports, the appointment of a Live-stock Commission and reorganization of the veterinary work.

Much was made of the Government's Labour legislation, its creation and administration of a new Department of Labour with a responsible Minister in control; its abolition of the sweating system in Government contracts, the working of the Lemieux Act, and the prohibition of Chinese immigration; great credit was taken, and well taken, for the administration of the Post Office, its increased revenues, lowered rates, varied improvements and growth, and its aid in establishing Imperial Penny Postage. The work of the Trade and Commerce Department, the organization of Old-Age Annuities, the help given in constructing and maintaining the Pacific Cable, the establishment of a branch of the Royal Mint at Ottawa, the restrictive Lord Day's legislation, were also elements in this 12 years' record; as were the taking over of the Esquimalt and Halifax fortifications from Great Britain, the increase in militia pay, the organization of new militia services, the establishment of the central training camp at Petawawa and the starting of the Ross Rifle Factory at Quebec. The net result of the Elections showed that the people approved the

record of work done and did not accept the Opposition charges of corruption. The returns showed 34 Liberals and 87 Conservatives, with exactly the same net figures for Ontario and Quebec as in 1904.

Following the general elections of 1908, which can hardly be said to have contributed in any way to the development of Canadian sentiment—except insofar as the Liberal record of policy undoubtedly indicated progress along certain definite lines—came the evolution of the Naval question of 1909 and 1910, and the arousing of a wave of feeling in Quebec which was not unlike the historical Riel and Mercier episodes. There was a difference, however. The earlier developments mentioned were directed more or less against the other Provinces; the later Bourassa and Nationalist policy dealt largely with Empire lines of action and assumed to speak for Canada as a whole. Primarily the naval policy of the Laurier Government owed its origin to the excitement which came to Canada, as to other British countries, following upon speeches in the British Parliament of March 16, 1909, which indicated unexpected German readiness and preparation for a great naval war. Actually, Hon. George E. Foster, one of the Conservative leaders, had a notice of motion on the order paper of the Canadian House when this International storm arose.

It declared that: "In view of her great and varied resources, of her geographical position and national environment, and of that spirit of self-help and self-respect which alone benefits a strong and growing people, Canada should no longer delay in assuming her proper share of the responsibility and financial burden incident to the suitable protection of her exposed coast-lines and great sea-ports." The whole subject of Canada and Imperial defence was at once thrown into the melting-pot of Canadian politics. Apart from French-Canadian opinion, which soon showed itself as opposed to an aggressive or constructive defence policy, Canadian opinion was,

for a time, all at sea as to what should be done, or what it was best to do. Finally, the following Resolution, which included certain amendments by Mr. Borden on behalf of the Opposition, was passed unanimously at Ottawa.

"This House fully recognizes the duty of the people of Canada, as they increase in numbers and wealth, to assume in larger measure the responsibilities in national defence.

"The House is of opinion that under the present constitutional relations between the Mother-country and the self-governing Dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not, so far as Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of defence.

"The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization of a Canadian Naval Service in co-operation with and in close relation to the Imperial Navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security and safety of the Empire and the peace of the world.

"The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that is required to give to the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and the honour of the Empire."

Following this decision of Parliament, discussion was widespread and varied. The Imperial Defence Conference of this year in London and the Imperial Press Conference revealed to some extent the real need for action at home and abroad in the matter of defence, while the Government policy, which developed and was proclaimed in the Naval Service Bill of 1910, was one of a Canadian naval force of eleven ships, which would cost \$11,000,000, or, if constructed in Canada as was proposed, would cost 33 per cent more. The Admiralty's suggestion as to a Pacific fleet—including one Dreadnaught—was not accepted. Mr. Borden and the Conservatives opposed the Government proposals and the legislation, which passed in due course, because, it was claimed, they did not follow the lines of

experienced advice; because such a force would be costly without being serviceable to either Canada or the Empire; because there was an immediate emergency in the German situation which should be met by a cash contribution from Canada to the Royal Navy. Eventually the measure became law; but, during the year or so that the Government remained in power, nothing was done except the purchase of a couple of cruisers to act as training ships and the establishment of a Royal Naval College at Halifax.

The Drummond-Arthabaska by-election was, meanwhile, a vivid indication of political danger to the Government and of popular French-Canadian objection to this Naval policy. It was an old-time Liberal constituency in Quebec, the summer home of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a supposedly safe Liberal seat in a Province where the mere name of Laurier was thought to spell victory. When, therefore, on November 3, 1910, it was found that the Nationalist candidate had defeated the Liberal by 200 majority all Canada was amazed. The real centre of the fight was Henri Bourassa; the real issue was the naval question in a greatly distorted form. Mr. Bourassa was a man of pronounced eloquence—at times clear, at others involved, always lengthy, argumentative and with oratorical outbursts of passion against all things Imperialistic. He had been for years Sir Wilfrid Laurier's chief lieutenant in Quebec; latterly he had retired from Parliament, gone into the Provincial Legislature, and become the chief antagonist of the Laurier Government in this Province.

The issue which he presented in Arthabaska was one of Canada for Canadians, no entanglement in an Empire defence system, dragging of French-Canadians to fight in foreign wars, no naval force not absolutely under Canadian control and for purely local Canadian purposes. He won and, in the elections of the next year, threw the entire Nationalist machinery into the hands of F. D. Monk and the

Conservative party. Meanwhile the Navy matter was allowed, very largely, to rest by the Government. Reciprocity took its place, and when the Borden Government came into office in 1911 the whole Laurier naval programme was repudiated as being, it was alleged, unworkable, unduly expensive, and separatist in tendency and fact.

Meanwhile, what of Provincial history? Without going into close detail it may be said that the chief events were the formation of the McBride Government in British Columbia in 1903; the defeat of the Ross Government in Ontario and the formation of the Whitney Administration in 1905; the reorganization of the Quebec Government in the latter year and the rise of Mr. Bourassa in that Province; the accession to power in 1908 of the Hazen Conservative Government in New Brunswick. Mr. McBride's victory in British Columbia was the end of many years' inertia in administration, of slowness in development, of a financial management which had brought the Province to the point of bankruptcy, of a non-party system which had absolutely broken down. The years immediately following saw a revival of financial confidence and eventually a large and increasing surplus, the establishment of railways and the coming of the Canadian Northern Line and Grand Trunk Pacific, the growth of material resources and reiterated popular approval of the Conservative administration.

In Ontario the Ross Government of 1899-1905 (Liberal) had inherited the political barnacles and difficulties of an administration which, under different leaders, had lasted since 1872; its majority in 1902 had decreased to two; its hangers-on had created conditions of corruption which in certain localities and by-elections became a public scandal. In 1903 occurred the sensational Gamey case in which R. R. Gamey, a member for Manitoba, rising in the Legislature on March 11th, charged Hon. J. R. Stratton, a member of the Government, with having been instrumental in trying to bribe him to support

the Government, for a cash consideration of \$3,000. After varied and exciting discussions a Royal Commission of Judges was appointed to inquire into the subject and, eventually, it declared the charges to be disproved. The Conservative Opposition refused to accept the verdict, and in the elections of January, 1905, carried the Province with a good majority.

J. P. Whitney became Premier and, in 1908, swept Ontario again, with a vote of 86 out of 106. Ontario's policy during this latter period included the inauguration, progress and accomplishment, under Provincial control and ownership, of a system by which cheap electrical power from Niagara Falls was supplied to the greater part of western Ontario and promised, in 1911, to the eastern section; gave largely increased Provincial grants to the University of Toronto and effected a general improvement in educational matters; reformed licensing methods and established local option in the sale of liquor throughout a large part of the Province—subject to a three-fifths majority vote; carried on the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway under Government construction and operation, and opened up Northern Ontario to settlement and mineral exploitation.

In Quebec the Liberal Government, which came into power in 1897 and which was reorganized in 1900, with Hon. S. N. Parent as Premier, was again rearranged in 1905 with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Lomer Gouin as Prime Minister. The administration was notable for a quiet, business-like conduct of affairs, for large majorities in the Legislature, and for the absence of any opponent of striking character until Henri Bourassa entered the House, at the Provincial elections of 1908, by defeating the Provincial Premier in a spectacular contest in Montreal. His followers in the Assembly were small in number but sensational in policy, and they made politics during the next two or three years quite exciting. The success of Mr. Douglas Hazen in New Brunswick, in 1908, marked the overthrow of a Liberal

Administration which, under different leaders, had been in office since 1883. His announced policy was one of honest collection and management of public revenues, economical control of public affairs, the putting up of all contracts to public tender, the repeal of the unpopular Highway Act and the inauguration of an active immigration and agricultural policy.

Of miscellaneous Provincial incidents the most important were the return of the Murray Liberal Government to power in Nova Scotia with only two opponents in 1901, and its re-election in 1906 and 1911; the grant in 1901 of an additional and special Dominion subsidy to P. E. Island of \$30,000 a year and the return to power, under different leaders, of the Liberal Administration in 1903 and 1907; the declaration of the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council (1901) that Manitoba was within its powers in enacting Provincial Prohibition and the defeat of the policy itself in 1902 through a Government Plebiscite asking whether the people wished the existing law to be put into force or not; the presentation to the people of Ontario by the Ross Government (1902) of a Prohibitory Liquor law similar to that of Manitoba and a vote of 199,749 in favour and 104,539 against—213,000 being necessary to make it effective; the sustaining in 1903 of the Roblin (Conservative) Government in Manitoba by 31 to 9 seats.

This latter Government promised a large degree of Provincial development by arrangements with the Northern Pacific and the Canadian Northern Railways for a continuous policy of construction within the Province, and, chiefly as a result of this policy, it continued in office for a number of years. The extension of Provincial boundaries—which the Laurier Government refused to concede and the Borden Government granted in 1911—with the establishment of Government ownership and operation in telephones and internal grain elevators were other elements in its policy. In the new Prov-

inces of Alberta and Saskatchewan events after 1905 were mainly those concerned with internal development, the construction of public buildings, new highways and railways, the increased growth of wheat and the improvement of educational facilities. The Scott Government continued in power in Saskatchewan while the Rutherford Cabinet in Alberta, after a period of absolute authority, fell in 1910 as the result of an unpopular contract for a railway into the Peace River country. A. L. Sifton (also a Liberal) formed the new Government.

Meanwhile, a most interesting inter-Provincial and national development had taken place in the rise of the Canadian Club idea and organization into prominence with C. R. McCullough of Hamilton and W. Sanford Evans, Toronto, as the founders. Originally it was a Luncheon Club formed in Hamilton, and then Toronto, for the purpose of hearing weekly some distinguished local, national, Imperial or international speaker upon a non-partisan topic. The clubs numbered by 1907, 40 or more organizations, and in 1910 were located in every important centre in Canada. In the latter year the record of speeches before these clubs included more than 80 of a Canadian or local character, about 70 upon Imperial subjects and 30 upon foreign and miscellaneous themes. They came to exercise a very obvious and clear influence upon public thought and in the widening of popular knowledge. Another development of these latter years was the appointment of Canadian Trade Commissioners at important centres throughout the world and the negotiation of commercial treaties with Japan and France, the International Fisheries arrangement of 1910 with the United States, the imposition of the German Surtax and its abolition by mutual agreement in 1910, the negotiation in this latter year of trade treaties with Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium, the Lemieux negotiations with Japan in 1907 and the settlement of the Immigration questions arising out

of certain Vancouver race riots, the Waterways Treaty with the United States in 1910, and the negotiations for an International Railway Commission.

THE RECIPROCITY CONVENTION OF 1911

Then came the fiscal treaty arrangements of 1911 with the United States. The revival of this old-time issue in Canadian and Continental politics was a surprise to the people of Canada; the quick success of the negotiations was a subject of amazement to the Canadian Parliament and political parties; the result of the succeeding elections was a matter of astonishment in the United States. The issue arose through the Franco-Canadian Convention having, in 1908, brought Canada into the circle of nations which were said to come under the new maximum rates of the United States Tariff. Other countries made acceptable arrangements, but Canada continued to hold out, and on March 3, 1910, two American officials (H. C. Emory and C. M. Pepper) came to Ottawa to look into the actual conditions. On March 19th W. S. Fielding, Canadian Minister of Finance, met President Taft at Albany, N. Y., by invitation, discussed the matter there, and then visited Washington. A compromise was arranged by which Canada reduced its rates upon a specified and unimportant list of products, and was accorded, in return, those of the United States Minimum Tariff.

Encouraged by the success of these preliminary negotiations, and also by the Fishery and Waterway Agreements, President Taft on March 20, 1910, issued a message to the people of Canada through Dr. J. A. Macdonald, Editor of the *Toronto Globe*, in which he said: "I am profoundly convinced that these two countries, touching each other for more than 3,000 miles, have common interests in trade and require special arrangements in legislation and administration which are not involved in the relations of the United States with countries beyond the seas." As a result of this and succeeding overtures a

Conference opened at Ottawa on November 4th, and adjourned to meet at Washington in January, 1911, when an Agreement was quickly come to between the U. S. Secretary of State, P. C. Knox, acting under the directions and close supervision of the President, and W. S. Fielding and William Paterson, of the Canadian Government. It provided for reciprocal free trade between the United States and Canada in natural products, in many items of raw material for manufacture, and in a small list of manufactured articles. Amongst the articles or products were fish of all kinds, wheat, barley, oats, rye and buckwheat, live animals, poultry, fresh vegetables and fruits, dried fruits, dairy products, oils and timber in various stages of manufacture. Certain other commodities were placed upon a lower mutual tariff rate. The Agreement was subject to approval, without amendment, by the United States Congress and the Canadian Parliament and could be repealed by legislation on either side whenever desired.

On January 26th the Agreement was simultaneously placed before the American Congress, in a Bill presented by Congressman McCall to the House of Representatives (accompanied by a message from President Taft), and before the Canadian House of Commons by Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, in an explanatory and historical speech. As the President's message was one of the issues in the succeeding Parliamentary and electoral struggle in Canada some quotations must be given here. "If we can enlarge our supply of natural resources and especially of food products and the necessities of life, without substantial injury to any of our producing and manufacturing classes, we should take steps to do so now. . . . Should we not, before their (Canada's) policy has become too crystallized and fixed for change, meet them in a spirit of real concession, facilitate commerce between the two countries, and thus greatly increase the natural resources available to our people? By giving our people

access to Canadian forests we shall reduce the consumption of our own, which, in the hands of comparatively few owners, now have a value that requires the enlargement of our available timber resources. . . . The Dominion has greatly prospered. It has an active, aggressive and intelligent people. They are coming to the parting of the ways. They must soon decide whether they are to regard themselves as isolated permanently from our markets by a perpetual wall or whether we are to be commercial friends."

In his message to Congress the President not only made his famous "parting of the ways" reference, but commenced by mentioning the "identity of interests in two peoples linked together by race, language, institutions and proximity." Following it up he addressed various gatherings, and in New York, on April 27th, made this historic statement: "The bond uniting the Dominion with the Mother-country is light and almost imperceptible. I have said that this is a critical time in the solution of the question of Reciprocity. It is critical because unless it is now decided favourably to Reciprocity it is exceedingly probable that no such opportunity will ever again come to the United States. The forces which are at work in England and in Canada to separate her (the latter), by a Chinese wall from the United States, and make her a part of an Imperial commercial band reaching, from England around the world to England again, by a system of preferential tariffs, will derive an impetus from the rejection of this Treaty; and if we would have Reciprocity, with all the advantages that I have now described, and that I earnestly and sincerely believe will follow its adoption, we must take it now or give it up forever." He went on to declare that "the talk of annexation is bosh." Many similar references were made and arguments used in other speeches and by other American speakers.

There ensued a prolonged period of struggle in Congress, accom-

panied by various outbursts of annexation sentiment which gradually found their way into the Canadian press and Parliament. The Agreement was approved by the Ways and Means Committee on February 11th in a Report which described the McCall Bill, embodying its terms, as "a long step towards establishing a policy of unrestricted trade for North America." Immediate consideration was then given the measure, by a substantial majority, in this Republican and Protective Chamber. Champ Clark, Democratic leader and Speaker of the succeeding House of Representatives, followed on the 14th in expressive language which found place later upon a thousand Canadian platforms: "I hope to see the day when the American flag will wave over the whole North American Continent to the North Pole. The Canadians are of our language. They are the same people. If the Tariff Treaty of 1854 had not been abrogated, we would have been a good deal nearer together than we are now." Asked as to whether he thought this Agreement would, in the end, bring Canada into the Union, Mr. Clark said: "I have no doubt of it."

Congressman Bennett on the 16th presented a Resolution proposing that the President at once open negotiations with Great Britain for the cession of Canada to the United States. He proclaimed himself as in earnest, and declared that: "Annexation is the logical result of Reciprocity." The Resolution, however, was at once suppressed, and the President wrote Mr. McCall saying that the Agreement had nothing to do with Annexation. One further utterance, which was a factor for months in Canadian discussion, must be quoted here. This was J. J. Hill's comment (St. Paul, July 24th) on the final passage of the Agreement through the United States Senate, in a Congress called in special session by President Taft on April 4th: "It is not what we have gained but what we have prevented by adopting the Reciprocity agreement that is most

important. In the passage of the measure we see the last vestige of an Imperial trade federation disappear before the march of an open and untrammelled market."

It was not unnatural that the Liberal party should have adopted and approved this modified Reciprocity policy. The subject had always been a plank in their platform and, as late as 1898, the Laurier Government had very nearly carried it through the International High Commission of that year. In 1891 the party had even been willing to include manufactured goods, as well as natural products, and to accept a sweeping policy, unrestricted in scope and including, if necessary, direct discrimination against Britain in favour of the United States. The country at that time was in a condition of extreme depression and had been hit hard by the McKinley Act and other conditions. Hence the fact that Sir John Macdonald had to play the game and meet the unrestricted and what he believed to be dangerous variety of Reciprocity with the promise, if returned to power, to try and obtain the milder form of free trade in natural products—which he knew and all politicians knew the United States would not then even consider. Hence, therefore, the natural willingness of Liberal leaders in 1911 to meet the new conditions in the Republic which they had so long desired and to believe that the sentiment of their own country was the same as it had been twenty years before. As a Government and a party they (1) misjudged the situation and (2) suffered from the trend of United States speakers and the reasons given there for its support.

The issue as placed before the people in Canada during 1911 by the Conservative Opposition may be best described in the two words "Continent or Empire." It was not put in an always consecutive or organized form; logic, as usual in elections, was sadly lacking; chance words changed many votes and "the parting of the ways" phrase was construed in a hundred ways which were all

offensive to Canadian pride and British instincts. But the issue was there and it was dealt with. The question was before the Canadian public in more or less strenuous forms from January to September of that year. The passage of the measure through the United States Congress was watched with close interest; the keen fight put up against the Bill in the Canadian Parliament was discussed as no political issue had been in Canada for many years; the obstructive tactics of the Conservative Opposition stirred up the primal fighting instincts of a people who, after all, dearly loved a good fight and a good fighter, and who forthwith began to regard Mr. Borden as they never had before; the obviously negative attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Imperial Conference of 1910 was not popular, though both he and his Ministers appeared to think it was; the manufacturers became more and more alarmed at the possibilities before them, and the coming of the agricultural hosts of the West to Ottawa at the close of 1910 with their demand for freer trade in every direction, received a further support from the oft-expressed hope of United States papers and politicians that restricted Reciprocity would soon become unrestricted; the practical forcing of the Government to a dissolution of Parliament by the Conservatives holding up supplies—after an interregnum to permit the Premier to attend the Coronation—was in itself a popular proof of political strength and vigour on the part of the Opposition.

Of course, the Liberal Government had a good case and many good reasons for its obvious confidence in the issue. The country was greatly growing and clearly prosperous to an extraordinary degree; this prosperity had evolved under the impetus of Liberal policy, and the public has rarely judged, in Canada, as to fine distinctions between the forces of Providence and of Government; Sir Wilfrid Laurier was still the magnetic and popular leader of old, and the whitening hair, which he so characteristically compared to the

"white plume of Navarre," leading historic hosts to victory, was one of the personal touches of the ensuing campaign; freer trade in food products had, in itself, a pleasing political sound and some attractive political arguments; the policy of greater liberty in trade was claimed to be the natural Liberal corollary of liberty in life, thought, and government. "Laurier and Larger Markets" made an effective battle-cry. When Parliament was dissolved at the end of July the Prime Minister's Manifesto dwelt chiefly upon the alleged fact that both parties had always wanted this policy; described the Opposition plan of obstruction in Parliament by prolonged speeches as an abuse of freedom which was both undignified and unwarranted; declared that trade arrangements had nothing to do with national sentiment or opinions; proclaimed the continuance of the British preference policy and urged the Agreement as a help to an eventual Treaty of Arbitration between the Empire and the Republic.

Meanwhile, certain events had cast political shadows before them with a force which was not, however, clearly understood until September 21st. An immense Delegation of Fruit-growers waited on the Government on February 13th and declared that Reciprocity spelt ruin to their interests. On the 13th of January a deputation from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association—which for fifteen years had kept out of politics—waited upon the Ministers as representing a stated investment of \$1,200,000,000, a yearly output of \$1,000,000,000, direct employment to 435,000 artisans and the distribution of \$250,000,000 in wages, and expressed strong objection to "any reciprocal tariff arrangement between the two countries." The United States was declared to be ready for all forms of Reciprocity; Canada was not. Existing Canadian duties were said to average 25 per cent upon American products and the United States duties 43 per cent upon Canadian products; United States branch factories were continually being established in Canada as a

result of Protection; Canadian transportation lines ran east and west, and, under Reciprocity, trade would be more or less directed to the South.

On February 20th, a still more important and vital pronouncement was made in the form of a Protest signed by 18 prominent Toronto Liberals and including Sir Edmund Walker, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce; W. K. George, a large manufacturer; Z. A. Lash, K.C., a lawyer of high standing; W. T. White, President of the National Trust Company; R. S. Gourlay, President of the Board of Trade; G. T. Somers, President of the Sterling Bank of Canada; Sir Mortimer Clark, ex-Lieut.-Governor of Ontario; Hugh Blain, a merchant and director of *The Globe* (the Ontario Liberal organ); E. R. Wood, John C. Eaton and other financial leaders. It was claimed, in direct and strong terms, that neither Government nor Parliament had received a mandate to negotiate a Reciprocity Agreement; that it was not needed and would destroy the work and expenditure of forty years in building up trade between the Canadian Provinces; that it would eventually mean free trade in manufactures and place the control of Canada's trade and tariffs in United States hands; that it would prevent closer trade relations with the Empire and make resistance to eventual Annexation very difficult.

This document was one of the chief elements in the succeeding fight. To R. L. Borden, the Opposition leader, in his vigorous struggle for what he contended to be Canada's life and liberty and right to independent development upon this continent, it was a great encouragement. He had, meantime, toured the West while the Premier was at the Coronation, and his simple, direct statements to the apparently hostile farmers stemmed a Western tide which was setting in favour of Reciprocity. They liked a style which said "I would not support Reciprocity if you would make me Prime Minister of Canada to-morrow"; they preferred it, possibly, to the gracious,

pleasing, and ingratiating, but rather vague manner and promises of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The country as a whole liked it, and Mr. Borden soon found himself backed up in vigorous campaign work and organization by the Conservative Premiers of Ontario, Manitoba, New Brunswick and British Columbia. Opponents of the Agreement stood first and foremost, everywhere and all the time, upon the claim that trade and tariff entanglements with the United States were dangerous to Canada's national existence, inimical to British connection, and opposed diametrically to closer Empire union. Sir W. C. Van Horne, head of C. P. R., in a non-party and forceful appeal to the people against this policy, declared that Reciprocity was "a bed to lie in and a bed to die in."

From a thousand platforms the appeal rang out to stand by the Empire and British ideals, institutions and trade, rather than accept the entering wedge of Continentalism and all that it was said to involve for nine millions of people, with vast resources, facing the perfectly natural ambitions, aims and policy of an aggressive and powerful people of ninety millions. Rudyard Kipling's appeal to Canada to "preserve her own soul" was a potent influence in the campaign and Conservatives added to this sentimental issue the claim that the United States manufacturers wanted this Agreement passed as a leverage to a larger one; the allegation that American trusts and combines would, under Reciprocity, capture and control the Canadian production of food and afterwards its industrial output; the declaration that prices of farm products were controlled in Liverpool and not in the United States except, perhaps, by the Meat Trust in Chicago at passing intervals; the claim that the "ninety million market" had not prevented New England farmers from becoming poor or averted the absolute desertion of thousands of farms in the Eastern States; the undisputed assertion that the most-favoured-nation clause in British treaties opened the Canadian market, under

this Agreement, to twelve countries besides the United States, and that the Resolution passed at the recent Imperial Conference, in this connection, implied only a vague promise by the British Government to try, in some undefined way, to obtain their abrogation; the declaration that Reciprocity meant the drawing of Canada's natural resources away from its own people for the use of a foreign country.

This latter contention appealed powerfully to Clifford Sifton, one-time Minister of the Interior, whose keen, analytical, clear-cut speeches against the Agreement constituted another and important element in the contest. On September 19th, two days before a polling which resulted in changing the Liberal majority of 46 into a Conservative majority of nearly 50, and the defeat of seven members of the Cabinet, Mr. Borden issued a brief and stirring appeal to the people which declared the destiny of Canada, and perhaps of the Empire, to be at stake, and added these words: "We must make our choice between reciprocity within the Empire and reciprocity with the United States. And, let us never forget that Canada cannot become fiscally and commercially a part of the United States and remain politically a part—and an important part—of the British Empire." The result showed the greatest majority ever given to a Dominion party in the Province of Ontario—60 Conservative seats to 14 Liberal. It showed that in Quebec the absolute personal dominance of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been weakened, that the vigorous free-lance fighting of Mr. Bourassa and the Nationalists, or would-be French-Canadian party, had helped the Conservatives in about a dozen seats, and that the figures for the Province stood at 22 Conservatives and 36 Liberals as against the previous standing of 11 to 54; that in the three Maritime Provinces and the four Provinces west of the Great Lakes the parties had tied almost even; that in Saskatchewan and Alberta the many United States settlers had voted almost unanimously for Reciprocity.

CHAPTER XXX

The Borden Government; National Conditions in 1914

WITH a distinct National mandate R. L. Borden had thus become Prime Minister on October 10, 1911, at the age of 57 and after 15 years' service in the Commons. His Cabinet included George E. Foster and Robert Rogers; F. D. Monk, L. P. Pelletier and W. B. Nantel who represented a sort of Conservative Nationalism in Quebec; W. T. White, a leading financier in Toronto and one of the 18 Liberals who had signed the anti-Reciprocity document; J. D. Hazen, Premier of New Brunswick, and C. J. Doherty, K.C., of Montreal, as Minister of Justice; Col. Sam. Hughes as Minister of Militia with Martin Burrell, W. J. Roche, T. W. Crowthers, G. H. Perley, A. E. Kemp and J. A. Loughheed in charge of other Departments or without Portfolio. Immediately succeeding incidents were the welcoming to Canada of the new Governor-General, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and a meeting of Parliament in November with some heated discussions of Nationalism in Quebec and in the Cabinet.

In 1912 the question of Canadian Naval policy and action became pressing. The British debates of 1909 upon the increasing Naval and military power of Germany, and the Canadian discussions of 1910 upon the general issue of aiding the Naval defence of the Empire were revived; the subject was constantly referred to in the press, in politics and in Parliament; the country received and listened to various speeches of a pacifist character from visiting Germans—Carl Legien, H. Hanmann, G. Streessman, Horst Weber, Von den Osten and others; P. H. Kerr of the *Round Table* magazine, Sir Max Aitken, Rt.-Hon. W. H. Long and other British visitors dealt with the menace of German militarism while Keir Hardie and other

Radicals told Canadians that war was an impossibility. The Government was urged from many quarters to take action in support of the British Navy—notably by a group of Toronto Liberals who initiated a widely-signed Memorandum advocating non-party action in the premises; in Quebec Bourassa and his lieutenant, Armand Lavergne, fiercely opposed all Naval action as did their organ *Le Devoir*—in which Mr. Monk, Minister of Public Works, had an interest; in Parliament the subject was discussed in an unorganized way and during July Mr. Borden visited England where he went into the matter in detail with the Admiralty and the British Government—declaring his ideal at a London meeting on July 10th to be “One King, One Flag, one Empire, one Navy.” At the opening of the 2nd Session in November a Naval Bill was promised and on December 5th, in a speech which caused intense interest at the Capital and attracted wide attention, Mr. Borden announced his policy as based upon the following conditions:

“Responsibility for the Empire’s defence upon the High Seas, in which is to be found the only effective guarantee of its existence and which has hitherto been assumed by the United Kingdom, has necessarily carried with it responsibility for control of foreign policy. With the enormous increase of Naval power which has been undertaken by all great nations in recent years, this tremendous responsibility has cast an almost impossible burden upon the British Islands which for nearly a thousand years have exercised so profound an influence upon the world’s history. That burden is so great that the day has come when either the existence of this Empire will be imperilled or the young and mighty Dominions must join with the Motherland to make secure the common safety and the common heritage of all. When Great Britain no longer assumes sole responsibility for defence upon the High Seas, she can no longer undertake to assume sole responsibility for and sole control of Foreign Policy which is closely, vitally, and constantly associated with that defence in which the Dominions participate.”

He proposed, therefore, that Canada should at once contribute to the Royal Navy three Dreadnaught battle-ships which would cost about \$35,000,000. Important documents from the Admiralty were read and the debate began with the Conservative contention

(1) that there was an emergency in the German situation; (2) that it was Canada's duty to help and its privilege to share in the guidance of British policies involving Empire war or defence; (3) that this method of direct contribution to the Royal Navy was the cheapest, most effective and most efficient form of support. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Opposition opposed this policy as being both unconstitutional and unnecessary. In his speech (December 12th) Sir Wilfrid declared that there was no emergency and England was "in no danger, imminent or prospective;" his alternative was a Canadian Navy and the Liberal Resolution presented to the House declared for a permanent policy of Naval defence "by ships owned, manned and maintained by Canada," with the immediate addition to the Imperial Navy of two Fleet units to be stationed, respectively, on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of Canada. The Nationalist position and Resolution expressed Canada's readiness to defend itself but declared that Parliament had "no right to impose on the Canadian people responsibilities in regard to the general defence of the Empire."

The debate ran into the next year and proved one of the longest and bitterest discussions ever held at Ottawa. On February 27, 1913, the leaders spoke and Mr. Borden claimed that two Fleet units would cost \$68,000,000, their maintenance for 10 years \$64,500,000, and the necessary Naval organization \$17,000,000 more; Sir W. Laurier reiterated his view that the proposed Dreadnaught Contribution was "uncalled for and unnecessary and professed to give Great Britain help for which she has no need." The 2nd reading of the Bill passed on this date, after considerable obstruction, by 114 to 84 votes with 7 Nationalist-Conservatives in opposition. Following this the Liberals pursued a policy of organized and admitted obstruction with the adoption, late in March, of a Government policy of Closure by new rules designed to prevent deliberate obstruction; by this means the 3rd reading was carried on May 15th

by 101 to 68. The Senate, which stood 54 Liberals to 32 Conservatives, rejected the Bill by an amendment demanding a general election upon the question.

Aside from this question the Government had a difficult year in Parliament and one in which several proposed lines of effort were thwarted or delayed. Yet, during these first two years of power, measures of distinct accomplishment included the Agricultural Education Act and the gradual equipment of various national ports; the construction of a Car-Ferry service to P. E. Island, and the building of Terminal Elevators at certain Western points; the revision of the Bank Act with a special view to helping the farmers and increasing public security; the reduction of Cable rates; the making of money grants to veterans of Fenian Raids; the organization of an up-to-date Parcel Post system to facilitate the transportation and delivery of light freight—and, especially, to bring agricultural producers into touch with consumers in the cities; the arrangement of a tri-weekly mail to Europe instead of the old weekly service; the improvement and extension of railways and canals; the making of a commercial Agreement with the British West Indies and the providing of improved steamship service to those Islands.

Various members of the Government, including Mr. Foster, Mr. Hazen, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Pelletier, visited the West in 1913, investigated conditions at first hand and made certain promises or proposals of a political or administrative character. Definite action was under way as to Port construction and preparation for trade development, the deepening of harbours, building of new wharves and docks; the Hudson's Bay Railway was being constructed in 1913, the question of increased Ocean Freight rates and of railway rates in general was under investigation. Arthur Meighen, who had become notable for Parliamentary skill in debate and for clear, logical utterances on the platform, had joined the Government during this year

and fiscal matters were made interesting by the adoption in the United States of the Underwood Tariff which lowered many duties upon Canadian products and made cattle, sheep, swine, cement, coal, fish, boots and harness, agricultural implements, pig-iron, milk and cream, eggs, bacon, lard, mutton, pork, shingles, planks, and boards, and other important products, free. It was probably the lowest American tariff since 1846 and included nearly as wide a schedule as did the proposed Reciprocity pact of 1911. The Duke of Connaught, during 1912-14, won a warm place in the hearts of the people; his tours of the country at different times and his intimate touch with Canadian thought and aspirations made him an increasingly popular Governor-General.

As in 1907 there was a distinct financial depression in 1913 though the causes were quite different. The one depression was created by world-wide events and conditions with certain local or collateral causes thrown into the scale; the other by conditions of distrust, Bank failures and monetary stringency which were confined largely to the United States and reacted upon Canada through the forces of contiguity and close financial relationship. British investments of the year in Canada, though restricted, were still considerable and totalled, in bonds alone, \$255,000,000 as against \$50,000,000 by the United States and \$45,000,000 by Canadians themselves. The Banks did not suffer greatly from the stringency. Their deposits on December 31, 1913, were only \$6,000,000 less than on the same date in 1912; the contraction in Current loans, however, was \$123,000,000; in Canada during 1812 there had been one Bank failure and in the United States there were 63. The Hon. W. T. White as Minister of Finance had no special difficulties during the depression; his ordinary revenue (March 31, 1913) was \$163,689,903 or 32 millions more than in 1912, his net surplus was 24 millions, and the Debt reduction 25 millions.

During this period certain Provincial developments took place which had a more or less National influence. One was the question of Bi-lingualism in Ontario Schools. In Ontario politics the Bi-lingual issue was not, in the main, a religious one—many Irish Roman Catholics did not want the French language given prominence in the Separate Schools and, naturally, did not deem it in any way a safeguard to their religious life. On the other hand the French-Canadian population had a tendency to regard their language as not only a beautiful one, the pioneer tongue of Canada, the language of their race and old-time motherland, but also, as an influence in keeping the sacred issues of their faith apart from the overwhelming pressure of continental populations or, in this case, of a large Provincial majority.

The issue turned upon the Whitney Government's announced policy of 1912, as detailed in Regulation No. 17 of the Department of Education, to improve and ensure the use and efficient teaching of the English language in the Public and Separate schools of the Province. There were two vital clauses in the Regulations. The first was as follows: "Where necessary in the case of French-speaking pupils, French may be used as the language of instruction and communication; but such use of French shall not be continued beyond Form I, excepting that, on the approval of the Chief Inspector, it may also be used as the language of instruction and communication in the case of pupils beyond Form I who are unable to speak and understand the English language." The 2nd declared that: "Instruction in French shall not interfere with the adequacy of the instruction in English, and the provision for such instruction in French in the time-table of the School shall be subject to the approval and direction of the Chief Inspector and shall not in any day exceed one hour in each class-room except where the time is increased upon the order of the Chief Inspector."

In the discussion of the question all kinds of local and side issues developed, or were brought in by one side or the other, as the controversy grew and flourished over a test position taken by the Ottawa Separate School Board. French Canadian supporters of these schools and their Trustees desired to have French as the language of communication and instruction far beyond the limits set by the Government's regulations and, in this position, came into conflict with the Irish Separate School supporters in the city as well as with the Department of Education. The interjection of the Provincial elections did not tend to smooth matters over; and the assumption of many Conservative politicians that the result of the contest, in its large Government majority, had settled the affair was by no means realized. The agitation continued and eventually reached Quebec where in later years resentment at alleged ill-treatment of French-Canadians in Ontario seriously affected recruiting during the War.

Meanwhile an important development in Western Agrarian thought had begun, had greatly grown in strength and gradually had expanded into Ontario and all the Provinces of Canada. This organization of the Farmers was a most interesting movement. To take men so individualistic in character and habit of mind, so often isolated in home or settlement, so far away from the gregarious instincts and customs of city life, as Canadian farmers have always been, and to mould them into great and successful organizations of a business and political nature with, sometimes, a touch of Socialistic thought, was a remarkable achievement. The men of the West who did this were not the first to think of it but W. R. Motherwell, E. A. Partridge, J. W. Scallion, F. W. Green, R. McKenzie, and a few others, were the first to transmute the idea into practical success. The Dominion Grange in Ontario had been the first real Farmers' organization in Canada but it never grew to great public influence; the Patrons of Industry rose and fell in the same Province through

building upon the shifting sands of politics*before they had time to grow the roots of power. It was the West which first grasped the essence of successful agricultural organization—co-operation for the advancement of the individual welfare of the farmer.

The Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association was founded by W. R. Motherwell—in after years Provincial and then Dominion Minister of Agriculture—at a meeting held at Indian Head on December 18, 1901; he remained its President until 1905 with J. A. Maharg as the head in 1914 of an organization which then represented 20,000 members and a dominant political power in the Province; agricultural co-operation policies, public ownership of utilities and freer trade with the United States were vital planks in its platform. The general work of the Association in these years was remarkable and out of its activities or example grew the Manitoba and Alberta bodies; in agricultural trading it was largely responsible for the Grain Growers' Grain Co., the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Co., the Municipal Hail Insurance Association, and, of course, the Co-operative Wholesale Department of its own Association.

Following the Indian Head meeting of 1901 the first place to organize was Virden, Manitoba, and the pioneer of the movement there was J. W. Scallion who succeeded in forming a strong local Association early in 1903. A period of organizing activity followed and on March 4th, Mr. Scallion got together a Convention at Brandon with 100 delegates present representing 26 Locals; the Manitoba Grain Growers Association was formed with Mr. Scallion as President; the stated object was "to defend the legitimate interests of the people on the land and promote the self-development of rural community life." It also aimed to assist independent personal thinking and to create a better public spirit; to watch legislation relating to the Farmers' interests or affecting the marketing, grading and transportation of grain, live-stock and other products; to foster the co-opera-

tive method of distribution of farm products. D. W. McCuaig and R. C. Henders were successive Presidents and, in 1914, there were 8,000 members in the organization. Meantime, in 1906, the Alberta Farmers' Association had been organized as the third Provincial unit in the Grain Growers' chain; there was also in existence at that time the Canadian Society of Equity which had been imported from Nebraska by some farmers migrating to Alberta. D. W. Warner, Edmonton, was the first President of the Alberta Farmers; after much effort, the Society of Equity in 1908 joined the Farmers' Association and the combination became the United Farmers of Alberta with James Bower of Red Deer as President and with 122 Locals and about 2,000 members; from 1911 to 1914 W. J. Tregillis of Calgary was President, and the membership had grown to 12,000.

Ontario caught fire in 1913. Following the failure of the Grange to implement a projected alliance in 1909 with the Western organizations a number of its members, at their annual meeting on December 17, 1913, considered the question of consolidating Agricultural Societies in Ontario and appointed a Committee composed of E. C. Drury, Barrie, J. J. Morrison, Arthur, W. C. Good, Brantford, Lieut.-Col. J. Z. Fraser, Burford and others; on February 28, 1914, they issued an invitation to the officers of Farmers' Associations, and Clubs, subordinate Granges and Fruit Growers' Associations in Ontario to a meeting which took place in Toronto, on March 19th, with 200 delegates present. Mr. Drury presided and described Ontario as the weak link in the chain of Canadian Farmers' organizations; this Province, in particular, he declared, should not be importing butter, meats and eggs; he urged co-operation as a general policy and the creation of a Society to be called the United Farmers of Ontario with a United Farmers' Co-Operative Company. Organization was duly effected with Mr. Drury as President and Mr. Morrison

as Secretary; within five years the former was Premier of Ontario and the U. F. O. had 30,000 members.

Meanwhile, all the organizations, then existing, were united in 1909 within a central body called the Canadian Council of Agriculture; in 1916 it was reorganized with the three Western Grain Growers Associations, the various Farmers Co-operative organizations, the U. F. O., the United Grain Growers, Ltd., and, later on, affiliation by the United Farmers of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Quebec; in 1917 a Farmers Platform was issued by the Council with freer trade with Britain, U. S. Reciprocity, Proportional Representation, Senate Reform, Direct legislation—Initiative, Referendum and Recall—and opposition to Imperial centralization as its chief planks. By 1922 this Council represented 100,000 Farmers and the Progressive Party, under Hon T. A. Crerar, controlled its policy in Parliament and the country with 60 members of the Commons.

The growth of Hydro-electric power in Ontario during these years was an event of National importance. The pioneers in this development in Canada, the financial men who solved a great natural problem with enterprise and capital, the promoters who created, by the very conditions of their success, the ensuing Provincial problems of rates and cost and public ownership, were Sir H. M. Pellatt, Frederic Nicholls and Sir William Mackenzie through their formation and development of the Company which first brought Electric power to Toronto. The Electrical Development Company of Ontario, Ltd., was organized in 1902, received its franchises in 1903 and brought Niagara power into Toronto in 1906 by means of an associated concern, the Toronto and Niagara Power Co. Back of this simple statement, however, was the meeting of heavy financial requirements, the assumption of serious responsibilities, the conquest of engineering difficulties, the risking of large personal capital. Upon the final success of this project turned the awakening of Ontario to

the importance of its great water-power and the value of electricity; the campaign of Adam Beck, a member of the Government without Portfolio, throughout the Province in support of public ownership of Niagara's Electric power; the appointment of two Commissions of Enquiry; the newspaper criticism from time to time of the capitalists who had won victory out of apathy and achieved success by anticipating public requirements.

In the 3rd annual Report of the Company (1906) it was stated that English capital was being readily invested in their securities; the expenditure on the plant to date was given as \$9,414,995 and on real estate, for right of way, transmission lines, etc., as \$1,587,279; the capital stock of the Company was \$6,000,000 with 1st mortgage bonds of \$10,000,000. Then came the intervention of the Government with, at this time, three Canadian companies operating at the Falls—the Electrical Development of 125,000 h. p., the Canadian Niagara Power of 100,000 h. p., and the Ontario Power of 250,000 h. p.; on the United States side were two concerns with about 300,000 h. p. between them. There was an estimated 6,000,000 h. p. available. The legislation which followed the Beck agitation for public ownership was embodied in a Government measure carried by Mr. Beck in the 1906 Session.

Briefly analyzed, this Act provided for the transmission of Electric power to municipalities, and (1) created a permanent Hydro-Electric Power Commission consisting of three persons—one to be a Member of the Government—responsible to the Government and through it to the people; (2) gave this Commission power, upon application, to furnish municipalities with plans, specifications and estimates relating to the supply of electric power together with terms and conditions of contract to be made between any such municipal corporation and the Commission—the contract, after approval by municipal by-law, to be subject to approval by the Provincial Govern-

ment; (3) vested large powers of expropriation of land, etc., in the Government upon recommendation by the Commission, and, if approved by Government, the Commission was authorized "to demand, order and direct the delivery to that body of the whole or any part of the product of the works of any company or individual, developing or which proposed to develop, a water-power or water privilege for the purpose of generating electrical power or energy in the Province of Ontario, or to enter into agreements with any such company or individual for the supply of such product or any part thereof to the Commission for the purposes of this Act,"; (4) allowed the Commission to exact the proportion of charges, in addition to the price per horse-power payable by any municipal corporation, for generating, transforming and transmission losses.

Following this, Mr. Beck was appointed Chairman of the Commission of three members and, with the consistent backing of the Whitney Government and the equally consistent opposition of financial interests, commenced a process of development which went on until, in 1914, the Commission supplied power to 65,000 customers in 45 municipalities with total revenues of \$2,611,918, a gross surplus of \$62,000, a plant value of \$9,196,000 and a net Debt of \$8,353,000. The Hydro-Electric Power Commission at this time was in close touch with and representative of the Municipalities; at the same time, though independent of the Government, its Chairman was a member of the Government and the Legislature; the capital used was borrowed by the combined municipalities concerned through and with the guarantee of the Government and the money was spent by the Commission. Sir Adam Beck, as he became a little later, now was a power in the Province, and, within a few years, the liabilities of the Commission were over 100 millions and the supply of electric power increasing to very large figures.

Meantime, important changes had taken place in the boundaries

of Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba. The last-named Province had never received the territory to which she seemed entitled; when the great West became fitted for carving its lands into new Provinces strong claims were presented by Manitoba. Hitherto it had been curbed in any Eastern extension by the claims of Ontario and in its Western expansion by (1) the requirements of the Hudson's Bay Company, (2) the evolution of Saskatchewan and Alberta, (3) the development of Separate School and political problems which touched Dominion-wide interests. The result was that for 40 years Manitoba had only possessed an area of 73,732 square miles and was, indeed, "the postage stamp Province"—as local politicians sometimes termed it in their appeals to Ottawa for room to grow. With the coming of R. L. Borden to power in 1911 it was certain that the long struggle of the Conservative Government of Manitoba for more territory and greater revenues would obtain recognition and the only question was one of details and specific arrangement. The District of Keewatin lay ready to hand for division and exploitation, for population and railway communication with Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay.

Saskatchewan wanted a share, however; Ontario demanded a portion with a port on Hudson's Bay; Quebec expected to receive the great region of Ungava. In February, 1912, Resolutions and then legislation were carried by Mr. Borden through Parliament; on February 28th he stated that the new Boundary extension would add to the existing area of Manitoba 166,000 square miles of land and 12,000 square miles of water. Quebec was given the vast areas of Ungava which ensuing Provincial legislation termed New Quebec. Speaking on April 1st, Sir Lomer Gouin stated at Quebec that: "In 1897 the area of this Province was 201,536 square miles. In 1898, after its limits had been carried northward from the Height of Land it was 346,875 square miles. With the annexation of Ungava the area will be 702,875 square miles or about 425,000,000 acres." The

population of its new territory was, by the last Census, 1,171 and its acquisition, the Premier stated, was ratified subject to three conditions: (1) The preservation of the existing Quebec unit of representation, (2) a Provincial agreement along Dominion lines with the Indians, and (3) a guarantee of its rights of property to the Hudson's Bay Company.

By the same legislation Ontario received a great block of land larger than the British Isles and three-quarters the area of France or Germany; it increased the size of the Province by 56 per cent., or from 260,852 square miles to 407,252. The subject was discussed in the Legislature, as well as at Ottawa, Quebec and Winnipeg, and had for years been a matter of negotiation between the Dominion and Ontario Governments. The new region was called the District of Patricia—named after, and with the consent of, H.R.H. the Princess Patricia. Its area was given as 146,400 square miles and its addition made Ontario the second largest Province of the Dominion with, also, a sea-shore of over 600 miles in length. W. G. Miller, Provincial Geologist, reported, and after discoveries proved, the inclusion in this area of mineral wealth, of agricultural land here and there, and of abundant fish, game, timber and water-powers.

During these years important political events occurred in some of the Provinces. Sir James Whitney, who had been Premier of Ontario since 1905 and had carried the Province in three general elections, appealed to the people again in 1914 and was sustained, by a considerable majority. He was in bad health at the time—and gradually grew worse—passing away on September 25, 1914. There have been few public men in Canadian history as much respected and trusted as was Sir James Whitney. He was not popular in the ordinary sense; he was not learned in history or Imperial politics; he had little personal magnetism. Yet his influence was very great, his brusque, decided manner covered a singular power of quick

apprehension of essentials, he possessed an unusual faculty of reaching the root of things, his judgment was usually good and his opinion carried great weight. With Mr. Borden and his colleagues in their Reciprocity policy of 1911 and in their War action of 1914, his influence was greater than the public knew of. Sir W. H. Hearst, who succeeded him in Provincial power, was destined to be chiefly known by his successful Prohibition policy and his coincident but unsuccessful appeal for political support. In P. E. Island the Liberal Government was defeated during 1911 and J. A. Mathieson (Conservative) became Premier; J. K. Flemming (Conservative) succeeded Mr. Hazen in New Brunswick. Hon. A. L. Sifton (Liberal) remained Premier in Alberta; Hon. Walter Scott (Lib.) in Saskatchewan; Sir R. P. Roblin (Cons.) in Manitoba; Sir Lomer Gouin (Lib.) in Quebec.

Prohibition of the liquor traffic was essentially a war-time issue; amongst its many-sided problems this was, easily, one of the most complex and curious. It was claimed to be a great moral issue, it was said to be essential as a physical factor in the improvement of the race, it was supported, strenuously, as an economic element in the enforcement of public economy and the consequent increase in private and national resources available for war work. All the Provinces adopted it in some form or other during 1914-18, and it proved, in fact, to be one of the most successful efforts of a minority of the population on record. Temperance agitators and the churches and, in many cases, politicians, or parties which had included Prohibition as a plank in their platform, took advantage of the War to urge upon the public mind the waste of expenditures upon liquor, the moral crime of drunkenness, the duty of personal economy, the responsibility of civilians for the well-being of soldiers. The War action and example of France and Russia and the increasing restrictions in England, with the fact of British expenditures in 1913 upon

drink totalling \$830,000,000, were constantly pressed upon public attention.

Gradually, all the Provinces came into the circle and even Quebec and British Columbia tried a restricted form of Prohibition for a time. In Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and P. E. Island it was adopted by a vote of the electors without any qualification as to the future. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec it was made law (so far as it went) by legislative action. In these Provinces, however, the greater portion of the territory was "dry" by Local Option before the Provincial law had been passed. In Ontario a plebiscite was to be taken on the issue when the soldiers had returned. Whether economic, or moral, or an indirect result, as in the United States, of war psychology, there was no doubt of the powerful effect of this wave of sentiment which swept away an institution of centuries, an industry of \$100,000,000, a habit engrained in private life and character, an individual right or liberty which was almost fundamental in its nature.

As the Provinces, one by one, accepted the principle and found its operation seriously affected by the free importation of liquor under Federal law, the agitation was turned upon Ottawa and, in 1916, the Borden Government carried a measure which Mr. Doherty, Minister of Justice, explained on March 20th as a Bill "in aid of Provincial legislation prohibiting or restricting the Sale or Use of Intoxicating Liquors." He stated that the Provinces had full power to enact Prohibition within their territories; that it was the duty of the Federal Government to support such Provinces as might adopt this policy in carrying out the wishes of their people; that such a Provincial law should not be hampered in its effectiveness by the action of persons outside of the Province; that in the new enactment the legal definition of intoxicating liquor was that of each individual Province; that Provincial legislation prohibiting importation was

necessary before the Federal law could come into force. The measure passed with little opposition or discussion.

In 1919 the Hearst Government in Ontario submitted the question of continued operation of the Prohibitory law to a Referendum of the people and at the same time tested its own position in a general election. The Government was defeated with 25 Conservatives elected, 29 Liberals, 45 United Farmers, 11 Labourites and one Independent. E. C. Drury, U.F.O., formed a Government. Prohibition was sustained with a majority of 406,000 against repeal of the O. T. A. or Prohibition law; a majority of 325,000 against the sale of light beer through Government agencies; a majority of 364,000 against such sale under Local Option by standard hotels; a majority of 246,000 against the sale of spirituous and malt liquors by Government agencies. In 1920 the Federal Act as to non-importation and the Provincial enactment carried by F. G. Sandy as to control of transportation and delivery of liquor within the Province came into force.

Quebec in 1918 had greatly tightened the laws as to liquor selling with the stated expectation of complete Prohibition on May 1, 1919; public opinion, however, showed that it was opposed to this policy and Prohibitory clauses as to spirits were openly disregarded; Hon. W. G. Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer, carried a Referendum Bill in the Legislature, which asked the people whether they wished to retain the right to use beer and light wines as a beverage; the vote showed 178,112 in favour, and 48,443 against—with women not voting. The right to import liquor was, of course, retained. A Prohibition Bill was passed by New Brunswick in 1919 and in 1920 approved under a Referendum by 41,436 to 20,769; the sale of light beer and wines was defeated by 38,375 to 23,713.

British Columbia passed a partly Prohibitive law in 1919 but illicit sales of spirits and the prescription scandal made the law a

farce; in 1920 a vote was taken on the maintenance of this Act or Government control and the sale of liquors in sealed packages; with women voting a majority of 26,739 was given for Government sale and against the Prohibition Act. Alberta had approved Prohibition in 1916 by legislation but there was great difficulty in enforcing the law; in 1920 by 63,012 to 44,321 the Province supported prohibition of the import of liquor. Saskatchewan in 1915 had abolished the bars with Government stores selling liquor; complete Prohibition followed in 1916 and in 1920 a Referendum showed 86,950 against importation and 55,258 in favour. In Manitoba Prohibition came into operation early in the War; in 1920 importation was forbidden by 68,831 to 55,056 of a popular vote.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Canadian People and the World War

DURING the eventful days of July, 1914, with the lives of 20,000,000 people in the balance and the destiny of the world's greatest Empires in a melting-pot of strained diplomacy, the Canadian public hardly realized what was happening and the world at large had little knowledge of the grim realities it was facing. Statesmen and rulers knew something of it; the public could only wonder and shrink in horror from the thought. At this juncture, while every resource in British diplomacy was being strained to avert the final issue, and the British Fleet, which had been manœuvring in the North Sea, stood mobilized for battle; while Europe was preparing for the worst and the financial situation in London was becoming more and more critical and unpleasant; the various Governments of the British Empire were kept in close touch with existing conditions, and, as the end approached, loyal despatches proffering aid poured into Downing Street from all around the world—Canada being the first to proffer official support and active aid.

To Great Britain there were three vital points of policy and preparation at this moment and each of them affected, though in differing degrees, the situation of every Canadian and Australian, or of any British subject anywhere under the flag. The first was the Naval situation and that was believed to be satisfactory through the readiness of the Fleet; the second was the Military situation and that, obviously, had to wait upon international events; the third was the financial condition with its chances of a vast collapse in the world's system of credit and commerce and the consequent destruction of Britain's dominance. In the beginning, as the war-clouds grew black on the horizon, the delicate financial world fabric which

centred in London had begun to waver, the market for securities became demoralized, conditions changed from depression to one verging on panic, liquidation of securities to an unprecedented extent—caused in large measure by the sale of German-held stocks—proceeded. During the ten days in which this stock liquidation occurred (July 20–30) there was a total depreciation of \$1,000,000,000 in about 400 British stocks.

The cool, methodical, British mind, and Mr. Lloyd George's policy as Chancellor of the Exchequer, soon brought about an adjustment of conditions; in Canada, also, there was danger of serious trouble but the initial actions of the Borden Government were swift and successful. During the tense days preceding the final momentous decision the Duke of Connaught, as Governor-General, and Sir Robert Borden, as Premier and Minister of External Affairs, were kept fully advised of the general situation. His Royal Highness had been away in the West and did not get back to Ottawa until the morning of the eventful 4th of August; despatches reaching him from the Colonial Secretary at London were, however, wired back to the Government at the capital and preparations for eventualities were kept under way. The Prime Minister was, also, in constant communication by cable with Hon. G. H. Perley, Acting High Commissioner, who, in turn, was in close touch with the British Government and with current diplomatic action and interchanges.

As early as July 29 Ottawa correspondents of Government newspapers discussed the Imperial responsibilities and duty of Canada in the event of war. On the 30th official news of a serious nature arrived at Ottawa and Colonel Hughes, Minister of Militia, came hastily from his home at Lindsay; announcements appeared in the press that Canadian participation in the pending struggle—with infantry, cavalry, and artillery—was assured; a special meeting of the Militia Council was held and the statement issued that a first

Contingent of 20,000 or 25,000 men would be sent and preparations be at once proceeded with. Sir Robert Borden, who had been in Muskoka, reached Ottawa on August 1st and held almost continuous consultations, then and on Sunday, with the Ministers in town for the settlement of details in preparation and the exchange of frequent cable messages with the Imperial Government. Some of the Ministers were still in the West or scattered elsewhere for summer trips, but all were rushing homewards.

A special *Gazette* on the 3rd announced the British calling out of Royal Naval Reserves and the duty of those living in Canada; Sir George E. Foster abandoned his work on the Dominions' Trade Commission and arrived in Ottawa; French soil was invaded by German troops and Russia and Germany were already at war; the Canadian Government was warned of the presence of German cruisers in North American waters; Sir Richard McBride, Premier of British Columbia, rushed through a purchase of two Submarines at Seattle. On August 4th the Canadian and other Dominion or Colonial Governments were advised by cable from Lewis Harcourt, Colonial Secretary, that "all legislative and other steps to enable the taking of prompt action, if required, should be taken at once." A few hours later the World War had commenced. Meanwhile, on August 1st, when the danger had become obvious to all who were in touch with the situation, the Governor-General, after communication with his Ministers, had sent the two following despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

1. In view of the impending danger of war involving the Empire, my Advisers are anxiously considering the most effective means of rendering every possible aid and they will welcome any suggestions and advice which Imperial Naval and Military authorities may deem it expedient to offer. They are confident that a considerable force would be available for service abroad. A question has been mooted respecting the status of any Canadian force serving abroad as under Section

69 of the Canadian Militia Act the active Militia can only be placed on active service beyond Canada for the defence thereof. It has been suggested that regiments might enlist as Imperial troops for stated period, the Canadian Government undertaking to make all necessary financial provision for their equipment, pay and maintenance. This proposal has not yet been maturely considered here and my Advisers would be glad to have views of Imperial Government thereon.

2. My Advisers, while expressing their most earnest hope that peaceful solution of existing international difficulties may be achieved and their strong desire to co-operate in every possible way for that purpose, wish me to convey to His Majesty's Government the firm assurance that if, unhappily, war should ensue the Canadian people will be united in a common resolve to put forth every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of our Empire.

Mr. Harcourt replied with a grateful expression of thanks and a promise to take up details as soon as the situation became settled; similar offers poured in from Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, and all parts of the British world; on August 4, following the British declaration of War, H.M. the King sent to Canada and other parts of the Empire the following despatch: "I desire to express to my People of the Overseas Dominions with what appreciation and pride I have received the messages from their respective Governments during the last few days. These spontaneous assurances of their fullest support recalled to me the generous, self-sacrificing, help given by them in the past to the Mother-Country. I shall be strengthened in the discharge of the great responsibilities which rest upon me by the confident belief that in this time of trial my Empire will stand united, calm, resolute, trusting in God."

In reply H.R.H. the Governor-General sent the following despatch: "In the name of the Dominion of Canada, I humbly thank Your Majesty for your gracious message of approval. Canada stands united from the Pacific to the Atlantic in her determination to uphold the honour and traditions of our Empire." On August 5th the vast conflict had commenced and on the 6th Mr. Harcourt

cabled to the Governor-General at Ottawa that: "His Majesty's Government gratefully accepts offer of your Ministers to send Expeditionary Force to this country and would be glad if it could be dispatched as soon as possible." The composition suggested on the following day was one Division of about 22,500 men, which compared favourably with the expected British expedition to France of about 100,000.

Meantime the Government had made provision (August 3) to meet a threatened financial crisis in Canada by authorizing the Minister of Finance (1) to issue Dominion Notes to such an amount as might be necessary against such securities as might be deposited by the Banks and approved by the Minister of Finance: (2) authorizing the chartered Banks to make payment in bank notes instead of in gold or Dominion notes until further official announcement; (3) permitting the Banks to issue, from date, excess circulation to amounts not exceeding 15 per cent. of the combined, unimpaired, capital and reserve fund of each institution. Mr. White's action at this crisis saved the financial situation in Canada, averted a threatened run on the Banks, and practically restored confidence to the whole trembling fabric of Canadian credit. Sir Wilfrid Laurier arrived in Ottawa on August 4 and at once issued this statement:

We all hope and pray that the effort of Sir Edward Grey may yet be successful in persuading the nations of the Continent to the restoration of peace. I confess that the prospects are very doubtful. It is probable and almost certain that England will have to take her share in the conflict not only for the protection of her own interests, but for the protection of France and the higher civilization of which these two nations are to-day the noblest expression. The policy of the Liberal party under such painful circumstances is well known. I have often declared that if the Mother-Country were ever in danger, or if danger ever threatened, Canada would render assistance to the fullest extent of her power. In view of the critical nature of the situation I have cancelled all my meetings. Pending such great questions there should be a truce to party strife.

Varied and prompt action was taken by the Government in many directions. As a result of suggestions presented early in the year by Sir Joseph Pope, Under-Secretary for External Affairs, and following the line of recommendations made by the Colonial Secretary in 1913, the Departments of the Government had been organized under a general plan to meet an emergency such as now arose and it was found that each Department fell, naturally and easily, into its proper place in the new and critical work laid upon it, that they all worked smoothly and in systematized style, while the net operations were along lines similar to those taken in other parts of the Empire. Events moved rapidly. Prior to the actual declaration of war the two Canadian training cruisers, *Niobe* and *Rainbow*, and, a little later, the British Columbia submarines, were placed at the disposition of the Admiralty, while the small Naval Volunteer force was summoned for active service; immediately after the issue was called troops were ordered to guard the Welland Canal and Parliament was summoned for August 18th.

On August 5 the Cabinet sat in almost continuous session and issued all kinds of Orders-in-Council associated with the state of war into which the country and Empire were plunged. An official Memorandum issued from Ottawa at the close of that day said: "Action has been taken and is being taken by the Government in every available way and by every available means, to meet the present situation. They are in constant communication with the Imperial authorities. The Government is proceeding on the principle that steps should be taken without waiting one moment for strict legal authority, and that any necessary ratification therefor should be procured afterwards from Parliament." The Duke of Connaught had attended the morning sitting of the Cabinet and in the afternoon received the Opposition Leader Sir W. Laurier in a brief conference.

Precautions were taken by the Government to censor all cable and wireless messages and, during the early, critical days of the War, the process was very strict; careful oversight, also, was kept of those who were suspected of being German agents or spies. German and Austrian Consuls were ordered to leave the country at once. On August 6 the Governor-General sent the following despatch to the Colonial Secretary: "My Advisers request me to inform you that the people of Canada through their Government desire to offer 1,000,000 bags of flour, of 98 pounds each, as a gift to the people of the United Kingdom to be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government and to be used for such purposes as they may deem expedient." The Imperial Government accepted "with deep gratitude the splendid and welcome gift," and stated (August 7) that it would be of "the greatest use for steadying prices and relief of distress." As to the rest "we can never forget the generosity and promptitude of this gift and the patriotism from which it springs." The cost of the flour was estimated in the press at \$3,000,000, requiring 200 trains of 30 cars each to carry it to the port of shipment and a small fleet of vessels to carry it across the Atlantic.

Canada's Parliament met in the first War session of its history on August 18. Under grey skies, with grave and serious demeanour, with troops clad in khaki, the members gathered to listen to a Governor-General's Speech from the Throne which dealt exclusively with War issues, announced the past and present and proposed policy of the Government in this connection, and referred to questions which were echoing back from the shores of France, where British troops had just landed, and from the fields of Belgium where the great German war-machine was sweeping forward on its expected road to Paris. The Duke of Connaught was accompanied by the Duchess and Princess Patricia, and in his Speech stated that "very grave events vitally affecting the interests of all His Majesty's Dominions

have transpired since prorogation. The unfortunate outbreak of war made it immediately imperative for my Ministers to take extraordinary measures for the defence of Canada and for the maintenance of the honour and integrity of our Empire." Legislation was promised along these lines and a high tribute paid to Canadian sentiment and action. Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke with brevity and eloquence and promised co-operation of his Party with the Government. Sir R. Borden was earnest and patriotic: "In the awful dawn of the greatest war the world has ever known, in the hour when peril confronts us such as this Empire has not faced for a hundred years, every vain or unnecessary word seems a discord. As to our duty, all are agreed; we stand shoulder to shoulder with Britain and the other British Dominions in this quarrel. And that duty we shall not fail to fulfil as the honour of Canada demands."

This promise was well kept by Government and people. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet had many difficulties to face, based, primarily, upon the fact that Canada, its leaders and its people, had no experience of a great war or knowledge of procedure in such a crisis. Sir Robert Borden, however, in the first years of the struggle, and for the first time in Canadian history, was the leader of an entire people as well as of a great party; to handle the crisis and the work required special qualities of coolness, caution, and concentration. That he rose to the occasion and did his duty in an adequate way, without fuss, or flurry, or excitement, must be the high tribute of the future when the great issues, the tremendous strain, the silent labours of these months and years, come up for historic judgment. Unthinking people in these years called continually for quicker action, impulsive people wanted all kinds of impracticable policies and ideals realized at once, others demanded something spectacular in oratory or effort, or denounced details which they did not understand as parts of a whole.

The Premier, in the early months of the war, and through the ever-increasing political and national difficulties of a later time, maintained an attitude of coolness and patience admirably suited to the period; refused to be rushed into action or pushed back into reaction; pursued his settled policies, quietly, persistently and with ultimate effectiveness. He had to deal with a people absolutely unaccustomed to war, suspicious in many cases of Imperial interference, resentful of military discipline, opposed, before the War, to real military preparedness. He had to conciliate these elements, to hold an even keel between extreme Imperialism and extreme Nationalism, to keep French and English, East and West, in some form of co-operation, to hold in check the selfish and evil aims of the grafter or the grasping corporation. He also had to consider how far Canada should and would go in the new situation which followed the despatch of the first Contingent; how deep was the feeling so splendidly shown in that initial response; how much support the Government could rely upon and how far that support might go! Canadians were not an easy or restful people to guide and it is practically certain that had the Premier announced on September 1st, after the first rush to the colours was over, that a total of 500,000 men were required or were to be sent, there would have been strong opposition, keen antagonisms would have been raised, many things might have been said or written which would have hampered future recruiting, hostile interests would have been stirred to activity, racial difficulties, perhaps, accentuated.

In the policy decided upon the line of least resistance was followed, more and still more men were asked for and obtained by gradual call and steady persuasion. The Government, in short, obtained about 400,000 volunteers in two years and a half and, eventually, its full call of 500,000 men from a people who had considered the 7,000 men sent to South Africa fifteen years before as a

great performance; it built up a tremendous munitions industry as truly out of straw as were the Biblical bricks of old; it preserved and bettered the national financial conditions and held the divergent races of the country along lines of united, if somewhat uneven, action. It evolved finally into a Government representing all Parties and holding the expressed confidence of the people as a Coalition or Union Government.

Following the declaration of War the Permanent Corps, numbering about 2,500 men were placed upon active service in Canada; on August 6th orders were issued to enlist and mobilize at Valcartier, near Quebec, an Army Division of 21,000 men. Of these 13,000 were to be Infantry and the balance Artillery, Engineers, Signalling Corps, etc.; the Force, itself, was to be an Imperial one with the status of British regular troops. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry was at once raised by Hamilton Gault of Montreal with 1,000 men obtained in a few days and a personal contribution of \$100,000 to the Regiment's funds from Major Gault himself; at least 50,000 men volunteered with a few weeks for the Army Division and the Contingent was raised to a total of 33,000; Lieut.-Col. Sam Hughes, Minister of Militia, exhibited phenomenal energy in its organization and the establishment of its headquarters and preliminary training camp at Valcartier—the latter a marvellous product of rapid creation; the 1st Contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force—almost as numerous as the British Army at Waterloo—sailed down the St. Lawrence in 32 transports on October 1st and were escorted across the Atlantic by 10 battleships and cruisers commanded by Rear-Admiral R. E. Wemyss, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Meanwhile, on October 7th a 2nd Contingent of 15,000 men was called for and the offer accepted by the British Government; Sir Robert Borden issued a statement that so long as it was necessary and the War Office deemed it advisable Canada would keep con-

tinuously under arms 8,000 men and 30,000 others in training; the 2nd Contingent was quickly raised and included the Royal French-Canadian Regiment under Lieut.-Col. F. M. Gaudet—aided in its recruiting by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and other Quebec leaders; at this time the Minister of Militia stated that 200,000 men were in training as Home Guards throughout the country while the *Toronto Globe* demanded that 100,000 men be kept overseas above all wastage and wounding. During 1915 troops were raised and rushed forward as so many Battalions for active service and not as distinct contingents or divisions; there were raised 180,000 men or about 3,400 a week as a result of many and varied appeals to manhood and patriotism. It was pointed out that the fate of the Empire was at stake, together with the British institutions of which so much had been said in past years; that men were needed not only to destroy a Militarism gone mad, but to prevent the necessity for future extreme expenditures on defence; that if Germany won the War the rule of the new over-lord would be hard to endure and the liberties now exercised by British citizens would be gone; that the Sermon on the Mount would be replaced by "the will to Power" and religious ideals by military materialism; that Democracy would have proved a failure, loyalty to the Empire a sham, love for Canada a delusion; that if the British Empire went down the Canadian financial fabric, Canadian trade, Canadian prosperity, would go with it, while immigration coming into the country would be Teuton in character, capital invested would be a feeding ground for the German Empire and the Canadian West a stamping ground for the German farmer and settler.

It was difficult, however, to overcome the inertia of years; to understand that the War was really what the recruiting speakers called "our war;" to appreciate the fact that in the millions of troops at the Front, or going there, every man counted and that many units made an army; to realize that Canada was no longer an

insignificant, dependent, unknown colony, but a British nation with a nation's responsibilities and wealth and with great resources which were fit prey for foreign cupidity if Britain's power should ever be broken. This last point touched the greatest difficulty or, at least, the most frequently avowed excuse given by the eligible young men: "If it were a question of home defence I would be first to enlist." This sort of man would not accept the call of his country, the opinion of his statesmen, the appeal of his Sovereign, the common knowledge of what his Empire was doing or the sacrifices his Motherland was making. If it was merely an excuse it proved what probably was the real trouble in many quarters—a species of combined selfishness and indifference. Whether this was chiefly born of isolation from the heart of the Empire, of prolonged Pacifist teaching, of a cosmopolitanism growing out of proximity to the United States, or of simple love of comfort and ease, it is hard to say.

An element in the recruiting difficulties was the somewhat curious reluctance in the press and amongst many speakers to state that this was a war for the very life of the Empire—and of Canada as a part of it. The platform and newspaper call was, largely, one of battle for "Civilization." The average young man could at least have understood a call for Canada, for Britain, for the Empire; it is a question how far in this commercial age a plea for civilization and for a place in the World War, as such, really reached the heart of Canadians. Yet with all said and done the response of the country was a splendid one; the efforts of men and officers worthy of the highest eulogy and the lasting appreciation of their country and Empire; the bravery of those who volunteered greater than that in any similar period of history, because they knew the full horrors of the war as well as the necessity for service.

At the close of the year 212,000 men were under arms out of 500,000 called for. Upon the whole and under all the conditions

this was a splendid record and a remarkable result of two chief factors—the energy of the Minister of Militia and the real, underlying patriotism of the people. Much was said during this period as to the part played by the native Canadian as distinct from that of the Canadian born in the United Kingdom. Statistics compiled by the writer in 1915 from official lists, including 54,673 members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and representing, primarily, the first two Contingents, together with Artillery, Machine-gun sections, Hospitals, Divisional Supply Columns, Signal companies, Remount depôts, Cyclist corps, Ammunition columns, Army Medical Corps and Engineers, showed 42,195 born in England, Ireland and Scotland and 12,418 born in Canada. The love of one's home-country, the love of adventure innate in the Islanders and proven by the very fact of previous migration, the more intimate realization of the war by men born in a land directly threatened by German power, a closer personal touch with devastated Europe, all aroused the British settlers in Canada to a quick and active sense of duty. However that may be, at the close of the year the Prime Minister called for 500,000 men to complete Canada's contribution, and a little later (February 15, 1916) the enlistment figures stood as follows:

Native-born Canadians.....	73,935	30 per cent
British-born in United Kingdom.....	156,637	62 per cent
Others.....	18,899	8 per cent
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Total.....	249,471	100 per cent

As to Provinces, it was announced from Ottawa on November 2, 1915, that, approximately, Ontario had recruited 42,300 men, Quebec 14,000, the Maritime Provinces 15,000, Manitoba and Saskatchewan 28,000, British Columbia and the Yukon 17,000, and Alberta about 14,200. At the end of this month recruiting was at the rate of 1,000 a day, and this continued during several months. The year 1916, indeed, began with a record for recruiting which coloured public

thought and influenced Government action throughout the year. Certainly, the response to the appeal of patriotism in its first three months, the immediate reply to Sir Robert Borden's call for 500,000 men, was splendid. During January 29,212 men enlisted in all Canada; in February 26,658 enlisted; during March 32,705 joined the ranks—a total of 88,575, or over 1,000 a day if Sundays were excluded. About this time (March 20 to April 28) the United States, with its 100,000,000 population, was recruiting at high pressure for possible Mexican service, under the Hay Emergency Act of the late Congress; it obtained 5,417 soldiers, or 150 a day, with rejections totalling 18,442.

By June 1st, 334,736 men had been obtained in Canada out of the 500,000 asked for by the Government—a task which involved the recruiting of 30 per cent of all males of military age in the Dominion, or about 7 per cent of the total population with 10 per cent as the technical estimate of what could be, economically, taken from any population for war purposes. In the summer months a decline in enlistment became gradually more and more obvious; the difficulties grew greater and the struggles of the recruiting officers were pathetic; the instances of non-patriotic feeling or of indifference grew more frequent; the situation in Quebec became disheartening. During the seven months of June–December the total of straight recruiting under the Militia Department was 90,000 and at the rate of a little more than 400 per day. The totals after March were as follows: April, 23,289; May, 15,090; June, 10,795; July, 8,675; August, 7,267; September, 6,357; October, 6,033; November, 6,548; December, 5,791. To these figures, however, might properly be added many others, such as 9,052 men of the Militia called out for purposes of Home service; the Permanent Force of 2,470 men and a Canadian Naval Service Force of 3,310; the 1,600 volunteers for the British Naval Service and 1,200 men provided for the Imperial Mechanical

Transport Corps; 3,000 volunteers for expert munition work in Britain; 2,750 British reservists—a minimum and very low estimate—who had rejoined their colours, and 17,500 French, Russian and Italian reservists who had responded to their national calls. The total was 434,529 men from Canada on war service of some kind or other with a deduction of 70,263 for casualties—including 48,454 wounded, of whom about half were able to return to the front.

As to personal and Provincial details of the recruiting at this time there was considerable discussion. N. W. Rowell, K.C., in the Ontario Legislature on April 19, 1916, adduced figures up to March 1st, and from a total enlistment of 263,111, which showed by occupations 16,153, or 6 per cent, of professional men; 6,530, or 2 per cent, of employers or merchants; 48,777, or 18 per cent, of clerical workers; 170,369, or 64 per cent, of manual workers; 17,044 of farmers and ranchers, or 6 per cent, and 4,238, or 1 per cent, of students. By Provinces, Ontario deprecated the attitude of Quebec and was proud of its own position; the West, also, claimed to have done much better than the East. Taking the total of 378,413 up to December 1, 1916, it may be stated that Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia recruited 147,090, or a surplus of 11,332 above their share of the 500,000 men required, while Quebec, Ontario and the Maritime Provinces had raised 231,323, or 125,682 short of their proportion of the 500,000—the chief deficit being in Quebec. According to Military Districts, the figures from January 1, 1916, up to November 1, were as follows: London, Toronto and Kingston, in Ontario, 152,995; Montreal and Quebec, in Quebec, 39,907; Maritime Provinces, 33,694; Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 108,419; British Columbia, 36,580.

During 1917 these conditions were accentuated and the results were obvious. The picturesque personality of Sir Sam Hughes was replaced this year by the business-like administration of Sir Edward

Kemp. There was less driving force, with fewer results, in the Militia Department; there, also, was much less friction with fewer frills. The new Minister, however, had to meet a condition in which the voluntary system was reaching its limit, and in order to postpone the inevitable but undesirable method of Conscription, he and the Government tried all possible plans for increasing the Army. They seemed to feel, and no doubt wisely, that the public must be thoroughly convinced of the failure of voluntaryism before compulsion could be made effective. Hence, the National Service Board and its operations. Created by Order-in-Council on October 5, 1916, its primary object was to facilitate recruiting by a sort of voluntary co-ordinating of labour in the various industries with army requirements and the creation of a National registration of man-power. Aggressive action was ensured by the Chairmanship of R. B. Bennett, K.C., M.P.; work was hampered and the policy of the 13 Directors of National Service, under him, affected by the absence of exact legal authority. Strong efforts were made, and in September, 1917, the Board ceased to exist after a valedictory in the Commons from Mr. Bennett (September 20) in which he divided the returns into 286,976 military prospects in non-essential occupations and 183,727 in farming, while the Industrial classes reporting totalled 143,995.

By June 30, 1917, according to the Minister of Militia in the House on August 6th, the figures of direct enlistment totalled 424,456—exclusive of 40,000 or more in miscellaneous war services. In succeeding months not only did recruiting decrease, but wastage from casualties and the discharge of men in England or in Canada for various causes increased. The enlistments and wastage of the year ran as follows by months: January—Enlistments, 9,194; wastage, 4,396; February—6,809 and 21,951; March—6,640 and 6,161; April—5,330 and 10,894; May—6,407 and 13,457; June—6,348 and 7,931; July—3,882 and 7,906; August—3,117 and 13,232;

September—3,588 and 10,990; October—4,884 and 5,929; November—4,019 and 30,741; December—3,921 and 7,476. The total casualties—killed and wounded, died of wounds, prisoners, or missing—to December 31, 1917, were 145,671, of whom 25,138 were killed in action, 102,726 wounded and 2,740 prisoners of war.

Up to the middle of the year about 50,000 troops were in Canada under local training; by this time, also, the voluntary system had practically ceased to operate; the later plans and efforts of the Government had failed to be effective and compulsory service or conscription loomed as a necessity on the political and war horizon. No stone was left unturned to avoid this contingency, including the National Service Board, the effort of General F. L. Lessard and Hon. P. E. Blondin, to arouse Quebec, and, finally, the local Defence-Force scheme. There was expressed opposition all through these efforts, and during this period, to compulsion in any form. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was known to be opposed to such a policy as, indeed, had been all political leaders and parties of the past; Quebec would obviously resent Conscription when it did not respond to voluntarism in the same measure as the rest of Canada; official Liberalism still denounced the policy and others deprecated it under any condition.

Such was the situation when, on May 18th, after his return from England and his work in the Imperial War Cabinet, Sir Robert Borden told the country that a Conscription measure was imperative and would be introduced shortly. It was known that the 1911 Census showed 1,720,070 males between 18 and 45 years of age, the enlistments to date were 414,000, the number of munition workers were about 300,000 of whom perhaps 100,000 would not come in the available class, the men of all ages engaged on farms were 917,000. The Military Service Act was introduced to Parliament by the Prime Minister on June 11, 1917. In its preamble the Bill recited

the defence clauses of the Militia Act and proclaimed the new measure as necessary to obtain reinforcements "for the defence and security of Canada, the preservation of the Empire and of human liberty." Administration was placed under the Department of Justice and the term was for duration of the War and of demobilization; it covered all male British subjects between 20 and 45 years of age.

The tribunals to deal with exemptions and to hear appeals were (1) Local Exemption Courts, (2) Appeal Courts, and (3) a Central Appeal Judge who would be the final court of appeal. The conditions of exemption were broad and liberal: (1) that of working in essential War occupations; (2) those in work for which they had special qualifications; (3) cases where "serious hardship would ensue, if the man were placed on active service, owing to his exceptional financial or business obligations or domestic position, ill-health or infirmity"; and (4) conscientious objection to combatant service or prohibition by the tenets of his faith. Certain classes were exempted, such as members of His Majesty's regular, reserve, or auxiliary forces, as defined by the Army Act. These, in the main, were as in the British Act; men serving in any of the British forces on land or sea, with ministers of all denominations, and settlers of the Mennonite or Doukhobor communities were also excluded.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier followed at length and indicated the reasons which compelled him to accept a split in his Party upon this question, to break the unanimity of Canadian war action, to become essentially the leader of his people in Quebec and to make necessary, later on, a War election conflict. His reasons were, briefly, that the Government had always denied the possibility of compulsory service; that the law of the land forbade it except to resist invasion and that there was no danger of invasion by Germans; that the life of Parliament would never have been extended had Conscription been considered a possibility; that the working classes of all the Provinces

and the French Canadians of Quebec were opposed to such a policy; that it would create feelings of irritation and bitterness, and a sense of intolerance and injustice which would do harm to the cause; that there should be a Referendum and consultation with the people and that if the verdict were favourable he would pledge the service and obedience to law of every man of his own Province. The Leader of the Opposition then moved an amendment that "the further consideration of this Bill be deferred until the principle thereof has, by means of a Referendum, been submitted to and approved of by the electors of Canada." The ensuing debate was a long and interesting one, lasting for over three weeks and including a Nationalist amendment to the amendment, presented on June 20th, by J. A. Barrette, demanding that "this Bill be not now read a second time but it be read a second time this day six months." The second reading took place on July 5th, with the Barrette amendment receiving nine votes to 165, the Laurier amendment 62 to 111, an amendment by A. B. Copp, proposing delay, 56 to 115. The Bill passed by 118 to 55, the third reading by 102 to 44, and became law in due course.

Early in September a Military Service Council was appointed to aid the Justice Department in administering the Act, while the Premier and the Opposition leader joined in the appointment of a Board of Selection to create the necessary Exemption Tribunals; Registrars and Medical Boards were also appointed. By the close of 1917, 404,395 had registered, 380,510 had asked for exemption, with 278,779 claims allowed by local tribunals and 47,868 disallowed. The number of men eventually obtained under and by means of the Military Service Act (October 13, 1917, to November 15, 1918) was 83,355, of whom 20,743 reported voluntarily and 62,612 reported as ordered or under compulsory conditions; the number originally expected by the Government was from 50,000 to 100,000. The total of all enlistments up to the end of the War was 611,741.

CHAPTER XXXII

Canadian War Policy and War Developments

DURING 1914-18 many matters vital to the War and to Canada other than Recruiting had developed. Early in the period the War Measures Act had given large powers to the Government: (1) Censorship and control or suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communications; (2) Arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation of individuals; (3) control of the harbours, ports and territorial waters of Canada and the movements of vessels; (4) transportation by land, air and water and the control of the transport of persons and things; (5) trading, exportation, importation, production and manufacture; (6) appropriation, control, forfeiture and disposition of property and of the use thereof. The Immigration Act was amended so as to give control over residents of Canada, whether aliens or citizens, who should leave Canada to aid or abet the enemy and then attempt to return. The Canadian Patriotic Fund was established with a large number of representative men as incorporators, and with the following statement: "The objects of the Corporation shall be to collect, administer, and distribute the fund hereinbefore mentioned for the assistance, in case of need, of the wives, children and dependent relations of officers and men, residents in Canada who, during the present War, may be on active service with the naval and military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's allies."

There was much other important legislation in these years. In 1915 the electoral franchise was given to all Canadians—21 years of age and British subjects—on active service, whether at home or abroad, and detailed plans enacted for voting and for the holding and protection of the polls; there were Railway aid measures, Tax-



THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN
Prime Minister of Canada during the War, and a prominent figure at the
Versailles and Washington Conferences.



GENERAL SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE
Commander of the Canadian Corps in France, 1917-19; Principal of McGill
University since 1920.



CANADIAN GENERALS WHO HELD IMPORTANT COMMANDS IN THE WORLD WAR

Maj.-Gen. Sir P. O. W. Loomis

Maj.-Gen. Sir A. C. MacDonell

Lt.-Gen. Sir R. E. W. Turner

Maj.-Gen. L. J. Lipsett

Maj.-Gen. M. S. Mercer

Maj.-Gen. Sir David Watson

Maj.-Gen. Sir H. E. Burstall

tion bills, Prohibition legislation; the Military Voters' Act of 1917 reorganized the 1915 measure and applied it to new conditions; the War-times Election Act of the same year took the unusual course of disfranchising alien enemies and women of alien allegiance—disqualifying from voting during war-time all those of alien enemy birth or language who had been naturalized since 1902; a Women's Franchise Bill was carried in 1918, by Sir Robert Borden, and gave a vote to every woman who was 21 years of age, a British subject and not disqualified by enemy race or nationality.

The making of Munitions was a serious problem and here, again, the tremendous energy of General Sir Sam Hughes—as he became during the war period—was effective. This industry had been, up to 1914, a special branch of a greater industry—that of preparedness for war. Germany had enormous quantities ready for immediate use; its vast stores of cannon, big guns, artillery of every size and shape and degree and power required proportionate supplies of ammunition, shells, etc. Krupp's was the greatest of German national industries for years before the War; what were the subsidiary industries which provided food for all this artillery seemed to be unknown to the world. In Britain and Russia, when the crisis came, the supplies of guns and ammunition were equally and shamefully low. Just as the first British Army had four machine guns to the battalion where the Germans had fifteen or more, so Mr. Lloyd George, when he took hold of the new Munitions Department of Great Britain seven months after the outbreak of War found that 2,500 high explosive shells daily were being turned out against 250,000 daily by the Germans.* Even France, in close touch with the seat of danger, was short of shells and big guns.

* Speech in Parliament on December 20, 1915. During these months, as in preceding years, General Sir S. B. Von Donop was Master-General of the Ordnance. His name and nationality are obvious.

Canada's condition was excusable in the light of these facts and it was one of absolute negation at the beginning. There were no munitions made in the country and there never had been any of the slightest importance; the nearest and only approach to it was the Ross Rifle factory at Quebec and some slight production at the Dominion Arsenal there. At the same time the country was well suited for such an industry. Great iron and steel interests had obtained a footing, had received Government support in the way of bonuses on their production, had been provided with much private capital running up to 100 millions. After the first Contingent was well under way and Col. Hughes could give a little time to something else he called a meeting (September 2, 1914) in the Arsenal at Quebec to discuss the making of munitions and other war supplies into which iron and steel largely entered. The Minister had, already, drawn the attention of the British War Office to what he believed to be Canada's capacity in this respect and he now hoped to lay the basis for a large development. A Canadian Shell Committee was at once appointed and composed, eventually, of Colonel (afterwards Sir) Alex. Bertram, Thos. Cantley, George W. Watts and E. Carnegie, representing the manufacturers; Col. Thomas Benson, Master-General of the Ordnance, Col. C. Greville-Harston, J. W. Borden and Lieut.-Col. F. D. Lafferty, representing the Department of Militia. David Carnegie of London, England, was added to the Committee as Ordnance Adviser and representative of the British War Office.

No shells had yet been made in Canada but within four months of this meeting it was estimated that fifty Canadian manufacturers, large and small, were engaged in making shells for the British Government and it was stated that nearly all of the Canadian steel companies had put in the plant necessary for the business, while all materials in use were the product of Canadian firms. The C. P. R., also, had devoted its great Angus machine shops at Montreal to this

work and, within a few months, 10,000 men were busy there making munitions; later on the G. T. R. shops at Transcona were partially turned into a Munition factory. By March 12, 1915, a return presented to the Commons showed 200 factories engaged in the manufacture of shells with a copper driving band as the only component part not yet made in Canada. The contracts in hand were said to total \$80,000,000. The first British contract had been for 200,000 shrapnel shells (empty) but the rapidity with which the manufacturers converted their factories to new uses convinced the Minister that complete, filled and fixed ammunition should be attempted—including shells, brass cartridge cases, primers, clips, cordite, powder, pellets and fuses. Within a few months all of these products, except fuses, were under way and, eventually, under successful construction.

By the middle of 1915 it was officially stated that 130 firms, from Halifax to Vancouver, were engaged in the work of machining and assembling shells. Others were occupied in the manufacture of blanks, bullets, disks, cartridge cases, buckshot, primers, tubes, tin cups for shrapnel, grub screws, sockets and plugs, steel base plates and boxes. Altogether no less than 247 factories by that time were engaged in this work, in 78 cities and towns, giving employment to between 60,000 and 70,000 artisans, with a total weekly wage-bill of \$1,000,000. As a matter of fact Canada had delivered 250,000 shells in England before British factories, outside of Government arsenals, had got to work there; incidentally it may be said that the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Co. was the first in Canada to supply steel shell and shrapnel forgings. The coming of Mr. Lloyd George into control of the British Munitions Department in June, 1915, worked wonders in orders and general effort; by the autumn of this year 329 Canadian firms and 90,000 skilled workers were employed in this industry with \$500,000,000 worth of orders placed.

Sir Sam Hughes stated, in Toronto on October 25th, that 360 million pounds of steel had been turned into shells in Canada to date.

Following this came the visit of D. A. Thomas, M.P. (Lord Rhondda), and the reorganization of the Shell Committee. On November 29th, its resignation was announced at Ottawa with the appointment of a new Imperial Munitions Board as a purely British organization. Of it Sir Sam Hughes was appointed Hon. President; J. W. Flavelle, the well-known manufacturer and financier of Toronto, was Chairman with executive and administrative powers; Major-General Alex. Bertram was Deputy Chairman. The other members were Col. David Carnegie, G. H. Dawson, Victoria, Charles B. Gordon, Montreal, J. A. Vallaincourt, President of La Banque d'Hochelaga, Montreal, and E. R. Wood, Toronto. F. Perry, a South African mining expert and one-time Colonial Official, was added a little later to act as intermediary between the British Minister and the Board. It was semi-officially announced at this time (1) that shells could now be successfully and profitably manufactured in Canada and that, instead of holding back, there was a keen competition on the part of manufacturers to secure contracts; (2) that the volume of orders placed in Canada had grown at a very rapid rate and the output, both of shell cases and component parts, had increased so largely as to require a more highly organized department to ensure efficient co-ordination and prompt deliveries; (3) that in the short space of 14 months the Shell Committee, with the active encouragement and support of General Sir Sam Hughes, had developed the largest industry in the whole of the Dominion; (4) that it had been the means, also, of bringing into being certain important subsidiary industries which would have a permanent effect in developing the resources of the country.

Electric refining of zinc, copper refining, the making of brass and manufacture of explosives such as nitro-cellulose, tri-nitro-toluol

and sabulite were amongst the new industries thus established. At the close of 1915 the monthly output was over one million shells valued at 30 million dollars; orders had been received for 22,800,000 shells of which 2,000,000 fixed and 6,000,000 empty shells had been shipped; there were 422 munition plants at work. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1916, the total of manufactured exports from Canada was 250 millions or nearly four times more than it was in 1914; at the close of that year Canada was shipping 40 millions a month of manufactured goods in comparison with a little over 5 millions a month before the War; the export of munitions and war products alone was \$296,505,257 for the year ending December 31, 1916. What the Minister had sown the Shell Committee had watered and the Imperial Munitions Board cultivated. There were great difficulties, there were some alleged scandals under the Shell Committee organization, there was inevitable controversy as to the letting of contracts, there was Sir Sam Hughes' courageous statement that the manufacturers—whether members of the Committee or not—who first put capital into the production of shells were entitled to and would receive a preference in future contracts. There was a Parliamentary enquiry in 1915 into what were called the Kyte charges and the Minister was acquitted of personal blame or impropriety.

Another chapter opened in the creation of the Imperial Munitions Board. Its policy at first was to purchase directly the raw materials of every description which were required and these were passed on from one contractor to another, each being paid successively for his labour. This plan saved the contractor large investments of capital otherwise necessary to produce complete shells and, at the same time, ensured a proper distribution of the materials available so that the maximum production might be secured. Contractors were given the opportunity to pay for their necessary invest-

ment of capital through the profits derived from their contracts. Subsequently the business was placed upon a competitive basis. Industries new to Canada were established and, in collaboration between the Board and the Dominion Department of Mines, an extensive production of alloys to be used in the manufacture of high-speed cutting tools was organized, while the development of an explosive and propellant industry proved an important achievement.

In 1917 shipbuilding for the Canadian Government was undertaken by the Board upon a large scale and contracts eventually were let up to a value of \$70,000,000 with a shipping tonnage of 360,000; a national plant was also established, with Imperial money, for the construction of aeroplanes for training purposes and of these 2,500 or more were produced, while bombing planes were, later on, made for the United States Navy; the Board also acted as general and exclusive purchasing agent on behalf of the War Office, the Admiralty, the British Timber Comptroller, the British Department of Aeronautics and Ministry of Munitions and as agent for the United States Ordnance Department in arranging contracts for munitions and supplies. In its organization the Board was presided over by Sir J. W. Flavelle—created in 1917 a Baronet for his Imperial War services—and his keen business and financial capacity pervaded all sections of the large business which steadily grew as the War demands increased. Three large plants were operated for the production of nitro-cellulose, cordite and T. N. T. with acid plants in addition and the production of acetone; there also were Forging, Fuse, Timber and Engineering departments of the Board. By 1918 its staff included 1,500 men and women and 300,000 workers were employed including 12,000 women. Production for the years 1914-15-16 under the Shell Committee totalled \$353,748,109; in 1917 it was \$388,213,553 and in 1918, \$260,711,751 or a total of \$1,000,000,000. During the last 6 months of the War 15 per cent of the

total expenditures of the British Ministry of Munitions was incurred in the Dominion where, by that time, nearly every type of shell—from the 18-pounder to the 9.2 inch—was produced. At the close of the War Canada was supplying 55 per cent of the total shrapnel requirements of the British armies.

Meanwhile enormous changes had taken place in financial and trade matters. At the beginning of the War Canada was a debtor nation as it had been during all its national career and in almost every phase of its corporate life; it nearly always had bought more than it sold or imported more than its people could pay for in exports. At the close of the War it was lending money and shipping more products abroad than were imported. In the four years ending March 31, 1914, the total exports had been \$1,484,743,600 and the imports \$2,318,643,002; in the four-year period of 1914-18 the exports were \$4,335,549,319 and the imports \$2,965,497,837. A change in eight years from a four-year excess of \$870,000,000 in imports to a four-year excess of \$1,370,000,000 in exports was an extraordinary economic record and trade revolution. In this process the solidity of the British financial system had afforded strong support, the safety of the seas had given a background without which the change would have been impossible, the war production of the period had been a conspicuous element, the financial capacity of Sir Thomas White, as Minister of Finance, a considerable factor.

A serious fact in the first few days of uncertainty and war peril in 1914 was the demand for gold in place of Bank or even Dominion Government notes. Mr. White, as Minister of Finance, heard the representatives of the bankers, and before this very natural tendency could take a form dangerous to financial stability he acted—quickly and without regard to technical considerations. On August 4th he announced through Orders-in-Council that Bank notes were to be legal tender and, for the time being, irreclaimable in gold. The

effect of this drastic step had been striking. Public confidence was very largely restored, Bank business went on almost as usual, commercial and financial failures remained nearly normal. Of course, the progress of the War had something to do with this; there was no great immediate disaster, no capture of Paris, no British naval defeat; the seas were measurably secure, international trade continued.

The one thing seriously affected was international exchange and the failure of the United States at the moment to make good its gold indebtedness to Britain. On August 12th it was announced by the Minister that negotiations had been going on between the Government and the Bank of England, under which the latter institution would keep a gold balance in the hands of the Finance Minister at Ottawa with payments against it in London. The amount was steadily enlarged to facilitate British business with the United States and to help in controlling sterling exchange rates at New York. Transactions assumed a large figure, though evidently not included in statements of import and export. Those announced up to November 14, 1914, totalled over \$73,000,000, while coin and bullion imports for the year ending March 31, 1915, were \$131,000,000; in 1916 and 1917 they totalled \$62,000,000. There were at other stages varied phases of the exchange difficulty; as a rule, however, a visit by the Finance Minister to Washington or negotiations with London adjusted the matter. By the close of the War, it may be added, the value of the gold coin and gold bullion received at Ottawa by the Department of Finance as Trustee for the Imperial Government and the Bank of England totalled \$1,300,000,000. As the months and years of war passed on the Minister was able to establish credits in Canada on behalf of the Imperial Government totalling \$709,000,000 up to November 30, 1918, and with these Great Britain purchased war supplies and munitions in Canada; he also arranged with the Chartered Banks to make further advances of \$200,000,000 for the



ON VIMY RIDGE, WHERE CANADA WON LAURELS

The Canadians took the important position of Vimy Ridge on Easter Monday, April 9, 1917. They advanced with brilliance, having taken the whole system of German front-line trenches between dawn and 6.30 A. M. This shows squads of machine gunners operating from shell-craters in support of the infantry on the plateau above the ridge.



AFTER THE BATTLE OF VIMY RIDGE

Canadian transport thronging a sunken road just captured from the Germans. On the left are Germans, captured, and on the right are German prisoners employed in bringing in our wounded.

British purchase of munitions and wheat. Against these totals Great Britain advanced to the Dominion \$609,000,000 for the maintenance of Canadian troops abroad, etc.

Meanwhile, revenue and trade and production had all been growing greatly. In 1914-15 (March 31st) the national revenue was \$133,073,481, in 1915-16 \$172,147,838, in 1916-17 \$232,701,294, in 1917-18 \$260,778,952, or a total of \$798,000,000; there was a deficit in the first War-year but surpluses in each year following, over ordinary expenditures, of \$42,000,000, \$84,000,000 and \$82,000,000 respectively. War expenditures, however, totalled in the four years \$877,263,847, with an outlay to November 30, 1918, which made it \$1,068,606,527. To meet these enormous demands special taxation was of course necessary, and Sir Thomas White was not afraid to tax everything except the more essential supplies. Higher customs duties were imposed in 1915 through an ad valorem increase of 7½ per cent to the general tariff, and 5 per cent to the British preferential tariff, on all commodities except certain foodstuffs, coal, harvesting machinery, etc.; in 1918 a special duty was put on tea and coffee. Excise duties on liquors and tobacco were greatly increased; war taxes were imposed on transportation tickets, telegrams, money orders, cheques, letters, patent medicines, etc. Under the Business Profits tax the Government, in the case of all business concerns having a capital of \$50,000 and over, took 25 per cent of the net profits over 7 per cent and not exceeding 15 per cent, and 50 per cent of the profits over 15 per cent and not exceeding 20 per cent. In the case of a business having a capital of \$25,000 or under \$50,000 the Government took 25 per cent of all profits in excess of 10 per cent on the capital employed. Companies employing capital of less than \$25,000 were exempted, with the exception of those dealing in munitions or war supplies.

An Income tax was inaugurated for the first time in Canadian

history and came into effect in 1918 with a scale which provided for \$1,000 exemption of income in the case of unmarried persons, \$2,000 in the case of married people and \$200 exemption for each child. An issue of \$50,000,000 of War Savings Stamps was announced in 1918 with a view to increasing Government revenue and encouraging individual thrift. Meanwhile the National Debt had grown from \$335,996,850 on March 31, 1914, before the War, to a total of \$1,330,228,898 on December 31, 1918, after the War. As against this latter fact was the enormous (though partly nominal) increase in national wealth. Prior to the War the total wealth of the whole Dominion in lands, buildings, livestock, fisheries, manufactures, railways, canals, shipping, telegraphs, telephones, real estate, coin and bullion, merchandise in store, and current production, was put at \$11,000,000,000. In 1918 the Dominion Census Bureau officially estimated the total at \$19,002,788,125. To this great increase in wealth was due, no doubt, the facility with which money in this one-time borrowing community was obtained from the people for War purposes through National loans—totalling a Government call in the five Loans issued of \$950,000,000 and a general subscription of \$137,729,500 to the first Loan in 1915, \$201,444,800 to the second in 1916, \$260,768,000 to the third in 1917, \$419,280,000 to the fourth in 1917, and \$695,389,277 to the fifth in 1918, or a total of \$1,690,000,000.

Meantime, as already stated, Canadian trade had been advancing by leaps and bounds. Between 1911 and 1914 (March 31st) it had increased \$53,000,000 and had passed the billion dollar point; closely following the outbreak of war there was a natural but surprisingly small check in the process of expansion; in the fiscal year 1916 there was a remarkable increase from \$1,112,000,000 to \$1,424,000,000. By 1918 the total increase since the War began was \$1,400,000,000. More important, however, than this total—significant enough in itself—was the nature of the change which it

involved. Before the War (March 31, 1914) Canada had imported \$633,000,000 and exported \$479,000,000 worth of products with a balance of \$154,000,000 against her and this payable largely in borrowed money; two years later (March 31, 1916) the total imports were \$542,000,000 and the exports \$882,000,000, or a favourable balance of \$340,000,000. In 1918 the imports had leaped to \$962,000,000 and the exports to \$1,586,000,000, or a balance to the good of \$624,000,000.

An increase in four years of \$68,000,000 in the exports of minerals, fish and lumber, of \$111,000,000 in Animal products, of \$200,000,000 in Agricultural produce and \$484,000,000 in manufactures affords a vivid picture of war-time prosperity. Such a change in conditions was, of course, a tremendous factor and it influenced every phase of the national life. It was a proof of the productivity of the country, an evidence of the capacity of the manufacturers and financiers and public men of the nation, a proof of the industry of the people and of the organized patriotism of labour and capital. It was aided, of course, in total values by the increased war prices. There were in this whole critical period of the War few strikes and no serious troubles between employers and workmen; high wages were given the workmen and high prices paid by them; at the same time the total Bank deposits of the people, after meeting war loans and war subscriptions and war prices, increased by \$660,000,000 during the War. Following a depression in stocks which had existed before the War, and the almost complete cessation of speculation in land, another process of development arose out of the submergence of prices and values in August, 1914. There had been a continuous depreciation in the market of most Canadian stocks before that date and since 1912. According to the *Montreal Financial Times*, in detailed figures, 38 Canadian stocks had depreciated in that time to a total of \$38,000,000. By

August 14, 1915, 31 representative stocks had entirely changed their condition and appreciated \$90,000,000, while in October, 1916, 37 such stocks appreciated another \$80,000,000. Similar changes continued to the end with large developments in the value of War stocks or shares in munition-making concerns and a little later in pulp and paper concerns.

Another change in economic conditions was the transfer of Canada's borrowing arrangements from London to New York and thence to its own people. When the roar of German guns was first heard on Belgian soil its echo told the Canadian financier that he could get no more money in England until that sound had ceased and that the fertilizing stream which had set going the railways of Canada, dug its canals, built its steamships, developed its soil through indirect loans to farmers, backed up its entire financial fabric and Government policy of progress, must stop for a time. Would Canadian credit hold good? was the question of the day. Could public works still be carried on by Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities? Would the individual interests of the country receive a check which might spell disaster and, in any case, involve prolonged, crushing depression? The answer came (1) through the financial action and policy of the Government and its British backing; (2) through the stability and efficiency of the Banks; (3) through the security and continuance and increase in trade; (4) through loans freely floated in New York which totalled, for all Canada, in the first two years of war, \$300,000,000; (5) through loans from the people to the Government which ran up to \$1,788,000,000 during the War and to much more if Provincial and Municipal loans were included; (6) through the work of the Government institutions such as the War Trade Board and the Imperial Munitions Board and various energetic Departments.

Railways obtained a considerable portion of Government loans,

and they needed it. One of the gravest problems facing the Government at the outbreak of war was the situation in this respect. Railway earnings already were on the down-grade, while two great lines were barely completed across the continent with huge debts maturing, large Government interests and still larger public interests involved, and a maximum of expenses, certain for some years to come, with a minimum of earnings. War appeared to mean, and did mean, for many months, largely reduced receipts, fewer passengers, less freights. Careful management, however, succeeded for a time in reducing expenses, while increasing trade, gradually and then rapidly, increased receipts. The Railway mileage in 1914 was 30,795 and, in 1918, 38,879; the tons of freight carried were, respectively, 101,393,989 and 127,543,687; the number of passengers were 46,702,280 and 50,737,294; the net earnings rose from \$64,108,280 in 1914 to \$87,880,842 in 1917 and then commenced to fall, with the 1918 total \$56,264,714. Rates, however, were kept too low by Government intervention while ocean transport rates were climbing sky-high owing to the Submarine destruction of trading vessels and other War conditions.

Meanwhile proposals for Railway nationalization, or public ownership on a large scale, had been made possible by the War and its application in respect to certain Canadian railways became almost inevitable through war-created conditions. The action of the Government in saving the railway and financial situation in 1916, by special aid to the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern for the purpose of meeting current obligations and interest payments, precipitated the appointment (July 13, 1916) of a Royal Commission to inquire into Railways and Transportation—including territories served by the three great systems of Canada, physical conditions, operative methods, branch lines, connections in the United States, steamship connections and financial conditions, together with prob-

lems of reorganization, or state acquisition. The Commissioners appointed were Alfred H. Smith, President of the New York Central, Sir Henry L. Drayton, Chairman of the Canadian Railway Commission, and William M. Acworth of London. The Report was presented to Parliament on May 3, 1917, with one section signed by Sir H. L. Drayton and Mr. Acworth and the other by Mr. Smith.

The majority document was in favour of a disguised form of Government ownership; the minority of one (Mr. Smith) was opposed to this policy in principle and practice. The Government, however, had to decide an immediate issue—apart from theories, precedents of peace times in other countries, or the rights and wrongs of particular proposals. The Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific must have still more help under war conditions which made it impossible to obtain money on the open market; public opinion was thought to be opposed to further Government aid without Government ownership or control; the Prime Minister had at one time led a political campaign in favour of this latter policy in relation to the Grand Trunk Pacific construction period; the success and wealth of the C. P. R. made the public suspicious of "great and grasping corporations," while the lack of prosperity in other Railways made people fearful of future Canadian burdens from corporations that might not succeed!

The West was almost a unit for Government ownership and the West was swinging a wide measure of political influence. In Parliament on August 1, 1917, Sir Thomas White presented the Government's plan for a solution of the problem. After dealing at length with the Royal Commission, its reports, and its conclusions, he presented his policy: (1) To acquire the 600,000 shares of capital stock of the C. N. R. Company—par value \$60,000,000—at a price to be determined but not to exceed \$10,000,000; (2) to appoint three arbitrators to settle such values and obtain such reports and

facts as might be necessary; (3) to give the Company, upon transfer of these shares, all necessary aid in arranging its indebtedness and obligations—the total on September 30, 1917, being \$557,331,355. Eventually Parliament approved the proposals and the C. N. R. in 1918 became Government property. A temporary expedient in respect to the Grand Trunk Pacific was another Government Loan; in 1919 it passed into the hands of receivers and, practically, came under Government control.

Canadian industry, in its manufacturing sense, faced and conquered difficulties, great difficulties, in these years. It had to meet at first a prospect of diminished markets, depleted labour, high cost of supplies, decreased prices of products, lower capital reserves and credit, with all kinds of speculative war risks in prices, raw material, shipments, cost of transportation, etc. It entered the depressing period of August, 1914, with production already reduced and sails furled for a possible period of still more diminished output and greater financial restriction. It afterwards emerged from two years of war with the greatest output in its history—totalling an estimated sum of \$2,000,000,000—with every factory busy, with appeals for men and women workers from all parts of the country, with prices of products high and demand incessant, with no time to think of the future, or even, in some cases, to safeguard the present. Munitions and war supplies had much to do with the process, increased home demands, resulting from decreased imports, influenced the result, great prosperity in Agriculture, in minerals, timber, fisheries and livestock to a 1915 production of over \$1,600,000,000, had much to do with it.

According to an official census of Canadian manufacturers for the year 1917, the value of products made in Canada totalled \$3,015,506,869, which compared more than favourably with the figures for 1915, which were \$1,407,137,140, or for 1905, which totalled

\$718,352,603. To more than double production in two years certainly was a record; at the same time wages grew from 1915 to 1917 from a total of \$229,000,000 to \$457,000,000; the invested capital increased from \$1,994,000,000 to \$2,772,000,000. There was, also, a tremendous demand for new vessels and shipping and a natural development in this line of Canadian industry. Early progress was made along substantial lines, and by the close of 1916 splendidly equipped shipbuilding plants were in operation at Montreal, Toronto, Collingwood, Port Arthur, and Vancouver; auxiliary schooners were under construction at Vancouver for the Pacific timber trade; various contracts were in hand for ships required by Norway to replace its torpedoed vessels; twenty or more steel freighters were under construction for export, presumably to Britain; wooden ships were being successfully built in Nova Scotia. In 1917 the Government took up the question of encouraging the industry with a dozen great shipbuilding yards ready for action. Between January 1, 1918, and the end of that year 45 steel vessels, with a carrying capacity of 208,167 tons, and 58 wooden vessels with a capacity of 159,200 tons, had been launched under the order of the Imperial Munitions Board, the Department of Marine, or by private contract, with further Government contracts authorized.

Meanwhile, Agriculture had made tremendous progress. During these years, indeed, the farmer became one of the pivots upon which the destiny of nations and the conduct of the World War turned. In Canada he did not always understand or appreciate what this meant; occasionally it conveyed to him only an opportunity of getting higher prices for a stated product or better returns for a given amount of work. It really was possible to be an individual profiteer on a farm as it was in the manipulation of munitions or any other war industry. But, upon the whole, the Canadian farmer worked hard in these war years, did his duty well, and profited by

substantial prices even while paying more for seed and wages and supplies. At the same time he kept his own interests well to the front by organization, by demands in certain sections for Free trade in various products, by a system of organized agitation which equalled, if it did not excell, the undoubted capacity and influence of the manufacturers. The powerful Grain Growers' associations of the West first took up co-operative supply, then co-operative elevators, then co-operative finance; they took part in Provincial politics along agricultural lines and expanded into British Columbia, Ontario and Nova Scotia where similar organizations and principles were established in these years and grew to a considerable extent. Farmers were accorded free-trade in wheat and wheat flour while the duty on farm tractors was remitted during the war, and 1,100 tractors were distributed by the Government at cost; prices were fixed for wheat in such a way that substantial profits were assured, while Imperial and Allied purchasing agencies made certain a profitable market for all that could be produced in Canada; seed deficits in certain sections of the West were met by Dominion Government advances or supplies.

The Canadian farmer during these war years had two dominant beliefs—one, that his industry was the basis of Canadian strength and a factor in war success; the other that it was just as patriotic to produce as to fight; at the same time a substantial part of the enlisted troops were farmers' sons. The Census and other figures showed great agricultural prosperity. In 1911 the valuation of Canadian farm property (including livestock) was \$4,231,840,636, and in 1917 it was estimated at \$5,000,000,000; in the fiscal years 1914-15-16-17-18 the shipments abroad of farm products (agricultural and animal) totalled \$2,056,000,000, and most of this export went to the United Kingdom at war prices with profits to both the farmer and the middleman; every report of Provincial or Dominion

farm organizations showed prosperity and excellent financial conditions in these years, and the above export compared with a total of \$1,500,000,000 of industrial production—including War industries and munitions; the average value of occupied farm lands went up from \$38.41 per acre in 1914 to \$46.00 in 1918 while the increased value of grain and livestock in 1914-18 was \$1,400,000,000; official figures showed increased values in livestock alone, and in the one year, of \$224,000,000. In 1912-13-14 the average yearly value of Canada's exports of butter, cheese, eggs, oats and wheat was \$118,000,000; in 1918 the actual export was \$445,000,000.

Meantime the world-shortage in food had produced a system of regulation and control in Canada under (1) Hon. W. J. Hanna and (2) H. B. Thomson and the Food Board; it had produced also a vigorous and continued appeal for increased farm production, for more foodstuffs; by economy and restriction in consumption, by increase in home and market gardening, by additional labour help from the cities to the farms, by increased prices for production, the farmers were encouraged to produce more and more. The fact that in beef the export of 1918 was 126,000,000 pounds, or a gain of 42,000,000 over 1917; that in pork the export increased from 12,000,000 to 35,000,000 pounds; that in wheat and other food grains the same two years saw an increased acreage of 6,000,000; that the consumption of fish increased 100 per cent, and that butter was largely exported instead of being imported in considerable quantities; that the Canadian consumption of wheat flour was decreased by 200,000 barrels a month and that a saving of 100,000 tons of sugar annually was effected by regulation and supervision; all these things illustrate the result of this organization and advocacy.

Another economic problem of great importance and of intense individual interest was the high cost of living. It was not altogether a war problem; prices already had reached a high level in 1913

before the war; they rose somewhat in 1914-15 and leaped upwards in 1916-18. It was a world-wide issue, based, in its serious phenomena, upon inadequate production at the points of demand, insistent requirements of a continuous and world-wide nature, costly and insufficient transportation by land and by sea. It was accompanied by conditions associated with these fundamental ones—increasing scarcity of coal from (1) lack of labour and (2) increase of demand; exhaustion of many raw materials followed by ever-increasing military needs and transport difficulties. Government control took new and extraordinary forms, every effort was made, compatible with that stiff and unthinking independence which characterizes modern democracy, to organize men and interests, economize consumption, and facilitate distribution; but the best results were not as good as they should have been. Except in Australia and New Zealand, where crops could not be shipped, food prices grew high and higher. In a four-year period prices in Canada, Great Britain and the United States ran, roughly, according to index numbers, as follows:

Wholesale Prices	Canada	Great Britain	United States	Retail Food Prices	Canada	Great Britain	United States
1913.....	135.5	85	81	1913.....	7.33	102	98
1916.....	182.0	137	100	1916.....	8.79	260	112
Dec., 1916.....	207.4	154.3	118	Dec., 1916.....	10.11	184	125
Aug., 1917.....	245.0	175.7	150	Aug., 1917.....	11.68	202	147

People naturally failed to understand the situation which developed, there was much discontent, and the high prices of bacon, as controlled largely by the Company of which Sir J. W. Flavelle was the head, caused a special outburst of personal resentment in 1917 which constituted a most interesting page in war psychology. The public could not clearly see the larger causes and the lesser details which fitted into a world condition. Money inflation and high prices are a part of all wars, and especially so in a world conflict where the output of gold and silver could not keep pace with the growth of expenditure; extravagant living and payment of exorbitant prices

for luxuries were a natural part of currency inflation and general prosperity. The Canadian Government could not do much directly nor could it effect any vital change in the habits of a people. Many efforts were made, however, and with some success, to encourage thrift and the saving of money; the Department of Labour compiled and issued figures showing the steady rise in prices from month to month; Government warnings were issued as to arbitrary or unnecessary increases of a "combine" nature; in November, 1916, an Order-in-Council imposed severe penalties upon any trust or combine operations for the control of such increases in price.

Power was given the Minister of Labour, and to the municipalities working in conjunction with him, to regulate the cost of living by prohibiting undue or abnormal increase in the cost of necessities—staple articles of food, clothing and fuel—and to provide against any undue accumulation or storage of food. Heavy penalties were imposed for the infraction of these rules or the limiting, by agreement, of facilities in production or manufacture, or the restraining of trade in any necessities of life, or organization to lessen competition in the sale of such products. The prices of Milk, Bread, Coal and Flour were eventually regulated, the consumption of Fish was encouraged and prices cheapened, all dealers in food products were put under license. As the months of war passed into years it became clear that this increase in prices was fundamental and not superficial; it could be moderated in details but could not be prevented or abolished.

A high crop one year, a short crop the next, left all regulations or arrangements in the air; enormous armies, from Mesopotamia to Verdun, from Jerusalem to Ypres, took 40,000,000 men from the fields or the national employments of the world, and at the same time increased the demand for food and other supplies; the tying up of Russia's wheat surplus was a continuous factor of the period

in relation to flour and bread; the shortage of shipping affected many things in Canada and especially sugar prices; scarcity of labour from the calls of army and munition work, caused increased wages and decreased production of ordinary necessities; the colossal demands of armies in the field for boots, clothing, etc., inevitably raised the price of many other supplies. Such conditions could not be adequately met by the most skillful policy or the strongest Order-in-Council of a Canadian Government. During these years Labour was prosperous, wages were high, strikes were few; organization prospered though Union membership decreased from 166,163 in 1914 to 143,343 in 1915—owing to recruiting—but in succeeding years it rose again. Coal was a problem with scarcity at times and Government regulation of supply and use; imports grew from 9,807,972 tons of bituminous and 4,427,330 tons of anthracite in 1916 to 17,331,177 and 5,253,731 tons respectively in 1918. Bank deposits increased in the four years of war by over \$600,000,000 and Bank clearings nearly doubled with an actual increase of \$5,000,000,000; increased prices were, of course, largely responsible for this condition.

An important War issue, with an indirect economic effect, was the sentiment and action of foreign-born aliens or citizens and their treatment by the Government. According to the 1911 Census there were 752,000 foreign-born inhabitants of Canada, of whom 160,000 were Germans and Austrians. The usual calculation in this connection, and the figures generally taken from the Census, dealt with origins—not actual birthplaces of living persons—and they afforded much larger totals. By country of origin there were 393,000 Germans in Canada in 1911 and 129,000 Austro-Hungarians. Under these conditions the County of Waterloo, Ontario, had 36,567 of a German population and the City of Berlin—a name afterwards changed to Kitchener—a German population of 10,633 out of its total of 15,196, though there were, in that city, only 1,258 persons

actually born in Germany. Alberta had 63,000 Austrians and Germans, Manitoba 64,000, Ontario 203,000, Saskatchewan 110,000. There was, in these years, occasional trouble with such aliens, or citizens, as the case might be, some unpleasant instances of expressed hostility, various cases of seditious utterance and occasional fears of overt action or dislike to working with or beside enemy aliens. These conditions were shown in the Mines at Porcupine and at Fernie and were illustrated in Toronto by the Nerlich case.

Upon the whole, however, a most generous public view of alien enemies was shown in their treatment at Internment Camps, in the Government's unwillingness to send individuals there for anything but the most obvious offences, in the immunity of Berlin, Ontario, during two years, from the presence of a Registrar of Alien Enemies, in the continued publication of German papers throughout Canada, in the retention of Germans in positions of a public, business and even Government nature. Nowhere was this generosity more clearly expressed than in the judgments of the Courts. The Judges and juries, alike, seemed averse to convictions for high treason, or for sedition, and tempered justice with more than mercy upon occasion—as in the Toronto case of Emil Nerlich. In the West there were many trials and not much punishment excepting through the Internment Camps which gradually accumulated several thousand prisoners.

In these years of war Canada contributed largely of money, supplies, products, labour to the War and War Conditions. It was not, perhaps, all that its people could have offered in a period of great and wealth-producing activities; but, in effect, it was excelled by no other part of the Empire as to either personal labour or individual generosity. The English-speaking population of the country was not more than 5,000,000. To the Canadian Patriotic, Belgian Relief and Red Cross Funds, to Hospital, Regimental and Special Funds, to Y. M. C. A. and miscellaneous war-calls the people gave

at least \$95,000,000, of which the great bulk was in personal and not Government contributions; to the indirect aid of war charities and war interests the women of Canada gave, according to an estimate by the Prime Minister, \$40,000,000 more—without publicity or advertisement; to the conduct of the War in recruiting, training and maintenance of troops the country gave in varied forms of Government expenditures, liability and Debt-increase a total of \$1,436,000,000 or \$192 per capita; to the British Government it lent, for special Munition purchases, a total of \$100,000,000 over and above special advances from Britain. There was, of course, an obvious, though indirect, return in the manufacture and sale of munitions, or other war supplies, to Britain and her Allies, which ran ahead of the entire total of war contributions. In the premises, however, the contributions were voluntary without direct return, or indeed thought of return; in the other case it was a matter of business, and if Canadians got the profits and handled the money they also did the work and provided the goods.

There was a splendid swing about the collections for Patriotic and Red Cross funds in all these years, which reflected credit upon the system and the persons engaged as well upon the generosity and sympathy of those who gave. The Canadian Patriotic Fund had the warm and continuous support of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught as its President and then of H.E. the Duke of Devonshire and the active efforts of Sir H. B. Ames, M.P., as its Hon.-Secretary; it was provided to meet the needs of wives, families and dependent relatives of those who had gone to the Front and to supplement the Pension and allowance arrangements of the Dominion Government. Up to the close of 1918 the total contributions—excluding Manitoba, in the main, as it had a separate Provincial organization—for all Canada were \$45,411,078 of which Alberta gave \$2,769,598, British Columbia \$3,231,284, Manitoba (direct) \$140,864, New Brunswick

\$1,385,983, Nova Scotia \$1,779,890, Ontario \$23,551,610, Prince Edward Island \$128,638, Quebec \$9,660,537, Saskatchewan \$2,717,014, Yukon and North West Territories \$45,656.

Much of the money needed for this Fund, and for the three special Dominion-wide appeals made for the British Red Cross Society, which yielded a response of about \$6,600,000, were obtained through local campaigns held in the larger centres such as Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, etc. The British Red Cross appeals were special ones; the Canadian Red Cross was a continuous and established organization working with headquarters at Toronto under direction from time to time of Surgeon-General Sterling Ryerson, Sir John Gibson, Colonel G. A. Sweny, Hon. Colonel Noel Marshall, Senator James Mason, Mrs. A. M. Plumptre, and others, during four long years of continuous effort. Branches were formed all over Canada, totalling at the close of 1917, 772 in number and at the end of the War 1,403. Immense numbers of hospital garments and quantities of medical supplies, clothing, etc., were sent to London. Twelve motor ambulances were purchased and five Hospitals, attached to the 1st Contingent, were equipped with Red Cross necessities. The women of Calgary contributed a motor ambulance as did a number of individual Canadians.

The Canadian organization was a Branch of the British Red Cross Society, which was accepted by all civilized nations, for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers or sailors and prisoners of war; it co-operated with the Army Medical Service in England and at the Front by collecting supplementary supplies for the military hospitals—for use when a great battle should exhaust the ordinary supplies; it provided additional motor ambulances, field kitchens and hospital trains; it undertook the special care and equipment of the Duchess of Connaught Hospital at Cliveden with its 1,000 beds; it appointed Lady Drummond as head of a most useful aid and in-

formation department associated with the general work in London. Supplies in ever larger quantities were forwarded from Canada and, fortnightly, there went from London packages to over 2,000 Canadian prisoners of war in Germany, while all wounded Canadians at the Front or in Britain benefited from the comforts sent. Money also was required and obtained to pay for the services of trained nurses and orderlies in special co-operation with the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

More than this was done. A monthly Bulletin of information and suggestion was issued with hundreds of thousands of copies of pamphlets along similar lines; arrangements were made with the Railways and Express Companies under which nearly all Red Cross supplies, clothing, etc., were carried free—constituting a generous contribution in bulk to the funds of the Society; the Peak Hotel Hospital at Buxton was got under way by the Society through its representatives in England and large grants were made to it and other institutions; the hospitals and institutions receiving supplies from the Canadian Society, in England, France and other War zones, numbered altogether 100. The most important Canadian Red Cross Hospitals were those of Taplow, Bushey Park, Buxton, Ramsgate, Petrograd (in London) and Joinville near Paris. There was a Red Cross warehouse for supplies in London and a large dépôt at Boulogne, besides advance stores closer to the Front for supplying the Field Ambulances and casualty clearing hospitals. Hundreds of nurses and male hospital attendants were also sent over from Canada and, by the close of 1917, \$10,000,000 worth of supplies or cash had been obtained in the Dominion for this organization; at the close of 1918 the total was over \$20,000,000 which included goods or supplies valued at \$12,600,000 and cash contributions of \$7,771,000; the total Red Cross collections for the whole British Empire was \$70,000,000.

Much was done by Canada for Belgian relief and the Fund constituted an always-popular appeal. The Dominion Government in 1915 put a vote of \$50,000 through Parliament for this Fund and the Provinces—especially Nova Scotia, under the energetic impetus of the Hon. G. H. Murray, Prime Minister—organized co-operative Committees. The Alberta Government sent 5,000 bags of flour and the Government of Saskatchewan \$5,000; the Belgian Relief Fund of Winnipeg contributed \$24,500, the Government of British Columbia gave \$5,000, the Government of Manitoba \$5,000 and the various Belgian Relief Committees followed with considerable sums in cash or goods for shipment. Merchandise, goods, products, were sent to the Executive from counties and townships, cities and villages, farmers and business men, or collected by local committees. Large steamers were chartered and sent loaded to the deck with tons of supplies valued at several million dollars. The work continued in varied forms during succeeding years with incessantly active Committees, special collections and appeals, gifts and shipments of all kinds, to an estimated total (December 19, 1918) of \$1,642,104 in cash and \$1,512,000 in supplies.

A Canadian and, indeed, a world-wide organization which did much war work in the later stages of the conflict was the Y. M. C. A. This organization appealed to many interests and humanitarian instincts. It was essentially social, it was, in part, religious, it had enough business management and principle and practice to make and keep the Association a financial success, it provided wholesome centres for the amusement, instruction and physical development of young men and it attracted, therefore, the support of parents and guardians and all who were interested in the welfare of this class. In the War it was pacific but helpful and its many workers throughout Canada proved enthusiastic in raising money for organization abroad and in sending supplies to Britain and the Front which were

sold for a moderate sum to the soldiers and sometimes given away—as with tea or coffee—to the wounded; in politics it was a Prohibition organization, a moral reform agency, and did not, as a rule, interfere with propaganda of any other kind—war causes or controversies, for instance, or what is usually termed patriotism—though its leaders took up such issues as War Loans, Red Cross and Patriotic Fund subscriptions; in religion it was a constant exponent of what its organ *Canadian Manhood* described in October, 1917, as sending forth the men in Khaki “not as Canada’s army but as representatives of Christ.”

Originally a British organization, founded by the late Sir George Williams in London on June 6, 1844 (Montreal, November 25, 1851; Boston, December 29, 1851), it had spread all over the world and had become, before the World War, a great international factor in social and religious work. The military branch of the Canadian organization carried on a special work with Canadian troops Overseas in France or Belgium and had 76 centres in England—additional to the enormous number of workers in those countries under the auspices of the British Y. M. C. A. It had regular camps and units, base camps, convalescent camps and hospitals. In Canada there were 38 centres of operation, including camps, barracks, Red Triangle Clubs, hospitals, naval stations and troop trains. There were in 1917, 133 secretaries on the Overseas staff having honorary commissions in the C. E. F. Of these, 50 received their pay and allowances from the Y. M. C. A., while the remainder were paid by the Government.

In Canada, also, 100 civilian secretaries were employed for military purposes by the Y. M. C. A. More than \$4,500,000 was given by Canadians in voluntary contributions to aid the work during the War. The Y. M. C. A. had about 50,000 members in Canada; its chief work in 1918 was organizing the Khaki Univer-

sity, or educational system in the Army and amongst its reserves in England. The Navy League of Canada under the Presidency, in turn, of W. G. Ross of Montreal, and Æmilius Jarvis of Toronto, with 50,000 members and the raising in 1918 of \$1,700,000—did good war work; so did the Knights of Columbus, and the Salvation Army in Canada; the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire under Mrs. A. E. Gooderham did continuous service and raised \$5,000,000 of money, while the National Council of Women, the Y. W. C. A. and W. C. T. U. did their full share; so did the Churches in cultivation of charitable effort and inculcation of patriotic principles; the Universities of Canada contributed Hospital Units and an estimated 17,000 of enlistments.

CANADIANS IN ENGLAND DURING 1914-18

The first Canadian Contingent was trained at Salisbury under command of Major-Gen. E. A. H. Alderson, C.B., who when he went to the Front, was succeeded in command of the Canadian forces, still in England, by Brig.-Gen. J. C. MacDougall. Sir George Perley was High Commissioner and became, also, in 1916, Minister of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada; in May, 1918, a Canadian Headquarters Staff was established in England with Lieut.-General Sir R. E. W. Turner, V.C., as Chief of Staff and Sir Edward Kemp, who had resigned the Ministry of Militia at Ottawa, replaced Sir George Perley as Overseas Minister. During this period the Canadian Hospital Service under Serg.-Gen. G. Carleton Jones, M.D., was excellent in many respects; in certain details, however, it had a severe critic in Lieut.-Col. H. A. Bruce, M.D., who was sent over in 1916 by Sir Sam Hughes to investigate conditions; General Hughes had a well-known prejudice against the British War Office and V. A. D. nurses and he wanted Canadians segregated under Canadian roofs and medical care and general control.

Colonel Bruce reported lack of co-ordination in the existing sys-

tem and a need of concentration for Canadian hospitals, patients, nurses and medical attendance; he also declared that the Canadian Medical Service in England had no central control, no uniformity of standard amongst its Medical Boards, no supply of an adequately permanent and efficient *personnel*, no records of a satisfactory nature available regarding many of the casualties, no clear instructions regarding pensions. Later on the British War Office, with the approval of Sir George Perley and the Canadian Government, appointed Serg.-Gen. Sir William Baptie with a Board of four Canadian Medical experts—Colonels E. C. Ashton, J. T. Fotheringham, A. E. Ross, and J. M. Elder—to enquire into the Bruce Report and its charges; upon the whole the opinion finally expressed by this body indicated the main charges as not proven and declared that there was no desire amongst Canadian troops, in hospital, favourable to segregation. It may be added that in succeeding years, and under reorganization plans, the segregation proposals were partly carried out despite vigorous protests from Lady Drummond of the Canadian Red Cross in England, Mrs. A. E. Gooderham of the Daughters of the Empire Order in Canada and many others; that during the War 1,617 Medical officers, 2,002 Nursing Sisters and 12,382 other ranks of the C. A. M. C. went overseas from Canada; that there were at the end of the War 31 Canadian hospitals and field ambulances in France and 20 such hospitals in England; that in Canada there were 65 military hospitals for returning soldiers with 11,786 beds available; that by the close of 1918 over 22,000 invalided men had been brought back to Canada.

A word must be said as to the Canadian Khaki University established in England late in 1918. Educational work had long been carried on by British authorities in the British Army but not along the lines finally worked out by the Canadian staff, the Y. M. C. A., and others, with President H. M. Tory, of the University of

Alberta, in charge. The object was to take advantage of every spare moment amongst the troops training in England, or on active service at the Front, to instruct the individual soldier in some line of study or occupation which he would like to continue when the War was over—by means of (1) an organized course of lectures, (2) the promotion of small study groups, (3) the arrangement of reading groups in billets or tents and (4) the development of a library system. In October, 1917, the institution was placed on an official basis as a permanent element in repatriation as well as war and with a Director of Education attached to the Canadian Overseas Ministry. Between its initiation and the close of the War 12,000 students registered and the attendance at lectures totalled over 20,000. At the Front the institution was organized and largely patronized.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Union Government and Elections of 1917

OUT of, and through, all this effort and labour, all this immense variety of responsible and arduous administrative action, there gradually evolved a vital need for national unity as expressed in national government. It had long been a fact in Britain, though not always in name; it was a reality in France except for a small Socialist minority; it became one in New Zealand in 1916 and in Australia during 1917; all parties in South Africa were united, excepting the incorrigible Hertzog following. At the beginning of the War the Liberals of Canada had stood instantly and loyally behind the Borden Government; after a time rifts appeared in the co-operation and political differences developed; then came greater problems evolved by the pressure of war—the failure of recruiting, the situation in Quebec, the Conscription issue and enforcement when passed, the complications of Western thought and policy. At this stage Sir Wilfrid Laurier abandoned his co-operative attitude. He refused to join the Government in a recruiting appeal, he was understood from the first to be opposed to Conscription and finally fought it to the end, he keenly contested the War-times Election Act which disfranchised alien enemy voters in the West, and refused to support a further extension of the Parliamentary term.

Sir Robert Borden, as the head of the Government since war began—the only original War Premier left in the world at its close except General Botha of South Africa—was the chief target of attack, and also the rallying point of action. The Liberal press, in an increasing degree during 1916 and then 1917, denounced him; the very keenness and continuous character of their criticism proved the Premier to be a bigger man than his opponents would admit. The

fact is that Sir Robert was a careful, earnest, sincere leader of his party and people in a most difficult period; anxious to do the best for Empire and country, conscious of the greatness of the task before all rulers in these years, knowing much of the difficult and divergent temperaments of the Canadian public and the national danger of going too fast, as well as the international danger of going too slow. That he was a leader in fact as well as name his Cabinet and Parliamentary management showed; that he had political courage was proven by the fact of Conscription and the policy of Alien disfranchisement.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as Liberal leader, faced the problems of war without that personal vigour and ambition which middle life still affords; with an inborn and ineradicable hatred of war and its conditions and necessities; with a devotion to Canada as he saw and felt the pulse of its national life which made him greatly fear the current complications of Imperial development and the responsibilities arising from this veritable "vortex of militarism"; with a natural love for his own race which made him understand and appreciate the causes of their aloofness from the War and made him hesitate to force their hands. At the beginning of 1917 he was still a power in the country. Quebec was supposed to be his whenever he called the stakes unless too great a handicap were given Bourassa; the West was full of war-restlessness, aversion to Tariffs, anxiety for the free trade which seemed to mean wider markets and for which the Liberal leader stood; Ontario and the Maritime Provinces had very many to whom the Laurier personality and record of 1896-1911 greatly appealed.

The Conservative press, at the beginning of 1917, looked askance at the idea of Union or Coalition Government and regarded its advocacy by such Liberal journals as the *Toronto Star* with open suspicion. Sir Robert Borden was in favour of some such policy

but he certainly did not have initial support from his own press; the chief argument against it was the claim that if Sir W. Laurier would not join in such a simple national object as a united appeal for enlistment and war service it would be quite impossible to obtain union upon all the complex issues dividing the two parties. The Premier's personal view was not at first pressed; his obvious policy was to await the expression of national opinion and, with attendance at the Imperial Conference for some months looming up, he left the subject for public consideration and the development of some crisis which would make political union imperative and, therefore, possible. He came back from the Conference with his mind made up and though no hint was given in his first presentation of the Conscription measure it was clear that enforcement of such a policy by a Party Government involved very serious issues.

Then, on May 28, 1917, Sir Robert asked the Opposition leader to meet him on the following day when he explained fully the War situation as advised of it in detail during recent meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and in the freest possible discussions with British leaders; stated the conclusion he had come to that compulsory military service was essential to carry on Canada's military work and duty and explained the provisions of the proposed Bill; suggested the formation of a Coalition Government and asked the co-operation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the basis that, outside of the Prime Minister, each of the two political parties should have an equal representation in the Cabinet; urged the importance of avoiding, if possible, a war-time Election. At the same time the Premier formulated his proposals in writing as follows: "That a Coalition Government should be formed; that the Military Service Bill should be passed; that a pledge should be given not to enforce it until after a general election; and that Parliament should be dissolved and the Coalition Government should seek a mandate from the

people." Further conferences of the leaders followed; there were many indications of agreement; then something happened and on June 6th, Sir Wilfrid declined the proposal with Conscription as the stated obstacle.

Both leaders met their Parties in caucus and explained the situation, and it looked for the moment as if the Union project were killed. Several things, however, emerged out of what the Liberal press called a muddle, or a mess, and what the Conservative press was inclined to regard as a condition of good political strategy on the Premier's part as well as sound patriotism. His followers believed that he had put the Opposition in a difficult position—one which involved the certain disruption of the Liberal party with a loss to the Conservatives of only a few seats in Quebec. Many of them hoped the issue would be left at that and a distinct party gain scored. But Sir Robert Borden was not playing politics; he had entered upon a course which was difficult and, as was shown in 1921, politically dangerous; he intended to see it through for patriotic and war reasons and the courage, patience and persistence which he showed in the next few months fill a conspicuous page in Canada's history. During the ensuing passage of the Military Service Bill it soon became clear that Sir Robert intended to continue his effort to form a non-party or Union Government; that consultations would continue with the secondary Liberal leaders and groups; that every possible condition would be admitted and a willingness to compromise shown on any point except the fundamental one of war-action.

This effort at political unity lasted through the vital debates in Parliament on Conscription, and regarding the Liberal leader's refusal to extend the Parliamentary term. During this stage in the Union Government movement one after another of the active, working leaders of Liberalism found it necessary to vote against Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his negative policy or Referendum plan. Each of those

votes made Coalition easier and the Premier more determined. To a mere party man, bent upon winning an ensuing Election, these evidences of Opposition disintegration would have been satisfactory; to the Premier they were only finger-posts pointing the way to union. A nation-wide discussion of the issue followed—with 26 dissentient Liberals announced in Parliament—on the Conscription issue. Sir Clifford Sifton and N. W. Rowell, Ontario Liberal leader, first came out for Union. On August 4th, the Premier expressed to a Deputation his hope that in the near future a Government would be formed, based upon a union of all persons, irrespective of politics, race and creed—men who believed that the struggle now being waged involved the destiny of the Dominion, of the Empire, and even of the world, and who, putting aside all minor differences, were prepared to join in a united and determined effort to throw into the conflict the full power and strength of the Dominion.

On August 9th the Governor-General summoned a number of prominent men to a conference at Government House, and amongst them were Sir Robert Borden, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. G. P. Graham, Lord Shaughnessy, Sir Lomer Gouin, Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, Sir George Foster and Sir Clifford Sifton. It was an effort to bring together those who might help in such a Coalition as the Premier was working for. That it had some good results was probable; that it would not greatly influence the Quebec leaders was obvious from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's determined position and a statement by Sir Lomer Gouin in Montreal on August 2nd. This incident, the passage of Conscription and other legislation, the clear evidence of Quebec's antagonism to the Government's policy or to a Coalition, the reasonable assurance of Ontario's favourable attitude, the coming of a Western Conference which would clear the air in those four Provinces, marked the close of Sir Robert's first efforts for Union Government.

The position of the West was a vital one in the formation of the proposed Administration as it also promised to be in a general election. Its political leaders were a vigorous, fighting group of men, second to none in ability and superior to many in concentrated purpose and aggressive beliefs. Allied with Quebec or Sir Wilfrid Laurier against Conscription they would have made the issue more than uncertain; standing aside from both parties they would have held the balance of power against any Government under existing conditions. On August 7th, a great Liberal Convention was held at Winnipeg; it was enthusiastically Liberal, anti-Government and anti-Borden beyond all doubt. Its War-policy resolution, however, declared that "in times of peril the entire resources of the country, moral and material, man-power and wealth, are justly disposable by the State for the preservation of its national liberties," and that the "imperative duty of the people of Canada to-day in regard to the War is its continued and vigorous prosecution."

For a short time, following the Convention, even Unionist Liberals were disposed to doubt the possibility of the Prime Minister being able to succeed in his efforts. At this juncture came the resignation of Mr. Rogers as Minister of Public Works and the removal of one of the chief reasons given by many Liberals for not supporting the Premier's effort; almost at the same time came the passage in Parliament of the Military Voters Bill which ensured a large Soldiers' vote for the Government; the War-time Franchise Act brought in a further electorate of women voters who would, also, in all probability be friendly to the Government—the near relatives of men at the front—and disfranchised the large Western alien element which was undoubtedly hostile to both Government and War-policy; the attitude taken in presenting an Address to the King, asking for the extension of Parliament and at the same time stating that it would not be pressed unless given large Liberal support, put the onus of a

war election upon Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his party. On August 20th there gathered at Ottawa Western Liberal public men, concerned in the Union Government discussions—Sir Clifford Sifton, his brother Hon. A. L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta; Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Public Works, Saskatchewan; H. W. Wood, President of the United Farmers of Alberta; T. A. Crerar, Winnipeg, President of the Grain Growers' Co.; and J. G. Turriff.

From this time onwards the negotiations at Ottawa and elsewhere assumed an active and absorbing form. Much depended upon Mr. Calder and his well-known organizing abilities. The position of A. L. Sifton, representing Alberta and accompanied to Ottawa by H. W. Wood, was known at this time to be favourable; so was that of the Manitoba Government, as a whole, with T. A. Crerar representing the Grain Growers of that Province. On August 29th it appeared that Sir Robert had won over his own party which then met in caucus and tendered the Prime Minister a demonstration of affection and support. Sir Robert reviewed the negotiations and intimated that several leading Liberals were prepared to come in with a leader other than himself; declared his own readiness to retire but was met by a strongly-worded vote of confidence. By September 24th negotiations were in full swing again, and on the 28th it was stated in the press that Messrs. Sifton, Calder and Crerar of the West had reconsidered their position and would come in; on October 2nd Messrs. Calder, Carvell, Ballantyne and others were at the capital and Hugh Guthrie, K.C., M.P., was sworn in as Solicitor-General, and Lieut.-Col. C. C. Ballantyne as Minister of Public Works in place of Hon. R. Rogers. Both were well-known Liberals. Ten days later the official announcement was made that success had come to the Prime Minister's prolonged efforts and the new Ministers were announced and sworn in on October 13th as follows:

Department	Minister	Politics
Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs . . .	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden . . .	Cons.
President of the Privy Council	Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell, K.C. . .	Lib.
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster . . .	Cons.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. Frank Bradstreet Carvell . . .	Lib.
Minister of the Interior	Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C.	Cons.
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. John Dowsley Reid	Cons.
Minister of Finance	Hon. Sir Wm. Thomas White	Cons.
Postmaster-General	Lieut.-Col. Pierre Edouard Blondin . .	Cons.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries and Naval Service .	Hon. Charles Colquhoun Ballantyne .	Lib.
Minister of Justice	Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, K.C. .	Cons.
Minister of Militia and Defence	Maj.-Gen. Sydney Chilton Newburn .	Lib.
Secretary of State	Hon. Martin Burrell	Cons.
Minister of Labour	Hon. Thomas Wilson Crothers, K.C. .	Cons.
Minister of Inland Revenue	Hon. J. P. Albert Sevigny	Cons.
Minister of Customs	Hon. Arthur Lewis Sifton	Lib.
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. Thomas Alexander Crerar . . .	Lib.
Minister of Militia—Overseas	Hon. Sir Albert Edward Kemp	Cons.
Minister of Immigration and Colonization	Hon. James Alexander Calder	Lib.
Solicitor-General	Hon. Hugh Guthrie, K.C.	Lib.
Minister Without Portfolio	Hon. Gideon Decker Robertson . . .	Lib.
Minister Without Portfolio	Hon. Alexander K. Maclean, K.C. . .	Lib.
Minister Without Portfolio	Hon. Frank Cochrane	Cons.
Minister Without Portfolio	Sir James Alexander Loughheed . . .	Cons.

The retiring Ministers were Sir G. H. Perley, Hon. F. Cochrane, Hon. W. J. Roche, Hon. J. D. Hazen; Messrs. Rogers and Patenaude had gone before the reorganization took place. On October 18th the Prime Minister announced the Government's policy as, first and chiefly, the vigorous prosecution of the war, the maintenance of Canada's effort by the provision of necessary reinforcements, immediate enforcement of the Military Service Act and the most thorough co-operation with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the other Dominions in all matters relating to the War. Other things to be done included Civil Service Reform and full extension of the Franchise to women; adequate taxation of War Profits, increased taxation of Incomes and a strong policy of Immigration; effective arrangements for Demobilization, for the care and vocational training of returned soldiers, for assistance in enabling them to settle upon the land, and for adequate pensions; the development of transportation facilities, and co-operative management of the various

railway systems; encouragement and development of the ship-building industry and the establishment of steamship lines upon both Oceans and upon the Great Lakes; co-operation with the various Provincial Governments for the improvement of highways and the investigation of the possibilities of Air Service for important national purposes; reduction of public expenditure, the avoidance of waste and the encouragement of thrift; effective measures to prevent excessive profits, to prohibit hoarding and to prevent combinations for the increase of prices; the encouragement of co-operation among those engaged in agricultural production.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1917

On October 31st Sir Robert Borden issued an Election statement pointing out that men prominent in public life, in both political parties, had unselfishly stood aside in order that Union might be achieved; that the members of the Union Administration had sunk their party differences, disregarded all minor considerations, and united in an earnest effort for a supreme national purpose; that now they asked the people of Canada, of whatever party allegiance, to pursue the same course, to unite in the same spirit and thus to aid in the same purpose. He therefore urged the people of both parties, in the various ridings, to unite and nominate Union candidates. At the same time the Elections were announced for December 17th. On November 12th the Premier issued a Manifesto to the people of Canada in which he reviewed the recruiting, Conscription and general war policy of his late Government and dealt at length with Government policy along the lines above stated. The succeeding elections were fought vigorously by the new Unionist organization, desperately by the divided and more or less broken Liberal party. Only the personality and *prestige* of Sir Wilfrid Laurier *plus* Quebec antagonism to Conscription gave it a fighting chance. N. W. Rowell, Sir George Foster and Sir William Hearst in Ontario, F. B. Carvell

in New Brunswick and the Atlantic Provinces, generally, L. J. Tarte of *La Patrie* and Noel Chassé of *L'Evenement* in the small Quebec minority, T. C. Norris and A. B. Hudson in Manitoba, A. L. Sifton in Alberta and J. A. Calder in Saskatchewan were the chief personal elements on the Government side of the fighting. All the Provincial Premiers, except in Quebec, were claimed as Government supporters. The Liberals had no press support outside of Quebec—except three journals; the Unionists had only two newspapers in the whole of Quebec.

The Liberal policy was propounded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during a Western tour, in a couple of Quebec speeches, in a letter (August 21st) to the Win-the-War League, Toronto, and in a manifesto to the Electors. The latter document was issued on November 4th. He declared that Unionist Liberals in the Government had done nothing new or effective. The hope of increased Immigration after the War was, he asserted, greatly impaired by the War-time Election Act, which had broken faith with naturalized Canadian citizens; the C. N. R. arrangement was denounced as paying for a stock-property which the Government experts had declared absolutely without value; the high cost of living was said to be due to excessive profits, hoardings and combinations which the Government had not checked; the War-time Election Act was strongly denounced as “a blot upon every instinct of justice, honesty and fair play.” As to Conscription he added these words: “All that I asked was that a measure of such moment should not be enforced by Parliament without an appeal to the people. A fundamental objection to the Government’s policy of Conscription is that it conscripts human life only, and that it does not attempt to conscript wealth, resources, or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the Military Service Act.”

His own policy was described as (1) a Conference with Great

Britain and her Allies as to the best form of Canadian war co-operation; (2) a new Government of able men with "a non-partisan organization of the whole nation;" (3) a vigorous system of voluntary enlistment; (4) a generous policy toward soldiers and dependents, with the wealth of Canada compelled to contribute its just and proper share of war burdens; (5) the mass of the people to be efficiently safeguarded from the greed of war profiteers. As the Elections proceeded it became fairly clear that the Government would be sustained. In the late House the members totalled 221; in the new one they were to be 235. Nominations took place on November 19th, and 18 acclamations were announced; others were chosen later owing to retirement of opponents and, by Election day, 29 had been returned without opposition, of whom 11 were Government supporters and 18 in favour of the Opposition—all but three of the latter from Quebec. The final result showed a Unionist majority of 71 with 82 Liberals, 38 Liberal-Unionists and 115 Conservative-Unionists.

Following the Elections the Union Government proceeded to carry out some of its pledges and to develop other elements of policy. The Military Service Act was applied and enforced and two-thirds of the suggested 100,000 men obtained; a vigorous food production campaign was carried out and the farmers greatly aided, with 9,000,000 more acres under cultivation in 1918 than in 1917; the Canada Food Board, for regulation and restriction of food supplies, was established; munitions were still more largely produced and shipbuilding encouraged; the Business Profits Tax was continued and broadened in application, the Income tax increased and more closely applied, luxuries such as jewelry and automobiles were taxed and the import of non-essential products prohibited; hundreds of millions were lent to Great Britain and the Second Victory Loan brought in subscriptions of \$687,000,000; a Soldiers' Land Settle-

ment Board was established, a Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment created, plans for demobilization organized, a Repatriation and Employment Committee of the Cabinet formed; financial and corporation profits were controlled by legislation and temporary Trade Missions established at Washington and London; the Canadian Northern Railway was acquired and placed under a Government Board of business men and railway experts for operation; political patronage in the purchase of supplies was abolished; and the importation, manufacture and inter-Provincial trade in intoxicating spirits was prohibited during the War; women were enfranchised, while \$25,000,000 was set aside for Housing purposes; Imperial and International relations were developed along new and broader lines with National autonomy and Imperial unity as the announced policy.

CHAPTER XXXIV

French Canada and the War

THE Province of Quebec and its people were widely and continuously discussed throughout Canada during the War; very often unjustly and usually as a problem which Canadians had to consider and realize. The average French Canadian did not, himself, know that there was such a problem or that he was a part of it. The three million people of French origin in Quebec, or scattered in other Provinces of Canada, or in the United States, looked upon their race as the pioneer settlers, as the founders of Canada, as the most devoted sons of its soil. They were much more detached from their old-time Motherland than were English, Scotch or Irish Canadians from theirs; no common ties of language, education and religious sympathy held them to the rest of Canada. They, also, were detached from the other Provinces by not only the separate local laws which each possessed but in a separate basis for their own laws reaching back to the days and Code of Napoleon; they had, of course, a different language and, upon the whole, a different religion; their isolation really constituted the problem which had, more than once, made them passive when other Canadians were in a white-heat of excitement, or made them wildly enthusiastic when the rest of Canada was cool and critical.

Yet the French Canadians as a people had done well by their native land. Law-abiding, moral, simple in life and habits, devout in their own faith and loyal to their own Province, they had taken a considerable share in the work of nation-building in a new country. Men like Sir Louis Lafontaine had stood for advanced yet guarded liberties side by side with other Canadians such as Robert Baldwin; leaders like Sir Etienne Taché and Sir Adolphe Chapleau had sup-

ported British connection as strongly as ever did George Brown or Joseph Howe or Sir Leonard Tilley; politicians such as Sir George Cartier had supported Protection and C. P. R. policies side by side with Sir John Macdonald in days when those projects were considered vital to the future of the country. Behind these and other leaders were the thought and feeling of the great bulk of French Canadians—not aggressive perhaps but acquiescent in what appeared to be best for a vast country of which the *habitants* really knew little but as to which they had great faith. Later, they followed Sir Wilfrid Laurier with a devotedness and personal fidelity which were altogether admirable; naturally and inevitably such leadership traced courses which did not always run on all fours with the ideas and ideals of all the Provinces in a mixed national community.

At the outbreak of War and during the great panorama of world struggle which followed, the French Canadians were in a peculiar position. They had travelled a long way from the days when their ancestors fought the British in open war for the possession of a continent, or the new American Republic for the retention of their separate existence under British rule, or the British rulers of Quebec, in 1837, for greater political power. Since those days much had been given them or confirmed to them—rights of political action, absolute freedom of self-government, privileges in language and religion and laws, the protection of a great Empire, the co-operation for common purposes of a vigorous Dominion. They, also, had done much in helping to create Confederation, to adjust difficulties of racial and religious strife in a wide and language-separated community, to govern fairly a Protestant and English Provincial minority, to take a large share in the development of the Dominion. When the War came they were expected to have the same feelings as the most British of other Canadians, to share the enthusiasms of their English-speaking fellow citizens, to take the same patriotic action in enlist-

ment or in support of Britain and France. This was hardly reasonable and, politically, should not have been expected.

The acuteness or otherwise of the so-called French problem in Canada usually depended upon the degree to which some politician or political enthusiast was able to play upon the keys of the racial and religious instrument before him. In this respect the French Canadian was not different, except in detail, to any other Canadian. Politicians in Ontario appealed at times to the Orange lodges, or to some of the varied forms which prejudice or sentiment might take against a current phase of Roman Catholic action or French racialism; in the West other politicians appealed to local feelings in favour of Free trade or of United States ideas such as Direct Legislation; in the East financial or industrial interests were urged to safeguard their own welfare by means of Protection. The difference lay in the fact that in Ontario or in the West a Canadian-wide discussion of such subjects was possible through a common speech and press; in Quebec, when a politician or publicist, a leader or the press, raised an issue involving Ontario or Manitoba or the Empire, there was no common ground of language and press on which it could be fought out and the result of free discussion prevail. Hence the serious responsibility which had rested in other days on the shoulders of a Papineau, a Mercier or a Bourassa; hence many of the misunderstandings which arose from time to time.

At the beginning of the War, in the strenuous months following it, and during the succeeding years, in Cabinet council, in Party caucus, on the street or in public meetings throughout the Dominion, the attitude of the French Canadian was widely discussed. At the first it was done privately; by 1916 it had become a public and general controversy. On the surface and to the man who did not think, or want to think, deeply, there was much cause for dissatisfaction; to the impartial student of conditions there was obvious excuse for

debating the question but no reason for the wholesale condemnation oftentimes awarded to Quebec. As a matter of fact the order of natural interest felt by Canadians in the War was (1) British subjects resident here but born in the United Kingdom, (2) those born in Canada of British parents or ancestry, (3) those born in Canada of French ancestry. In this order they enlisted and would be expected to enlist. There was, at first, much interest and feeling shown in many French-Canadian quarters. At Montreal on August 1st and 3rd huge crowds paraded the streets carrying French and British flags, singing songs such as *La Marseillaise* and *Rule Britannia*, cheering speakers and watching the bulletins, filling the picture theatres with enthusiastic noise and, before war had actually begun, sending 5,000 French and Belgian reservists to their respective Consulates in response to the demands of national mobilization.

As to enlistment during the first year the French Canadian did well and the troops he sent abroad in the earlier months of War were as numerous as the whole of Canada's contribution to the South African War. His share of the total native-born enlistment by the close of 1916 was variously estimated and, perhaps, totalled 12,000 men; the proportion in view of many considerations was fair. As a matter of fact F. M. Gaudet, L. H. Archambault, E. T. Paquet, Adolphe Dansereau, Herculé Barré, Henri Desrosiers, Olivar Asselin, had no greater difficulties in raising Battalions of French Canadians during 1916 than had their colleagues in English-speaking Canada during 1917. The worst that could be said of the individual *habitant* up to this time was that he remained passive or indifferent; the same could be said, then and afterwards, of many a young man in other parts of Canada, of some farmers in Ontario and on the Atlantic coast.

It should more often have been remembered that the French Canadian, apart from his faith and language, was separated by various

traditions and interpretations of history from the ideals of the English Canadian; that he was severed by a gulf from the anti-Church, republican, socialistic France of 1914, no matter how devoted he might be to the French language and his records of French heroism; that he did not understand, and few of his leaders had clearly interpreted to him, the Empire ideals of other Provinces; that his patriotism, naturally, did not have the breadth which, in some English Canadians became attenuated into cosmopolitanism; that he could hardly be expected to possess the Anglo-Saxon warmth of sentiment which often developed into Imperialism. His love was of the soil and the horizon of his hope was bounded by the coasts and borders of Canada. In a vague and general way he believed in British connection and respected the British Empire and was loyal to its liberties; he was proud of having fought for it in 1812 and would do so again if ever the soil of Canada were menaced; but what was termed a gigantic, world-wide struggle for civilization and freedom did not touch his sense of duty, stir his pulses or spur him to great practical effort.

Hence the importance of the Bi-lingual issue which in 1914-17 had a place in Ontario and Manitoba, in Saskatchewan and Alberta; hence the influence of Quebec Nationalism, which turned its guns upon Ontario, in particular, and used an alleged policy of that Province, in an Educational issue, to dampen French patriotism and hamper Quebec recruiting. Nationalism, in itself, was a mere name for the fundamental opposition of certain elements in Quebec to any extension of Canadian activities and political action beyond the borders of Canada and of support for any possible extension of French-Canadian influence within Canada itself. These concurrent feelings could be moderate or they could be extreme; they might be applied to Canada's participation in the South African War, to the Naval policy of either party, to any Imperialistic development, or to

fighting for the Empire in Flanders. They were embodied in an extreme form at this stage by Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne; *Le Devoir* as the organ of Mr. Bourassa was consistent in continuous misrepresentation of everything British in the War and of Canadian thought and interests in it.

The feeling of the French Canadian as to Education in Ontario was quite comprehensible. Its expression may not have been logical because if Quebec could interfere in the management of minority educational interests in Ontario, the latter Province and other Provinces could interfere as to minority rights or alleged rights in Quebec. To comprehend the situation clearly it must be remembered that Roman Catholic control of the system of education in Quebec was, at the outbreak of the War, and with the exception of the Protestant separate schools, close and complete. The Catholic Committee of Public Instruction included the Bishops and Archbishops of Quebec with a selected number of representative Catholic laymen; its methods of administration, its regulations, courses of study, examinations, business management, were duplicated by those of the Protestant Committee. But a great distinction existed when religion entered into the situation. The Catholic schools were a part of the parish organizations—each of the latter being, as a rule, incorporated as a municipality and also as a school district. The Curé, or priest administering a Catholic church, was given the exclusive right of selecting books, dealing with religion and morals, for the use of pupils. At the Catholic Normal Schools one of the leading subjects was religious instruction and, in the diplomas awarded, sacred history was included. The teaching orders of Catholic women were freely utilized in all the schools and to the fact of their drawing little or no remuneration was due the very small average salaries paid to teachers in Quebec.

The education of girls was and is, in all countries, one of the

most vital of problems and it was claimed at this time, with apparently excellent reason, that their instruction at the hands of thousands of devout and devoted women in French Canada constituted one of the best and most beneficial elements in the Catholic system. The Nuns instructed their pupils in not only the ordinary courses of study but in domestic work, knitting, sewing and embroidery and, it was claimed, refined their manners while cultivating amongst them good morals and Christian knowledge. It is probable that at least one-half of the girls in the Catholic schools of Quebec in these years received a thorough training in these subjects. The number of female Religious teachers in 1913 was 3,468 in the model schools and academies, while the Nuns teaching in elementary schools totalled 542. Under such conditions it went without saying that the history, polity and character of the Church were also taught and taught well. Much the same comment, as above, might be made upon the male Religious orders and their instructions of boys. The Christian Brothers, and others, were placed in charge of important commercial colleges, as well as schools, with excellent results. There were 2,300 male Religious teachers in the educational institutions of the Provinces and 4,500 female Religious teachers or a total of over 6,800 male and female teachers (1914) out of 16,000 teachers instructing 400,000 Catholic pupils and 59,000 Protestants. To the cost of all the schools the municipalities contributed over \$7,750,000 and the Provincial Government \$1,780,000—the great bulk of this money coming, of course, from Catholic parishes and going into Catholic schools.

Such were certain general conditions of education in French Canada in the year 1914. In summarized form it may be said that the overwhelming French and Catholic population and the limited numbers of English and Protestant people had, each, the same general system and forms of instruction, with separate control in respect to

text-books and religious teaching. While, however, the Protestant element devoted itself with restricted means and success to a secular education of the type known in the ordinary public schools of Ontario, the Catholic element devoted all the resources and energies and skilled practice of a great Church organization to the thorough grounding of its children, its youth, and the young men or women of French Canada, in religion as understood from a Roman Catholic standpoint. With that point of view and general policy there was necessarily bound up the racial situation and the preservation of the French language.

There was, apparently, no idea of compromise in this respect—the Church and the language should stand together. It did not follow that the Church or its leaders believed that either, necessarily, would fall if they stood apart; it simply meant that many elements of strength lay in their unity and certain obvious elements of danger in their severance. At the French Language Congress of 1912 the Church and the race combined to uphold this principle and policy. There were present from Canada and the United States representatives of three million French Canadians who, also, were Catholics, while Archbishops and Bishops were honorary presidents and much-applauded speakers. Language was described, in mottoes, as the soul of a people and as a sacred privilege, while Archbishop Langevin of Winnipeg declared that: "If we have remained French it is because we have remained Catholic. It is by guarding our religion that we guard our race." M. Étienne Lamy, the distinguished French author and visitor, Abbé Groulx, the French-Canadian author and educator, Sir Joseph Dubuc from Manitoba, echoed these sentiments.

The basic problem was an obvious one. So long as the Church and State were one in faith and language, other than English, just so long, it was believed, would they be apart from the temptations of

a wide liberty which often degenerated, throughout the continent and the world, into unrestrained license; apart, also, from the looseness of modern literature, of the Higher Criticism, and of the infinite variations in modern religious thought outside of their Church. The literature of the French Canadian was in French, his teachers and preachers used French, his laws in civil and religious matters were from the French code of two centuries before, his habits and customs were French of an old-time period, his traditions, songs, history and patriotism were all wrapped up in the language of his fathers—which his children learned to lisp at their mother's knee. It all served to differentiate him from the vast, overwhelming Anglo-Saxon life of the continent, to keep him in closer touch with his Church, to make him more submissive to its teachings and, in this age of a democracy which is almost uncontrollable, in even matters of religion and social relationship, to keep him more easily amenable to the moral code and moral precepts. At the same time the Church kept him apart from modern France as representing some, at least, of the things which it opposed in English life and thought.

Such opinions and policies were, of course, diametrically opposed to those of Ontario but this reference is essential to a comprehension of the War-time controversy over Bi-lingualism in Ontario. It must also be added that the Ontario side of the question included the right to control its own educational system; the necessity in a Province, where business conditions and ability to speak English were essential, to give the clearest and most effective instruction in that language to all pupils; the local liberty accorded in Ontario to Roman Catholic Separate Schools and their complete self-government from a religious point of view. These things were not properly laid before the people of Quebec while the history and traditions of Great Britain, the rise and progress of its Empire and the association of that development with the world's liberties were also largely omitted from

the higher school courses and Classical Colleges where they might well have had a place. A claim, therefore, that the French language must have, and was entitled to have, equality in Ontario with English was a good political platform to present in Quebec and to impress upon the pioneer race of Canadian history; the necessity of English being the dominant language in an English Province, as French was in the French Province, served as an equally strong call to an Ontario people who knew that English was the language of the Motherland, of the continent on which they lived, of commerce, business and financial success. When Parliament discussed the subject in 1916 and Sir Wilfrid Laurier stood by his compatriots and the Legislature in asking Ontario to modify its educational policy, he embodied one of two conflicting schools of thought and stood upon a platform which only part of the people of Canada could appreciate or fully understand, and the roots of which were complicated and tangled up in a Quebec Nationalist underbrush of dangerous statement and unfair deduction.

Under Mr. Bourassa's manipulation the question gradually affected the whole war-situation in Quebec, though the outlook of certain Bi-lingualist leaders, such as Senator N. A. Belcourt of Ottawa was based upon conditions given above, and was entirely honest and patriotic, even if unacceptable to an English majority in Canada. The Government and people of Ontario might be absolutely right and justified in making sure of English training for every pupil in its schools while at the same time both the Government and people of Quebec were justified in hoping for, and even urging, an adequate instruction for French Canadians in their own beautiful mother tongue. The point of essential divergence was in method and manner of agitation; in disloyal Nationalist discussion of the issue so calculated as to estrange the Provinces and hamper war-action; in the failure to propose, discuss or accept moderate counsels. At the close

of 1916 a British Privy Council decision cleared the air and endorsed the constitutional legality of the Ontario Government's complete control over Education while rejecting a certain local application of its policy in Ottawa which the Bi-lingual advocates especially opposed; in October, 1918, a Pastoral from the Pope, following one in 1916, urged moderation and toleration in word and policy.

As to the War, directly and officially, the Church in Quebec expressed herself clearly and promptly in the Pastoral letter of the Hierarchy issued late in 1914 which declared that: "England is engaged in this war, and who does not see that the destiny of every part of the Empire is bound up with the fate of her armies? She counts very rightly on our co-operation and this co-operation, we are happy to say, is being generously offered to her both in men and in money. It will be the honour and glory of Canada, which is so intimately united with two of the leading belligerent Powers, to have done her share by fervent supplications for the restoration of peace in the world, and by generous contributions to have assisted in allaying the evils which afflict mankind." On September 8, 1914, *L'Action Catholique* of Quebec, stated to be the organ of the Cardinal-Archbishop, published an article declaring that "the Catholic clergy of the country, as well as the clergy of the city, should adopt, not the principles of this or that politician regarding the War, but those which are taught to us by the Pope and the Bishops." The above Pastoral was quoted and then the journal proceeded as follows: "In the grave circumstances in which we are, the rural clergy, as well as all the clergy in general, are aware that they would doubly fail in their duty if they furnish voluntarily the least pretext to those who might call into question their loyalty and attachment to the cause of the Mother Country." This was written in reference to the rumours that Parish curés in rural districts were discouraging

recruiting. Succeeding editorials took the same line and, on October 8th, the following direct statement as to Nationalism was made:

"To prevent the circulation of a thesis which we consider false, in itself, and dangerous in its consequences—the thesis that Canada has no moral or constitutional obligation, or pressing interest in the War, that we have no other obligations to England than we have to Belgium or France—we have had to teach what we believe to be in conformity with natural and Christian duty. The thesis which we defend may be thus expressed: As part of the British Empire, it is our moral duty to aid our legitimate Sovereign and our metropolitan centre in this War, because they are in danger. This moral obligation to aid England in just measure is united with the obligation to defend Canadian interests which are involved in this conflict. The legitimate Government of Canada decided that our aid to England should consist of men and money, and no other authority in Canada is competent to judge with full knowledge. Its decision is not, in any sense, a violation of our natural or constitutional rights."

During 1915 and 1916 the Bishops and Archbishops did not consider it their duty to specially urge recruiting; they did not, on the other hand, fail to declare the righteousness of the British cause. As Archbishop Bruchési put it at a Laval University function in Montreal on December 8, 1915: "I here honour the Laval University Military Hospital. The University has understood Canada's duty in the terrible conflict that is now going on and has performed an act of generous patriotism. Her sons are organizing for the struggle. Thus they are contributing to end the lying legend that French Canadians and Catholics have no part and are taking no part in the great fight that is being waged for the defence of law, civilization and humanity. Thank God, our people have understood their duty. They have given their gold and their sons. They have not drawn back at the thought of sacrifices." The loyal British attitude of His Grace of Montreal had often been expressed; his assumed official organ—*La Semaine Religieuse*—was not behind *L'Action Catholique* at this time in urging the cause of the Empire.

Meantime, however, the sentimental and patriotic war influences brought to play upon the French Canadian had been slight in variety

and not very effective in force while the Bi-lingual agitation was so developed as to check such sentimental activity as existed. It was not until the middle of 1915 that members of the Dominion Government undertook a campaign of education and encouragement. Then T. Chase Casgrain, Pierre E. Blondin and the new Minister, E. L. Patenaude, made a series of strong speeches urging enlistment, painting the duties of the hour in vigorous terms, declaring the obligations of the French Canadian to the flag and the Empire. During 1916 similar speeches were made by these Ministers from time to time but even then there was no great recruiting effort; no such organization of the Province as there would have been in a general election, for instance; no outstanding figure to persistently press the subject upon the attention of the French Canadian and appeal to that instinct of hero worship, that warmth of imagination, that principle of loyalty to a person, be he Pope or King or Party leader, which was embedded in the mind of the French Canadian. So it had been in the days of Louis XIV—a period and a nation which the French Canadian represented far more truly at this time than he did the France of his own day—so it would have been in 1914–18 if properly appealed to.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier could have done this but years and political views seemed to make it impossible. Mr. Blondin in the one party, Mr. Lemieux in the other, did appeal, and earnestly, to the patriotism of the people but the appeal was a general one and not sufficient to sweep away certain feelings of the moment which were cultivated, or created, by Bourassa and the Nationalists. Sir Wilfrid, notably at St. Lin and at Sherbrooke in 1915, made speeches which, had they been continued and properly supported, would have set the susceptible French mind on fire with enthusiasm. But neither party really organized the Province and sporadic attempts at promoting war patriotism only served to accentuate the slow but sure action

of a Nationalistic movement which might in 1914-16, have been headed off or effectively nullified. In 1915 it was hardly a movement; it was a section of opinion led, created, manipulated by Messrs. Bourassa and Lavergne; in 1916 it developed bitterness and strength in its opposition to recruiting and towards 1917 it became a very definite movement against conscription or any aid to Britain or the Empire.

Le Devoir, the evening paper of Montreal, edited by Henri Bourassa, and *Le Nationaliste*, its weekly edition, were the organs of a school of thought which, at this time, criticized everything British; denounced all war co-operation and Empire action in the war; accused the British people of varied kinds of moral degeneration and cowardice; urged a Canadian autonomy which could not be differentiated from separation; denounced voluntary recruiting and conscription with equal bitterness; attacked Ontario and its "educational Boches" on account of Regulation 17 and the restrictions on teaching of the French language. The terms used were not restricted. On December 10, 1915, Armand Lavergne told a Montreal audience that: "200,000 French Canadians are living under worse oppression in Ontario than the people of Alsace-Lorraine under the iron heel of Prussia. . . . There is no principle whereby Canada, Australia and other parts of the Empire should be held actively to participate in the Empire's wars. . . . We—the French Canadians—have not to keep together with our blood the Empire which Britain has not the force or ability to keep herself."

The position and influence of Mr. Bourassa in Quebec could be, and sometimes was, over-estimated at this time; it also was frequently under-estimated. Its importance did not lie in Parliamentary representation, though a number of Conservative members of the Commons had been elected as Nationalists in 1911; nor in Provincial Legislative representation, because there was none. It lay

in the persistent and clever advocacy of a cause—the non-participation of Canada in Imperial wars or Empire government or Imperial responsibility; in steady and consistent presentment of French Canadians as the only true Canadians and as the continuous victims of either British rapacity, or Ontario persecution, or Manitoba injustice, or Orange wickedness; in bitter and unscrupulous denunciation of Great Britain and the British people and soldiers in the War; in vigorous reiteration of every possible misconception as to Allied policy and action. The mouthpiece of Mr. Bourassa in this connection—as quoted above—was not a great or even brilliant journal, but it was a clever one, it was influential in voicing opinions which some local politicians held but dared not, or could not, put so clearly, it reached an audience not so much large as it was select and influential—political leaders or would-be politicians, rising young lawyers and speakers, priests in the cities and curés in the parishes, students of Laval and professors in the Colleges.

As the year 1917 came and went, Mr. Bourassa's utterances in *Le Devoir* became very bold—with a fundamental explanation, probably, in his frank statement to the Manchester *Guardian* of March 20th, regarding Empire relations: "As to us Nationalists our choice has been made years ago. We vote for Independence." As a result of this continuous campaign racial sentiment was nurtured and finally aroused; when fully alive it naturally found place in the political party opposed to Conscription and around the banners of the French-Canadian Chieftain—Laurier. So it was that Lieut.-Col. P. E. Blondin, in leaving the Government to promote recruiting, found himself too late and discovered that the public mind had been trained in another direction by the Nationalist leaders and press. So it was that in the later years of the War public conviction was solidified in a belief that race and religion were threatened at home in Ontario much more than Canadian liberty was menaced in Europe,

or Canadian interests concerned in the France that, after all, had deserted the Faith of its Fathers.

No doubt the whole Nationalist, anti-recruiting, anti-Conscription, anti-British movement could have been modified by the Church if taken in time. But it was not, primarily, the business of the Church to interfere, though Archbishop Bruchési and some of the Bishops did support recruiting from time to time; her attitude was clearly defined at the beginning of the War and could have been supplemented by active Government effort, both Federal and Provincial; the chief advocate of Nationalism was a devout adherent of the Church and did not in the first year take any openly anti-war attitude; then the cleverly-used language issue complicated matters and after that party politics supervened. The whole situation was a difficult one and while many Canadians would have liked to see the Church in Quebec take a more active part in war politics, it was hardly just to criticize her for not doing so. As a matter of fact the attitude of the Hierarchy was one of dignified loyalty—neither aggressive nor arrogant, nor weak. Conscription was opposed by Cardinal Bégin and the Church leaders so long as it was an issue in Parliament and before the people; moderation, however, was urged and when it became law, active opposition ceased.

Meantime, while politics had hampered the Church it had also developed within Nationalism, and was clearly shown in the riotous speeches of 1917 and early in 1918, in the popular antagonism to Borden and the Union party, in the support given to Laurier and the fight against Conscription. That politics had something to do with the Bi-lingual agitation, the Nationalist attitude, the Conscription matters, seems clear from the fact that after the Elections of 1917 much of the bitterness went out of public utterances. The result in that contest showed 62 Laurier members returned on a popular vote of 243,000 while 3 Unionist and Conscription candidates repre-

sented a total Government vote of 76,000.* At the same time it became clear that the Quebec riots were mainly a sporadic development of preceding teachings, while the official action of the Church, as represented by the Pope, in the Bi-lingual affair, further and greatly cleared the air. No party or organization wished to antagonize this potent factor in Quebec conditions. Later on, as the chief political leader of Quebec next to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Provincial Premier, Sir Lomer Gouin, spoke as follows on December 2, 1918: "There is not a single British subject, no matter where he may be, who does not feel proud of the fact that he is a Briton, and proud of the glorious part that the Empire has played in the last four years. For 150 years we have been a part of the great British family, and during that time there has never been a time when we could rejoice with better reason than now at the grandeur, the power, and the glory of the Mother-country."

Following the close of the War came the publication of the figures as to enforcement of the Military Service Act; they did not reflect on Quebec as the public elsewhere supposed they would. It was stated, officially, that 115,000 men had reported under the Military Service Act throughout Canada and that of these Quebec contributed about 46,000; that there were 27,000 evaders or defaulters in the Dominion, generally, of whom 18,800 were from Quebec. These facts indicated a better record for the Province than was popularly believed to exist. As a matter of fact, surface and superficial appearances, the blatant statements of the Nationalists and unpleasant incidents of riot or hot-headed speech-making, did not represent the feelings of the people as a whole. In many cases they had not even taken the trouble to vote against Conscription—the voting total in Quebec during the Elections being 319,000 com-

* The Ontario vote showed 200,000 against Conscription—a total not far behind that of the anti-Conscription vote in Quebec.

pared with 784,000 in Ontario. There were fundamental and National differences in this recruiting matter, also, which history should record.

At this time and during these years French Canadians and Quebec were, apparently, expected to have the same impulses and share in the same swing of thought and action that stamped the other Provinces. Yet its people were without the brilliant light of a language and press which trained the thought of a continent and voiced the feelings of Great Britain; without the ties of relationship which brought so many English Canadians close to their Motherland personally and also politically, socially, financially, commercially; without the pressure of knowledge and conviction and political action which came so naturally to the English-speaking masses of Canada; without special instruction, special Government appeal, special and really necessary patriotic propaganda; without, above all, any serious check upon unpatriotic Nationalist teachings. Too little may have been given by Quebec; altogether too much was expected.

Too much, also, was expected from French-Canadian love for France. It was not really there; it had been largely an eloquent figure of speech, or peroration to some verbal defiance of Ontario Orangeistes. The traditions of the French Canadian were those of Quebec during 300 years of North American struggle and Indian conflict and Canadian development, of a vague affection, perhaps, in cultured circles, for a France of the days of Louis XIV. With the modern country of republican infidelity there was little association and that little had come in for severe criticism at the hands of English Canadian extremists before the *Entente* in Europe became a useful fact. It was hard, however, for English-speaking Canadians to understand this lack of regard for France in view of an oft-expressed devotion to the French language, or to appreciate the earnest belief

that a language could conserve the faith of a race and preserve its isolated and cherished nationality.

As to War-action French Canadians did nearly as well in the First Contingent as native-born English Canadians, while official figures showed 16,268 French Canadians overseas on March 31, 1918; the bravery of those who constituted the 22nd Battalion was illustrated at Courcellette and in the 125 decorations won by it up to the close of 1917; the military skill of Quebec officers was indicated in the success of Maj.-Gen. A. C. Joly de Lotbinière, Brig.-Gen. H. G. de Lotbinière, Brig.-Gen. J. P. Landry, C.M.G., Brig.-Gen. F. M. Gaudet, C.M.G., and Brig.-Gen. T. L. Tremblay, C.M.G., D.S.O.; the very names of enlistment showed that the best type of Quebec family had fully done its duty—Taschereau, Langelier, Garneau, Lemieux, Cimon, Dorion, Paquin, De Beaujeau, Casgrain, Papineau, Gouin, Archambault, De Lotbinière, Laviolette, Panet, Pelletier, Fiset, Duchesnay, Le Blanc, Beaudry, Lacoste, Bruneau, Parent, De Salaberry, Brodeur, Dansereau, Beique, Baby, De Lanaudière; contributions to Patriotic Funds were fair in view of the small average of wealth amongst French Canadians and the large average of a rural population which lived comfortably but had small cash margins. The total for all Quebec—including the generous English-speaking minority—showed \$556,000 of contributions to the Red Cross up to October 31, 1917, and \$8,781,098 to the Canadian Patriotic Fund up to December 31, 1917. To the latter French Canadians were conspicuous subscribers despite the fact that their English confrères possessed most of the wealth of the Province. To the War Loans Quebec contributed generously with a total of \$274,000,000; the Provincial Government gave to various War causes a total of \$1,840,000 and took a similar sum in War Loan subscriptions.

Summing up the situation, it would appear that Quebec in its

response to the call of war did fairly well, that it would have done much better with a more systematized education in the issues involved and a more adequate reply to the continuous propaganda of the Nationalists; that the Hierarchy of the Church did its duty but not more than its duty and that its degree of action was naturally influenced by the prayer of a part of its people for the protection of their Mother-tongue in Ontario; that the political leaders did not care, for obvious reasons in time of war, to raise any direct issue with Mr. Bourassa and his anti-British advocacy; that France did not make such an appeal to the hearts of the French Canadian as had been thought would prove the case in a great emergency.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Canadian Soldier and the World War

THE Canadian soldier in 1914-18 was an embodiment of Home conditions. He had physical strength and endurance which came from a healthy climate, sports, clean living, absence of slums and great cities; he had initiative and resourcefulness which were the result of keen business life, independent agricultural work, recognized freedom in labour customs and practice and an all-round system of Education; he had the courage which was expected of him, which was never disputed, and which was natural to men of his stock; he had a certain independence of social and military etiquette which, however, never went to the extreme of indifference to discipline; he accepted the subordination of the individual in all reasonable forms and application when necessary to attain a great end. Hence the splendid product which time and training evolved at Ypres and which a thousand fields of fighting proved.

To raise a large voluntary force—a great army by precedents of the past—in a pacific community such as Canada possessed, amongst a people unfamiliar with the thought and fact of war, in a country reasonably safe, for the time at least, behind the ramparts of British naval power, was a great undertaking and an important fact in history. As compared with Great Britain's marvellous performance of ensuing years, the result showed only 1 in 14 of the population compared with 1 in 9; but there were many considerations which made it easier to impress the vital import of the issue upon the people of the United Kingdom than upon the distant and racially-divided peoples of Canada. Zeppelins and submarines and the roar of the great guns across the Channel were the most obvious of these reasons.

It is true that in 1812 many Canadians had fought for the tenta-

tive British Empire of that period; that in 1854 the Legislature of Upper and Lower Canada voted £20,000 to aid "the widows and orphans of the allied armies of England and France" in the Crimea; that in 1858 the 100th Royal Canadian Regiment was raised for service in India, though it did not reach that particular destination; that in 1877 Colonel J. W. Laurie offered to raise a regiment from Nova Scotia if England was involved in the Russo-Turkish War; that a similar offer in 1884 for service in the Soudan was made by Col. A. T. H. Williams of Port Hope and other officers; that a contingent of voyageurs and volunteers eventually did go under command of Col. F. C. Denison; that in the South African War about 7,300 Canadian troops, in all, served. Since then, also, the Royal Military College, Kingston, had turned out hundreds of young officers who received British commissions and served all over the world. As a whole, however, Canada had known little of the realities of war, thought much of the ideals of peace, accepted much in the way of British protection, had not worried over questions of defence, and failed to take political issues of that nature very seriously.

The raising and equipment of the two Contingents of 50,000 was the great war-effort of 1914 in Canada, while the organization work of this force included the training and drilling of the men, arrangements for supplies and the purchase of 8,000 horses from all parts of Canada; the purchase and shipment of bread, meat and vegetables, of hay and oats; the planning of intricate transportation details over half a continent and across the Atlantic with the use of 100 special trains and 32 steamships for the First Contingent alone; the clothing, arming and equipment of the men, the supply of technical and other stores, the purchase and shipment of vehicles, harness, and saddlery; the supply of large and small guns, with shells, ammunition, etc., for the Contingents; and continuous inspection by the Ordnance Department of immense quantities ordered, in addition,



PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR
The King and his Sons walking in the Procession.



THE SPLENDID PRINCESS PAT'S

General Sir Henry Horne, accompanied by the Mayor of Mons, inspecting Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry after the brilliant recapture of the City. The Mayor presented the Canadian 7th Infantry Brigade with the keys of Mons, and General Currie presented the Canadian Corps' flag to the Town.

by the War Office. The total value of guns, cartridges, ammunition-waggons, pistols, revolvers, rifles, motor-cars, and trucks, ambulances, shrapnel shells, bayonets and machine guns received and sent with the First Contingent and forwarded to the Woolwich Arsenal for British use or supplied to the *Rainbow* and the *Niobe*, etc., was \$13,673,807. From these figures can be adduced some idea of the business involved in sending over the whole army of 400,000 men.

Canada was not a military country and its people had been lapped in peace with rare, slight, and not dangerous exceptions, for a hundred years; its favourite platform peroration was the patriotism of the peacemaker; its Militia had always existed with difficulty and laboured under the disadvantage of political criticism and, until Sir F. W. Borden came into office in 1896, of Parliamentary cheese-paring; its popular tendency had been to regard war as no longer necessary or possible, as a relic of barbarism, and preparation to meet it as militarism, Jingoism and a flying in the face of Providence, religion and national morality. Such a training was not calculated to make the average young man willing at a moment's notice to sacrifice comfort, career, pleasure and, perhaps, life, in order to fight thousands of miles away for a cause which the British Navy prevented from directly touching his own country. Yet Canadians volunteered or served to a total, at home and abroad, of 600,000 men.

The Princess Patricia's Light Infantry of 1,000 men was the first Canadian organized force to share in the conflicts of the Western front. Called after, aided by, and watched over with personal interest by Her Royal Highness, it was a battalion worthy of the best and highest traditions of British military history; more could hardly be said of it. The original Commander, Col. F. D. Farquhar, D.S.O., was a British officer on the Governor-General's Staff at Ottawa, who fell early in the fighting; he was succeeded in after months and years

by eight others; and amongst the original officers who left for France with the Battalion on December 20, 1914, were Agar Adamson, Talbot Papineau, J. W. H. McKinnery, M. S. De Bay, W. G. Colquhoun, D. O. C. Newton, H. W. Niven and many more who became in most cases marked men, with varied honours and brilliant records; every man of the Regiment proved, in fact, a hero in his own person.

At the Front, it was swiftly turned into a body of seasoned soldiers. The Regiment at first formed part of the 27th Division, mainly composed of troops from India, and under command of General Shaw. It was in the trenches by January 6, 1915, and there followed a series of hotly contested raids and minor battles, during this early and most trying period of the War, in which the Regiment won an ever-increasing reputation. St. Eloi and other difficult points in the Ypres salient were then the scenes of incessant struggle and, by May 7th, the fighting strength of the Patricias was reduced to 635; on the 8th one of the most desperate fights in the 2nd Battle of Ypres left 150 men standing under command of a Lieutenant (H. W. Niven) with only one other officer unwounded. The Battalion then was rested and reorganized and more than once afterwards was again almost decimated; the original survivors in 1918, after it had seen service in all quarters of the British lines and finally been absorbed in the Canadian forces, numbered a couple of dozen; its name ranked by that time amongst the great British Regiments of the War—using the word British in its widest sense. The Commanders were, in succession, as follows: Lieut.-Colonels F. D. Farquhar, H. C. Buller, R. T. Pelly, A. A. M. Adamson, C. J. T. Stewart, A. Hamilton Gault. All won the D.S.O.—excepting Pelly, who was killed before he attained the honour.

A month or so after the appearance of the "Princess Pats" at the front Canada's first army Division appeared on the scene. The Prime Minister told Parliament at Ottawa on Feb. 16 that he had

received a despatch from the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Harcourt) stating that the whole of the Canadian contingent had crossed safely and were in France. When the trenches were reached the British forces were found to occupy lines between 20 and 30 miles in length, which ran from Ypres on the north to Givenchy on the south and had been held since—in the first Battle of the Aisne—British troops had moved thence to Flanders in the hope of outflanking the enemy. It did not take very long for the Canadians to get their bearings, though many discomforts had to be endured of which the worst came from spring rains and flooded trenches alternating with cold spells—relieved, however, by bits of beautiful French weather which, naturally, were not enjoyed to the full. The troops were fortunate in having as commander Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. A. H. Alderson, whom they had learned at Salisbury to like and to respect; his orders they now learned to follow in battle with faith and courage.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES

The Brigades were under command of (1) Brig.-Gen. M. S. Mercer, (2) Brig.-Gen. A. W. Currie, (3) Brig.-Gen. R. E. W. Turner, V.C., D.S.O., and (Artillery) Brig.-Gen. H. E. Burstall. Though the Canadians took no part in the advance to Neuve Chapelle, which won a partial success for the British Army and lost the chances of a great victory, they were severely tested; despite the stories in the Canadian press of charges made and glory won in the conflict, what they really did was to withstand German pressure, face heavy fire from German guns, and silently hold their trenches while a great battle was going on all around them. It was important work, it was a test of efficiency, but it was not St. Julien or Festubert. The Canadian Artillery also played its part well. Then came the second battle of Ypres—a determined, prolonged effort of the Germans to get through the Allied lines to Calais—which lasted from April 22nd to May 13th. Like the first battle of this name and location and

object, which lasted from October 20 to November 11, 1914, it was vital to the success or failure of the German plans; it was fought with German precision, thoroughness and courage; it included German superiority in numbers and artillery. Unlike the first contest, however, it brought into action the new, unexpected and barbarous use of poisonous gasses by the Germans. The Canadians shared actively and greatly in the first six days of the far-flung struggle, the name of their corner of the battle-field was derived from one or other of two areas called, respectively, St. Julien and Langemarck; their lines covered, roughly, 5,000 yards extending from the Ypres-Roulers Railway to the Ypres-Poelcappelle road, and were connected at one terminus with French troops and at the other with a British army Corps; their force comprised the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Canadian Brigades of which the two latter had only taken over their line of trenches from the French on April 17th.

The importance of the point held by the Canadians was that it lay directly in front of a possible line of German advance on Calais; had the enemy broken through the Canadian force, as well as the neighbouring French lines, they would probably have got to the Coast with all the tremendous consequences to England, as well as France, which that involved. Moreover, it was a flat country and difficult to hold. The day of April 22nd was warm and sunny and only the occasional bombardment of stricken Ypres marked the scene until, suddenly, at 5 P. M., the Germans launched a carefully-prepared projection of great masses of asphyxiating gas in front of the French troops to the left of the Canadian Division. The French at this point were largely made up of Turcos and Zouaves; the gas fumes were so poisonous in effect, so sudden in their coming, so horrible in the suffering caused, so unknown to all war experience, that the French naturally, inevitably, surged back out of their trenches and the first knowledge that the amazed Canadian troops had of their own

participation in one of the great battles of history was in seeing the anguished, distorted faces of retreating troops as they gasped for breath and vainly sought relief from their sufferings.

The result of this retreat was that the 3rd Canadian Brigade was left dangling in the air at one end, with an advancing German army of about 150,000 men, backed by immensely heavy artillery, pouring into the space vacated by the French, covered by their poisonous gasses, and with the road to Ypres apparently open to the onslaught. To the right of the 3rd Canadian Brigade was the 2nd and some distance behind, in reserve, was the 1st Brigade. The 3rd Brigade, under General Turner, at once drew its line forward and toward St. Julien and Ypres and bore the brunt of the ensuing German advance. It would take many pages to describe the succeeding conflict and the manipulation and movements of the Canadian brigades until eventually, with such British support as could be rushed up, the gap was closed. There were charges and counter charges, advances and retreats in the first two vital days, followed by other days of bitter, ceaseless fighting; the heroism of every individual soldier concerned was notable, at times Homeric; the heavy casualties, and deaths of Major E. C. Norsworthy, Capt. Herrick McGregor, Capt. Guy Drummond, Lieut.-Colonels Hart McHarg, R. L. Boyle and A. P. Birchall and many other gallant officers and men, were features of the conflict; the final withdrawal of the Division for rest and re-organization after a week of fighting such as had rarely before fallen, even to British troops, took place on May 3-5. The casualties officially reported on May 3rd were 705 killed, 2,162 wounded and 2,536 missing—the latter mostly prisoners. Final figures ran up to 6,000 casualties.

The Canadians had made good. Men accustomed to civilian life, untrained, undrilled, undisciplined until a few months before; battalions composed of lawyers, college professors and students,

business men, labourers and clerks who, in thousands of cases, had never seen or handled a gun until this call came; had been plunged into the most scientific, bloody and devastating of the world's struggles and had met the most barbarous and best-organized and best-armed of all enemies with the courage of British veterans and a resourcefulness born of Canadian soil. They had proved themselves worthy to stand beside the British and French soldiers who for eight long months had been holding immense armies at bay and fighting with unsurpassed coolness and courage. Ypres had been saved, the German drive stopped, the 2nd battle for Calais practically won by the defence forces. How far were the Canadians responsible for this result? The British press, British generals and leaders declared with generous appreciation that they had "saved the situation" and it seems clear that they did so in much the same way that Belgium had saved a greater situation—by standing in the breach and holding on until re-organization and more troops could retrieve a momentary disaster. A stream of messages, congratulations, appreciation, poured in to Ottawa, or were expressed in other public forms, and a few may be quoted here:

His Majesty the King to H. R. H. the Governor-General.

I congratulate you most warmly on the splendid and gallant way in which the Canadian Division fought during the last two days north of Ypres. Sir John French says their conduct was magnificent throughout. The Dominion will be justly proud.

GEORGE R. & I.

F. M. Sir John French to General Alderson.

I wish to express to you and to the Canadian troops my admiration for the gallant stand and fight they have made. They performed a most brilliant and valuable service last night, and again this morning.

General Sir H. Smith-Dorrien to General Alderson.

I should like you to communicate to the whole Canadian Division my thanks and admiration as Army Commander for the services they rendered to the 2nd Army during the critical period following the successful German attack on our Allies on the night of the 22nd of April.

General Alderson to his Men on May 4th.

I think it is possible that you do not, all of you, quite realize that if we had retired on the evening of April 22—when the Allies fell back before the gas and left our left flank quite open—the whole of the 27th and 28th Divisions would probably have been cut off. This is what our Commander-in-Chief meant when he telegraphed that “the Canadians saved the situation.” My lads, if ever men had a right to be proud in this world you have.

The succeeding Battle of Festubert, or Aubers, was part of an Allied effort—following the struggle for Neuve Chapelle—to gain the Aubers Ridge which dominated Lille and La Bassée and constituted one of the vital points on the Western front. The effort as a whole was a costly failure because of the lack of artillery and high explosives sufficient to smash an infinite variety of fortified trenches, hummocks, ravines, chalk-pits, quarries, concrete-lined galleries, underground tunnels, and miniature fortresses of every kind—backed by immense numbers of machine guns. The struggle began on May 9th and continued with varying intensity until the 19th when the Canadian 1st Division and the 51st Highland Division were ordered into action. Since St. Julien the Canadians had been resting in billets until, on the 14th, they had been moved forward ready for new operations and strengthened by reinforcements from reserve troops in England. The Canadian part of this fighting included efforts of Companies under Colonels F. S. Meighen and R. G. E. Leckie to take a certain Orchard near Festubert; several unsuccessful efforts of the 2nd Brigade or, rather, parts of it, to take the Bexhill redoubt; the repulse of a strong enemy attack of the 7th Prussian Army Corps; the final capture of Bexhill by the 5th Battalion with varied incidents of heroic fighting and ceaseless effort during a period of two weeks.

The casualties were severe, including a total for St. Julien and Festubert of 7,327. Between the close of this conflict and the beginning of the advance on Loos—May 26th to September 25th—

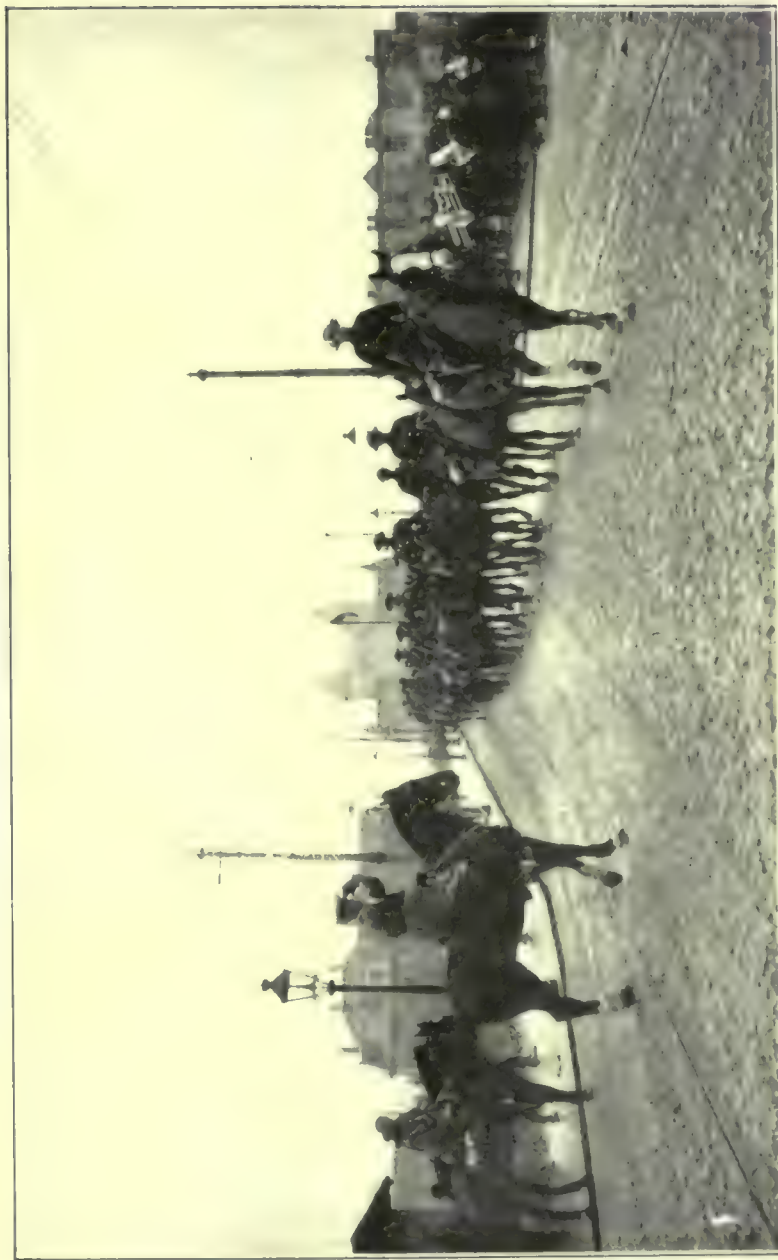
there were a series of small battles, or what seemed small in this tremendous War. Of these, so far as Canadians were concerned, Givenchy was the chief, and it was a desperate affair in which glory and trenches were won; but the latter eventually abandoned. It was part of a chain of operations along the whole front and, though looming large in Canadian eyes and annals, it would not fill a great place in the history of the campaign. By June 30th, however, the casualties for the whole Division totalled about 50 per cent with some battalions represented by almost their entire strength—the 7th British Columbia and 16th Western Battalions, for instance, having losses of 913 each, the 15th Ontario Highlanders, 888 and the 16th Manitoba Highlanders 754, with others in proportion grading down to those which had not been in serious engagements.

Following these events, and at the beginning of 1916, the Canadian troops consisted of three Divisions and nine Brigades—the former under Generals Currie, Turner and Mercer, the latter under command, respectively, of Brigadiers-General Garnet B. Hughes, D.S.O., L. J. Lipsett, C.M.G., R. G. E. Leckie, C.M.G., Robert Rennie, D.S.O., M.V.O., David Watson, C.B., H. D. B. Ketchen, A. C. Macdonell, C.M.G., D.S.O., V. A. S. Williams, F. W. Hill, C.B. In March, General Leckie of the 3rd Brigade was wounded and replaced by Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis, D.S.O., and General Macdonell of the 7th Brigade, also wounded, was succeeded by Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford, C.M.G. In June it was announced that General Lipsett would succeed the late General Mercer as Commander of the 3rd Division and that Brig.-Gen. W. St. Pierre Hughes would replace him in command of the 2nd Brigade. Brig.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley, D.S.O., replaced General Williams (a prisoner in Germany) in his Brigade command. General Turner was appointed in November to command the Canadian troops in England and was succeeded in the 2nd Division at the Front by Brig.-Gen. H. E. Burstall, C.B.



THE CHARGE OF THE 4TH CANADIAN BATTALION AT YPRES IN THE FACE OF A MURDEROUS GERMAN SHELL FIRE

During one of the most terrible and deadly engagements of the whole war, when a powerful German outflanking movement was being rapidly developed, the 4th Canadian Battalion, to save the day, carried a counter-attack in the face of a withering fire. Lieutenant-Colonel Birchall, leading his men, fell dead at the moment when it seemed that the attack could not succeed. With a cry of anger from his men it was renewed, the German trenches were taken, and the day was saved.



Canadian Official Photograph.

FORWARD INTO GERMANY

The Canadian Corps Commander, Sir Arthur Currie, takes the salute of his brave soldiers as they cross the Bridge over the Rhine at Bonn.

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Of the Artillery during this year, Brig.-Gen. J. H. Mitchell, Col. J. J. Creelman, Brig.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison, D.S.O., and Brig.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley were in command of brigades at one time or another with Brig.-Gen. J. E. B. Seely, C.B., D.S.O., lately British Secretary of War, in command of the Cavalry and Brig.-Gen. C. J. Armstrong, C.M.G., as Chief Engineer of the Canadian Corps in France.

Meanwhile, and up to May, 1916, Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. A. H. Alderson, K.C.B., had been in command of all the Canadian Forces in France. He was popular with the men and under him the Canadians did much hard work, became splendid soldiers and distinguished themselves in the field. Differences with the Minister of Militia at Ottawa, however, made his retirement unavoidable and he was replaced by Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Julian H. C. Byng, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., who had won reputation in South Africa as an alert, devoted and, of course, gallant soldier. Under General Alderson the Canadian 1st Division had saved Calais and the Coast at the 2nd Battle of Ypres—St. Julien or Langemarck—as British troops had done at the first battle of that name; under him the same Division had fought at Givenchy and Festubert beside the Guards and the famous “fighting Seventh” of the British Army; under him, early in 1916, they still were fighting at St. Eloi in the war-blasted Ypres region. Under Sir Julian Byng the first three Divisions and Princess Patricias fought at the 3rd Battle of Ypres, while all four Canadian Divisions were under him at the struggle on the Somme. During this year the already established reputation of Canadian troops was enhanced; they were found equal to the best of their British comrades and no higher praise could be given. Where all were brave, all cheerful and patient, all earnest in the desire to get at the enemy, effective comparisons are difficult, but, Canadians naturally took, and always will take, special interest in the Canadian portion of the great battles

which often ran for scores of miles along the front, and involved, at times, millions of men.

During January of 1916 the Princess Patricias were transferred from the 80th British Brigade to the Canadian Army Corps and Gen. W. E. B. Smith, in a farewell Order, declared that "the gallantry of the P. P. C. L. I. during the fighting of St. Eloi and later during the 2nd Battle of Ypres, when the Battalion hung on to their trenches with unparalleled tenacity, and lost 75 per cent. of their effectives, has won for them, not only the admiration of their comrades but a reputation which will stand amongst the highest in the record of the exploits of the British Army." It was pointed out at the time that this Regiment and those of the 1st Canadian Division were the first volunteer soldiers that Britain had allowed to go to the Front. On April 3rd there began the most important conflict shared in by Canadians since St. Julien. The 2nd Division occupied on that date the ground at St. Eloi, won in recent actions by the 3rd British Division and held as a sharp salient thrust into the German position; it comprised trenches running alongside of great mine-craters. These crowned a slight rising and had been created by a German explosion and from them the enemy's trenches might be dominated. During the week of March 28th many German efforts and an intense artillery concentration had been made to dislodge the British, and then the Canadian troops to whom the trenches were turned over; but they had been resisted and the lines connected up on the right by the Canadians with a new British line. There were many Canadian bombing attacks, all gallant efforts, and the troops by April 3rd had barely got settled in their new positions, with most of the crater-ground behind them, and a "No Man's Land," of desolate and shattered history, in the immediate front, when a new struggle began.

Upon them and the craters poured a heavy concentrated artillery fire for three days, which increased steadily in intensity, with the

27th (Winnipeg) Battalion as the chief sufferers; on the 6th the Germans followed it up and succeeded in getting through and occupying two of the craters. Fighting continued for days, at close range, for the German capture of the other craters and, by the Canadians, for the re-capture of the two which the enemy had occupied. At first the Canadians had to retire—the trouble being largely due to a mistake as to the location and occupation of certain craters which for days had held the Canadian artillery back from action and which had changed owing to new mines altering the map of the Mound. For the same reason the first counter-attacks failed. This part of the battle was conducted by the 6th Brigade under General Ketchen, with casualties of 617 officers and men; in the latter part of it the 4th Brigade under General Rennie, after relieving the other on April 7th and making several fierce attempts to re-capture the craters, gave way on the 11th to the 5th Brigade under General Watson and with casualties of 403. Then the facts were discovered as to the craters, the Artillery got in its work, and on the 17th the Germans were driven out and the battle-scarred region reoccupied. On May 1st the total casualties reported to Ottawa in this fighting were 2,759 officers and men. During the next month or so there was much work in these positions, the digging of new trenches, erecting entanglements, carrying food and ammunition through dangerous and difficult zones of fire, effecting relief, bombing, scouting, and holding on amid difficult conditions.

Then, on June 2nd, the area of active fighting was transferred to the positions held by the 1st and 3rd Divisions, not far from Ypres and the battle-ground of St. Julien, at points centering (1) around Sanctuary Wood, (2) around the ruined village of Hooze. The storm broke in Sanctuary Wood on the above date with a sudden and intense German bombardment which, in its earlier results killed Maj.-Gen. M. S. Mercer, who, with General Williams, was on an

inspection tour of the trenches—the latter being made prisoner under conditions not then known. The shelling was one of the most intense yet met with on the British front and strong trenches over a wide area were swiftly swept out of existence. Succeeding months saw many similar events with, in the end, artillery supremacy on the British and French side; but at this time the Germans were still on top. It was compared to a tropical tornado which presses men flat to the ground and suffocates them, which uproots forests and hurls them headlong, which obliterates ancient landmarks, homes and shelters and leaves nothing but wreckage and desolation. Following it came the German advance and, in this inferno, the 4th C. M. R., under Colonel J. F. H. Ussher, suffered the brunt of the onslaught of guns and men with 637 casualties; the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles, under Col. A. E. Shaw, who fell while leading his men, then bore the strain of the attack with casualties of 367. Meanwhile, two Companies of the Princess Patricias faced the wave and Col. H. C. Buller, the gallant leader of the Regiment, was killed, and Major Hamilton Gault and Capt. H. W. Niven wounded.

Then supports came up under General A. C. Macdonell and a vital position in front of Ypres was saved for the moment though some ground was lost on the east with two guns which Lieut. C. P. Cotton and his men died in defending. Fighting at Maple Copse, Observatory Ridge, and Armagh—all in this region—was equally desperate and included the gallant death of Lieut.-Col. G. H. Baker, M.P., commanding a portion of the C. M. R. and the coolness and courage in leadership shown by Col. F. W. Hill. Of these latter struggles on June 3rd the *London Times* correspondent said: "Each one of these Names will be written large in history. The lines in front of these points were held then by a battalion of the Canadian Mounted Rifles, and other battalions came up later to assist them, through the barrage, and few things finer, it is said, were ever seen

in war than the way in which they came." Following this series of events the Canadians were given a brief rest and then moved to the Somme region where, in September, they again distinguished themselves. During the Battle of the Ancre, and the prolonged struggle which swept along the Somme, different British divisions had special work to do and, on September 15-16, when Martinpuich, Belmont, Hamel, Flers and other village-fortresses were being stormed, the Canadians—who had recently relieved the Australians under conditions of extreme difficulty from shell-fire—were given the region in front of Courcellette to capture.

THE BATTLE OF COURCELETTE

It was their first real offensive and nothing could stop them. Their action was part of an attack on a quadrilateral chain of fortresses in which British Guards, London Territorials and New Zealanders also shared. The 4th, 5th and 6th Canadian Brigades took part. Just before the advance a certain line of trench upon which that advance hinged had to be straightened out and the 2nd Battalion (Colonel A. E. Swift) of the 1st Division was given the task which it successfully performed. The main advance was in skirmishing order and in six waves of attack. The artillery barrage moved before the men, pounding the ground with shot and shell. The moment they topped a certain ridge the Canadians came into full view of the enemy who opened upon them with rifle and machine-gun fire, and placed a barrage of shell-fire in front of them. The Canadians moved forward steadily, passed through the German barrage, captured Mouquet Farm after desperate resistance, and then swarmed into the fortified ruins of a sugar refinery. These ruins, strongly garrisoned, were a veritable nest of machine-gun emplacements and it was here that the units on the right of the attack did their heaviest fighting of the day; but they took the position, garrisoned it, then moved forward and dug themselves in. In the mean-

time battalions on the left had kept pace with this advance. They crossed a German trench and encountered several fortified sunken roads which had to be cleared of the enemy with grenades and bayonets; then they continued through the hostile barrage, came abreast of the sugar refinery, passed it and dug themselves in.

The Canadians thus had reached and taken their formidable objectives and secured themselves in their new positions. It was a splendid piece of work, planned and carried out with mathematical precision, and in detail showed hundreds of incidents of individual heroism. Following this the Artillery got to work again and the quick advance upon Courcellette village was made—a French Canadian battalion leading in the last attack and Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick battalions, with the Princess Patricias, sharing in the preliminary work, or in the final assault. The prisoners taken were over 1,200, including 32 officers, with two guns and a large number of machine guns; the Canadian casualties were estimated at 4,000. Much desultory fighting followed this success. In his report for the week of September 20–27 the Canadian Eye-Witness (Max Aitken, afterwards Lord Beaverbrook) stated that “as a result of further severe fighting the Canadians have captured several important German positions and have advanced their own line upon a frontage of nearly two miles to a maximum depth of 900 yards. The total number of prisoners in their hands since the beginning of the great offensive now amounts to 38 officers and 1,610 of other ranks. They have also captured about 25 machine guns, 11 trench mortars and a great quantity of ammunition of all sorts and other war materials.”

They were greatly assisted in important trench captures on September 22nd and other dates by powerful Artillery preparations. On the 26th the strong Zollern Graben redoubt was captured. Following this, they went on toward the crest of the high ground north

of Courcellette and captured the Hessian and Kenora trenches. Attacks and counter-attacks ensued around these positions and, during the month of October, Canadian cavalry patrols were also active, while upon three occasions the powerful Regina trench was partly taken and then lost again. On October 21st the Canadians succeeded in capturing the greater part of the trench from the Prussian Guards during a general advance of the British forces. The remaining portions were finally taken in a brilliant assault on November 11th. A week later the capture of Desire trench by an Ottawa Battalion saw 14 out of 15 officers killed or wounded but the objective was gained, over 400 prisoners, including 17 officers, captured, with a number of machine guns. The 4th Division under General Watson took part in many of these operations. With the close of the Somme offensive the troops reverted to ordinary trench warfare. Seventh Brigade Orders were issued by Brig.-Gen. A. H. Macdonell at the close of the year which paid special tribute to the conduct of the Princess Patricias, the Royal Canadian Regiment and the 42nd and 49th Battalions in the actions of September and October. In these months of fighting Canadian casualties, as recorded, showed 11,797 in June, in July 3,684, in August 3,079, in September 9,051, in October 14,321, in November 3,595 and in December 2,230.

The year 1917 saw 125,000 Canadians in France, giving, when up to establishment, 90,000 fighting troops. This Army Corps was commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Julian Byng before and after Vimy, and then by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Currie; its Divisional Commanders of the year were Majors-General A. C. Macdonell—after General Currie's promotion—H. E. Burstall, L. J. Lipsett, and David Watson; its Cavalry Brigade was led by Brig.-Gen. J. E. B. Seeley, D.S.O. In the Force* there were 54 battalions of Infantry, or about 55,000 men, more than 10,000 Artillery, 3,500 Engineers,

* Official statement issued by Department of Militia, Ottawa, on November 1, 1917.

3,000 Medical troops, 2,000 Army Service Corps, with others making about 20,000 troops of arms other than Infantry. The Cavalry brigade had an establishment of 3,000. The Corps troops amounted to 11,000, the bulk of them being Artillery, 5,000 or 6,000 strong, including Siege artillery, Aircraft artillery, French motors, with Corps' field-troops for maintaining the supply of ammunition, etc. In these troops there were, also, over 2,000 engineers, tunnellers, telegraphers, telephonists, etc., with 3,000 machine-gunmen and cyclists. With these men in the Divisions, the Cavalry brigade and the Corps troops, there were 28,000 attached to Railway, Forestry and Labour Services, and 36,000 more on the lines of communication. Such figures, of course, indicated the establishment and necessarily differed at various stages of fighting, rest, recuperation and reserve.

At the beginning of the year, Maj.-Gen. A. W. Currie, C.B., who had been in command of the First Division since 1915, was steadily making his mark as a rising officer of solid ability. He had joined the Canadian Militia as a private in 1895 and had worked his way up to the successful command of the 5th B. C. Regiment of Garrison Artillery; he received in 1914, the command of a brigade for active service and soon showed elements of unusual military capacity. His great opportunity came when, in June of that year, General Byng was promoted to the command of one of the British armies. In issuing a Special Order of farewell to the Canadians Sir Julian said: "During the year of my command the unvarying success in battle, the progress in training and in discipline, and the unswerving devotion and loyalty of all ranks are features which stand out prominently in the history of the Corps. That history will last forever, and my association with you in the making of it is a joy that can never be impaired." Many tributes were paid to this popular Commander by the Dominion Government, officers and men in personal correspondence, and by all who knew his military work of the period.

The Canadian press was greatly interested in his successor and various journals expressed the hope that it would be a Canadian, with Generals Currie and Turner specially mentioned. On June 19th it was announced that Sir Arthur Currie—recently knighted by the King upon the battlefield of Vimy—had been authorized to take over the command. It was a remarkable promotion and well illustrated the possibilities for natural talent in a great struggle where ability was such an obvious essential. In July the new Commander was gazetted, with Maj.-Gen. Turner, as a Lieut.-General. The war efforts and successes of the Canadians during 1917 came at a stage when the acknowledged high standing of their Army Corps was at its best, with a good average of mental and physical qualities, excellent conditions of discipline and training, a shrewd individual common-sense trained in the business of war. There was quick initiative and a disregard for red-tape which was characteristic and effective when combined with discipline. Canadians had held at various times a battle-front ranging from about a mile on the Ypres salient to 6,000 yards in the fierce fighting of June, 1916; early in 1917 they held, according to the estimate of Stewart Lyon, when acting as Canadian war correspondent, about one-fortieth of the entire Western front. During the first months of this year they carried out a number of important raids—notably north of Arras on January 17th with 1,000 yards of trenches captured; on February 15th, when a Bavarian battalion was treated to mines and bombs and some of their trenches taken; on February 27th and March 1st, when considerable damage was done the enemy but with the loss in the latter fight of Colonels S. G. Beckett and A. H. G. Kimball, C.B., D.S.O.

THE BATTLE OF VIMY RIDGE

Then came the Battle of Vimy Ridge. It was a part of the general attack launched on April 9th by the First and Third Armies of the British command along the Arras front and the Canadians were

given a section of the Arras-Lens Road, with Vimy Ridge as their objective. They had four Divisions in line assisted by one British brigade. Their troops numbered about 75,000, with Lieut.-Gen. Sir Julian Byng, K.C.B., in command of the Corps, which then was a part of the First Army under General Sir H. S. Horne, K.C.B.; the enemy's Army was under the Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria with about 140,000 troops in his command. The Commanders of the four Canadian Divisions were, respectively, Majors-General Currie, Burstall, Lipsett and Watson; the Infantry Brigades were commanded by Brigadiers-General Garnet B. Hughes, C.M.G., W. St. P. Hughes, D.S.O., F. O. W. Loomis, D.S.O., G. S. Tuxford, C.B., C.M.G., Robert Rennie, C.M.G., M.V.O., D.S.O., A. H. Macdonell, C.M.G., D.S.O., A. C. Macdonell, D.S.O., C.M.G., H. D. B. Ketchen, C.M.G., J. H. Elmsley, D.S.O., F. W. Hill, D.S.O., Victor W. Odlum, D.S.O., and J. H. MacBrien, D.S.O. The attack of the Canadian Corps was preceded by a blasting, withering fire from British and Canadian artillery which smashed Vimy Ridge as though by the combined force of an earthquake and tornado. The defences had been organized on a scale proportionate to the importance of the position and consisted of an extensive and intricate series of heavily wired trench systems, with numerous fire trenches and communication trenches, deep and elaborate dug-outs, caves and tunnels, concrete machine-gun and trench-mortar emplacements, and cunningly constructed redoubts, while along the whole front lay a chain of great craters created by preceding mine explosions. The following review of the Battle itself was written by F. A. McKenzie, a reliable Canadian correspondent, who saw the scenes described:

"The Canadian lines had been shortened to a front of about 7,000 yards from Kennedy Crater to the left to Commandant House on the right. The left of the line was to advance a comparatively small way, but the right had to push up about 4,000 yards to the edge of Farbus Wood. Were this done the whole of the ridge would fall into our hands and give us command of the country below. The pre-

liminary work of the battle began twenty days before the advance, when systematic artillery destruction of the German lines was opened in earnest. An enormous number of guns had been accumulating for the blow. New shells were being used, armour-piercing and delayed fuse-action shells, which penetrated twenty feet and more into the ground, blowing up deep dug-outs. Not more than one-half of our guns were employed before the day. These positions were carefully concealed. The chalky country around Vimy lends itself to mining. In addition to the numerous mines and counter-mines on the hill, run by either side, infantry subways had been built, deep down, with galleries radiating from them. Thanks to these, it was possible to bring supplies and men right up to the front in safety. During the afternoon and night of April 8th men moved up and occupied their positions.

The hour was approaching. Every soldier knew what was expected of him. The plan of battle had been carefully explained to all. The troops for weeks had been drilled over dummy trenches, modeled on the German. Each man knew where he had to go and what he had to do. He knew where the dug-outs were that he had to bomb. There was an extraordinary spirit of keenness displayed. The commanding officers attributed this largely to the fact that the men had been taken into their leaders' confidence. The German commanders believed Vimy to be almost impregnable. They held the upper ground. On the ground above Souchez village they were strengthening their positions by building a number of concealed strong points of concrete and steel that would resist almost anything except a direct hit by heavy shell. Even that would not always wreck them. A considerable part of the front was broken up by a series of craters—some of enormous size—made by systematic mine explosions. Mine craters are among the most valuable means of defence, for an attacking enemy must creep round the sides, where he can easily be swept off by a few men with machine guns. These craters were far too big to bridge. Still more to the left was a series of very fine trenches of the most up-to-date type. Scattered all around were machine gun groups, well placed and protected. Machine-gunners rank with snipers as the pick of the German infantry. Behind the lines, in concrete and steel forts, were numbers of heavy guns. The gunners knew every vital spot ahead and had it exactly registered.

The front was divided into four sections, one for each division. The 5th Imperial Division had been attached to the Canadians; part of it was held in reserve, while the 13th British Brigade took part in the assault with the 2nd Division. For two days before the attack the weather had been fine. On the night of the 8th the sky grew overcast, and a bit of wind came up. By early morning the whole field of battle was one mass of beating rain and snow, driven before the wind. In the hours before dawn the Canadian troops stood waiting in the trenches. It was bitterly cold, and the drenching rain soaked them. Zero, the hour for the beginning of the battle, was five-thirty. Exactly to the second close on a thousand

guns opened fire. Men declared that they had never imagined such a pandemonium before. The whole front seemed lit up with a sheet of flame. We saw the result afterwards, great concrete blocks hurled aside like children's toys, steel doors warped and bent, as though a giant had shaken them. Some guns were firing to cover all points of communication at the rear, and some were maintaining a standing barrage. There was a rolling barrage, by 18-pounder guns, moving forward in average leaps of one hundred yards. At a given signal the infantry, every man keyed up to his highest, climbed over the trenches and moved forward, following the barrage.

The whole front was one mass of craters and shell holes. The fire had been so intense that it had eliminated the German front trenches. When soldiers reached them they passed them by without recognition. Only broken cupolas and traces of what had been observation posts remained. The men tramped forward, following the barrage ahead, going through the ever-increasing enemy fire. The shell holes—the place seemed to be all shell holes—were full of icy water. Wounded men who fell into one of these holes died, as a rule, drowned in the mud. At first the opposition was slight, and the enemy artillery fire particularly poor. Soon, however, the whole line came under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire. Machine-guns seemed to be everywhere. Instantly, platoons, practising what they had learned during the previous weeks, set out to envelop and bomb them. The losses, mainly from machine-gun fire, became very heavy. Every officer in the 10th Battalion, save one, was killed or wounded. Now was the time for men's mettle to reveal itself. Wounded refused to notice their wounds. When all the officers of a company were struck down sergeants were ready to lead on. The men were heroes."

Mr. McKenzie described the fighting in detail with Divisions and brigades separately defined. Everywhere, however, the result was the same; mud was perhaps the greatest obstacle and, though conquered in the main, it checked the speed of the advance more than all the German soldiers or their tremendous artillery. Nothing, however, could really keep the Canadians back. The honour won in this action was great and lasting; the comments were world-wide and eulogistic of the Canadian forces; the congratulations many and earnest. As Percival Phillips, of the *London Morning Post*, put it (April 10th): "The Canadians hold Vimy Ridge and dominate the beaten enemy beyond it. They fought their way from the foot to the crest and continued their progress down the steeper eastern

slope to-day. It is the bitterest German defeat of all. The Ridge which barred our path to the plain of Douai was regarded by Prince Rupprecht's armies, like many other defences since lost, as an impregnable fortress capable of resisting any assault. Yet the Canadians took it on a time-table, which, save in one trifling instance, was faithfully adhered to, and flung the Bavarian front back into the ruins of Vimy and the scarred field below."

In an editorial of April 11th the New York *Tribune* declared that: "No praise of the Canadian achievement can be excessive. From the plains and from the mountains, from the cities and from the prairies, Canada has poured out her thousands and her hundreds of thousands; she has sent across the ocean an army greater than Napoleon ever commanded on any battle-field; her volunteer regiments have shown the same stubborn and tenacious quality which is the glory of the British Army." From the British press came whole-hearted and unstinted eulogy. Little in comparison was said of the English north-country and Scottish troops who, in this far-flung Arras fight, also captured dozens of fortified and difficult places on the way to Lens and Cambrai and St. Quentin, took about 10,000 prisoners and many guns and in six days advanced six miles and smashed the tradition of trench impregnability.

The imagination of old and new countries alike was caught by the specific Canadian success. From the King in London and the Prime Minister at Ottawa came congratulations, and from Sir Edward Kemp an official cable, from the Governor-General of Australia and Mr. Walter Long, Colonial Secretary, came cabled eulogies, while General Sir Henry Horne made this official statement: "By the troops of the First Army the Vimy Ridge has been regarded as a position of very great strength. The Germans have considered it impregnable. To have carried this position with so little loss testifies to soundness of plan, thoroughness of preparation, dash and

determination in execution, and devotion to duty on the part of all concerned. The ninth of April will be an historic day in the annals of the British Empire." In a Special Order Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig said: "The capture of the renowned Vimy Ridge is an achievement of the highest order and of which Canada may well be proud."

The operations of this first phase in the Battle of Arras were continued on April 28th along a front of eight miles and followed preliminary attacks held up by insufficiently destroyed wire entanglements. The objectives of the Canadian Corps on this date consisted of Arleux-en-Gohelle and the German trench system west of the village known as the Arleux Loop. The attacking troops were ordered to advance to a definite line east of the village, and there consolidate a position in preparation for further operations. This attack was launched at 4.45 A. M., and, in spite of determined resistance on the part of the German infantry, the whole of the enemy's trench line was successfully carried. Severe fighting took place in Arleux but the garrison of the village was gradually overcome, and the objectives gained. Some hundreds of prisoners were taken and the line held. In further co-operation with the British advance and, in a general attack from Bullecourt to Fresnoy, the Canadian troops stormed the latter village and the German defences north of it towards a point close to Acheville. The German infantry offered the most stubborn resistance throughout the advance, and the fighting was bitter, German losses heavy and hundreds of prisoners taken. In consequence of a failure to capture Oppy this position at Fresnoy became a sharp salient and, after the Canadians had been relieved by a British Division was, on the 8th, evacuated.

Progress was made, however, from the readjusted Canadian trenches and on June 12th a number of trenches were captured and consolidated with counter-attacks repulsed. On the 24th of June Canadian troops co-operated with the British brigade on their left

in a successful attack north of the Souchez River, by which an important section of the enemy's trench system was seized on a front of about 400 yards. Next day this success was followed up on both banks of the river. Canadian troops occupied the German trenches from the northwest edge of La Coulotte to the river, while further north, troops of the neighbouring British division made equal progress. On the 26th of June the advance of the Canadian Corps was resumed under cover of an Artillery barrage and rapid progress made on the whole front between the Arras-Lens railway and the river. All objectives were gained, including La Coulotte village. On June 27th the enemy's trenches south of Avion were attacked and captured and on the 28th a general attack was launched with Canadian troops pushing through Avion and Eleu dit Leauvette. It was in this stage of the fighting that Lieut.-Colonel Russell Britton, D.S.O., was killed by a shell. Writing to the *London Chronicle*, Philip Gibbs said: "These men who took Arleux and Fresnoy are great soldiers, excelling in certain qualities of spirit which make them terrible in attack and strong to endure. . . . Imagine the spirit of men who will walk through two barrages—falling walls of shell-fire—in order to get at the enemy beyond. That was what happened on the way to Fresnoy."

THE BATTLE OF PASSCHENDAELE

Of the fighting around Coulotte there was one brilliant piece in which a central electric station, forming an outpost of Lens, was finally taken by British Columbian troops on June 6th. This part of the struggle around Lens, including Coulotte and other actions, brought Canadians within a mile of the centre of this great mining city and region while movements or raids in August captured other positions on the way—especially on August 21st, when lines of trenches skirting the town were taken, with 200 prisoners. Meanwhile, on August 15th, the chief portion of the Canadian troops had

attacked on a front of 4,000 yards southeast of Loos with the strong fortification called Hill 70 as the objective. It had been reached by the British, but not held, in the Battle of Loos on September 25, 1915. The assault now was successful at light cost and in exact accordance with plans while, at the same time, three mining suburbs of Lens were captured. The succeeding actions resulting in the capture of Passchendaele Ridge were thus described by Sir Douglas Haig in his report of December 25th:

On October 26th English and Canadian troops attacked on a front extending from Ypres-Roulers Railway to beyond Poelcappelle. The Canadians attacked on the right on both sides of the small stream known as the Ravebeek, which flows south-westward from Passchendaele. On the left bank of the stream they advanced astride the main ridge and established themselves securely on the small hill south of Passchendaele. North of the Ravebeek strong resistance was met on the Bellevue Spur, a very strong point which had resisted our efforts in previous attacks. With splendid determination the Canadians renewed their attack on this point in the afternoon and captured it. Two strong counter-attacks south and west of Passchendaele were beaten off, and by nightfall the Canadians had gained practically the whole of their objectives.

On October 30th Canadian and English troops attacked at 5.50 A. M. on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers Railway to the Poelcappelle-Westroosebeke road. On the right the Canadians continued their advance along the high ground and reached the outskirts of Passchendaele, capturing an important position at Crest Farm on a small hill south-west of the village. Fighting was severe at all points, but particularly on the spur west of Passchendaele. Here no less than five strong counter-attacks were beaten off in the course of the day, our troops being greatly assisted by the fire of captured German machine guns in Crest Farm. At 6 A. M. on November 6th Canadian troops renewed their attack and captured the village of Passchendaele, together with the high ground immediately to the north and north-west. Sharp fighting took place for the possession of pill-boxes in the northern end of the village, around Mosselmarkt, and on the Goudberg Spur. All objectives were gained at an early hour, and at 8.50 A. M. a hostile counter-attack was beaten off. Over 400 prisoners were captured in this most successful attack, by which for the second time within the year, Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success.

No brief record, such as this must be, can give any idea of what the fighting of these months involved; of the universal courage

displayed or the heroism so often evoked by opportunity and marked by honours from the Crown or mention in despatches; of the privations cheerfully endured, of the friendly emulation with Empire or Allied soldiers. Canadian troops did not like too much praise—though it would have been difficult to really reach that point. They were at this time amongst the best troops on the Front; to say that they were better than the best British or French soldiers would be to express an impossibility. The fighting on the outposts of Flanders in the latter part of 1917 gave the Corps new reputation and the French press could not say too much of the initiative, persistence and cool courage shown. General Currie wrote Sir G. Perley on November 7th that: "The situation was that certain tactical features had to be taken. Canadians were brought to do the job; so far they have done it mighty well." The Canadian Cavalry, chiefly Fort Garry Horse, which aided General Byng at Cambrai, performed some work on November 20th which ranked with the best exploits of the kind in Empire history—one squadron charging upon and capturing an enemy battery and racing two miles into the enemy lines over infantry and other obstacles, and then fighting its way back, or the 43 who remained did, through guns and soldiers to Masnières. It may be added that Canadian casualties were reported as 13,000 at Vimy Ridge, 10,000 in the fighting of June, July and August, 10,000 at Hill 70 and 24,000 at Passchendaele.

During the last phases of the War in 1918 there were about 160,000 Canadians at the Front, including an Army Corps of four infantry Divisions of 80,000 men under command of Sir Arthur Currie; a Canadian Cavalry Brigade, 3,000 strong, under General Seely and, after the middle of the year, Brig.-Gen. R. W. Paterson, D.S.O.; numerous and effectively organized line of communication units, railway, forestry, engineer, medical, ambulance, sanitary, veterinary, dental, salvage, and other Services. The Divisional

commanders of the Infantry were as follows: 1st Division—Maj.-Gen. Sir A. C. Maconell, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.; 2nd Division—Maj.-Gen. Sir H. E. Burstall, K.C.B., C.M.G.; 3rd Division—Maj.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.; 4th Division—Maj.-Gen. Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G. Headquarters officials included Brig.-Gen. R. J. L. Hayter, C.M.G., D.S.O., Brig.-Gen. G. J. Farmer and Maj.-Gen. W. B. Lindsay, C.M.G., D.S.O.; the Artillery commander was Maj.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., and his five Divisional corps commanders were Brigadiers-General H. C. Thacker, C.M.G., D.S.O., H. A. Panet, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., J. S. Stewart, C.M.G., D.S.O., W. B. M. King, C.M.G., D.S.O., W. O. H. Dodds, C.M.G.; the Machine Gun Corps was commanded by Brig.-Gen. R. Brutinel, C.M.G., D.S.O., and the Canadian representative at General Headquarters was Brig.-Gen. J. F. L. Embury, C.M.G., D.S.O.; the Railway troops were led by Brig.-Gen. J. W. Stewart, C.B., C.M.G., and the Army Medical Services by Brig.-Gen. A. T. Ross, C.B., C.M.G.; the Siberian Expeditionary Force was commanded by Maj.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley, C.B., C.M.G., and Brig.-Gen. H. C. Bickford, C.M.G. An officer who won high reputation in these later years was Brig.-Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., who acted as Chief Intelligence Officer in a Canadian Division, then a British Division, and then for the British Army on the Italian-Austrian front.

During 1918 the Canadian Corps was destined to do more than even in preceding years. At first it was a deliberate and sustained policy of harassing and worrying the enemy with raids of all kinds and in all degrees of surprise attack and successful action. There were months of hard work and bitter trench fighting, also, along the British and French lines, of preparation and waiting, of bombardment and bombing, of aerial fighting and preliminary efforts of every kind to minimize or neutralize the tremendous shock of German

attack which became inevitable when the superiority of numbers passed from the Allies to the Teutons and the vast resources of the Austrian eastern front became, in part, available to the enemy. The Canadians did not take an active part in meeting the great German aggressive—the shock of arms which brought the enemy so near Paris and so near the Coast. They were, however, moved about a good deal; they saw considerable minor fighting; they had a record from April to June which included the Cavalry capture of Moreuil, raids on the Vimy-Arras front, repulse of a German gas attack north of Lens, a series of trench raids, a successful operation on the Lys River and a raid at Neuville, a Cavalry action at the Luce, fighting South of Arras, a raiding of many trenches on the Scarpe.

On June 30th the Corps was once again in the front line. The result of all this desultory fighting and actual training for the open warfare, which was in sight, appeared on August 8-10 when the Canadians advanced as part of the forces in the great Battle of Amiens with perfect confidence in their leaders and themselves. Organization and staff were alike excellent and the troops were amply backed by an enormous force of aeroplanes and whippet tanks. They captured many prisoners—6,000 on the first day, with every gun in sight—and, in conjunction with the Australian forces, took Meharicourt, Bonchoir, Lihons, Rancourt, Proyart, Warvillers, and Beaufort. All objectives were attained and the artillery, in particular, distinguished itself. Between the 12th and 17th a new drive forward was made south of Villers-Bretonneux to the Avre and, in conjunction with British and French forces, considerable gains were made—including the capture of Parvillers and Damery on the road to Roye. To the Corps came congratulations from F. M. Sir Douglas Haig upon its successful carrying out of these operations, while Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Rawlinson of the 4th British Army, under whom it was now serving, issued this statement: "I

desire to place on record my sincere appreciation of the conspicuous and highly successful part played by the Canadian Force in the battle of August 8th. The determination with which all obstacles were overcome, the dash and gallantry with which the assault was delivered, and the precision with which each advance was made exactly on schedule time reflect the highest credit both on the staff arrangements and the fine fighting spirit of all units which took part in the operation."

BREAKING THE HINDENBURG LINE

Other messages poured in, while the London *Times'* correspondent on August 27th declared that "the fighting of those first two days was the biggest thing Canada has done in the War." In these operations, ending August 17th, 10,000 prisoners, 150 guns, thousands of machine guns and 22 towns were captured by the Canadians. Following this the Corps was moved, by a wide detour march or transport over 100 miles, from the vicinity of Roye to that of Arras. On August 26-27th an important new advance followed southeast of Arras. Wancourt, Guemappe and Monchy-le-Preux were captured and all objectives reached, while on the next three days the Corps pressed on toward a point on the Hindenburg Line called the Drocourt-Queant switch of the Wotan defensive system. At this juncture the Corps was fighting side by side with Scottish troops, and on the 28th captured Pelves and Boiry-Notre Dame. By September 1st the advance was following the Cambrai road and nearing the Drocourt-Queant line with its trenches protected by powerful and inter-laced belts of wire with barbs an inch long, commanded by ferro-concrete positions every 100 yards—each holding machine guns with "pill-boxes" and other guns in between these positions; it was stated that this part of the line was held by seven Prussian and Bavarian Divisions. General Currie had under his immediate command two Canadian Divisions and, in the final assault, was supported

by portions of four greatly depleted English Divisions—London, Lancashire, Naval and Lowland. Between them, on the 2nd, with the Canadians well to the front, the greatest German position from Cambrai to the Belgian Coast was taken in a few hours' fighting and the villages, or rather Hindenburg fortifications, of Dury, Villers-les-Gagnicourt and Gagnicourt captured and held by the Canadians.

With characteristic British generosity the London press gave the credit for this great victory to the Canadians. As the *Daily Chronicle* put it so did other leading dailies: "The Hun switch line west of Arras, which defends Queant and Douai, has been completely broken through by the Canadians on a front of six miles. It is a remarkable military feat, for the position comprised one of the most formidable, if not the most formidable, defences which the enemy possessed." F. M. Sir Douglas Haig in his official report stated that: "On September 2nd the Drocourt-Queant line was broken, the maze of trenches at the junction of that line and the Hindenburg system was stormed and the enemy was thrown into precipitate retreat on the whole front to the south of it. This gallant feat of arms was carried out by the Canadian Corps of the First Army, employing the First and Fourth Canadian Divisions and the Fourth English Division, and the 17th Corps of the Third Army, employing the 52nd, 57th and 63rd Divisions."

The enemy retreated to the Canal du Nord position, where, as the Canadians and other troops advanced, they had to meet and repulse fierce German counter-attacks. Between the 15th and 23rd of September there were several assaults by the Corps along this Canal in which one position was taken and re-taken four times and the Canadians were under practically continuous shell-fire. Cherisy was taken, the Bois du Sort stormed, and at Vis-en-Artois the Canadians stood further east on the Scarpe sector than had any Allied troops since 1914. On the 27th the famous Bourlon Wood, of 1917 and

British battle effort, was captured and the Canal du Nord crossed under support of a great concentration of Imperial artillery fire. This part of the line, like that of Drocourt, was considered impregnable, but when the attack was once made the Canadians and their British comrades went through and over everything, and the former in one day penetrated five miles beyond and captured many prisoners and guns. A memorable feature of the Canal crossing (125 feet wide and 45 feet deep) was a bridge of tanks with fighting tanks crossing on their backs.

CAMBRAI AND THE FINAL VICTORIES

This advance brought the Canadians and the British Naval division into the outskirts of Cambrai and included the capture of Ossy-le-Berger, Epiney, Haynecourt, Marquin, Sailly, and other fortress-like villages. During two months' fighting the Canadian Corps had, in fact, captured 69 towns and villages from the German armies. The Battle of Cambrai, which followed, was a desperate conflict and Canadian troops declared it to be the hardest fighting they had faced in France. So with the nearby English divisions. On October 9th Cambrai was finally entered after the Canadians had captured Cuvillers and the Neuville, St. Remy, and Ramillies suburbs of the city. As to this series of struggles General Sir David Watson reported to the Minister of Militia at Ottawa (*Toronto Star*, November 5): "I find that there were no less than thirteen Divisions, consisting of eighty-four battalions, pitted against us during the first terrible days. The Boche actually threw division against division, and unit after unit, regardless of cost, in his attempt to stop our victorious progress. It was the hardest fighting that our Canadians have been up against, and the manner in which they took these terrible gruellings and assaults is one of the most creditable occurrences in the annals of this great war." Meantime, on October 3rd, General Currie had issued a Special Order to his Corps:

"I wish to express to all troops now fighting in the Canadian Corps my high appreciation of the splendid fighting qualities displayed by them in the successful battle of the last five days. The mission assigned to the Corps was the protection of the flank of the Third and Fourth Armies in their advance, and that mission has been carried out to the complete satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief. As you formed the flank, you suffered enfilade and frontal artillery fire all the way, and the hundreds of machine guns captured testifies to the violence of the opposition from that source. Every evidence confirms the fact that the enemy suffered enormous casualties. He fought stubbornly and well and for that reason your victory is the more creditable. You have taken in this battle over 7,000 prisoners and 200 field and heavy guns, thus bringing the total captures of the Canadian Corps since August 8th of this year to 28,000 prisoners, 500 guns, over 3,000 machine guns, and a large amount of stores of all kinds. Even of greater importance than these captures stands the fact that you have wrested 69 towns and villages and over 175 square miles of French soil from the defiling Hun. In the short period of two months the Canadian Corps—to which were attached the 32nd Division for the Battle of Amiens, the 4th and the 51st Divisions for the Battle of Arras, and the 11th Division for this Battle of Cambrai—has encountered and defeated decisively 47 German Divisions; that is, nearly a quarter of the total German forces on the Western front."

On October 9th the Corps were the first to enter Cambrai and took possession after a night attack of careful organization and keen fighting. Meanwhile a Canadian and English force had gone further south and effected the capture of Le Cateau (October 10th) after working through and taking a number of villages. The main Canadian body then advanced under easier conditions but still battling steadily, shared the occupation of Douai with other British troops, captured a series of villages and, on October 20th, entered Denain—Sir Arthur Currie having the Prince of Wales on his staff. It may be added here that H.R.H. Prince Albert and Prince Arthur of Connaught were from time to time attached to the Canadian General's staff. Four days later the Corps fought a severe battle for the Scheldt Canal north of Valenciennes—after marching over thirty miles of indescribable roads—and then, with the British forces, attacked on a six-mile front south of that famous city.

Within a week the Corps captured 28 towns and villages in

this region and its commissariat fed over 70,000 people freed from German bondage. Finally, on November 2nd Canadian troops, supported by a British Army Corps, captured and entered Valenciennes. The advance then continued with the capture of a number of towns and villages, until on November 11th a final struggle was fought for the possession of Mons which then fell to the Canadians and, on the day the Armistice was signed and the war ended, British troops from a far-distant Dominion entered the famous city from which, in August, 1914, at the beginning of the war, British troops of the United Kingdom had been driven by the huge German war-machine. With the Canadians was a British Lancer Regiment which had fought in the original battle. The War was practically over but there followed the march of British Empire and French and American troops to the Rhine. General Currie led a part of his force into Germany and on December 4th they crossed the historic and long-hoped for German river and, for a period, occupied the University city of Bonn and the still greater city of Cologne; another portion remained at Mons for a time. In the spring the different Divisions gradually left Belgium and Germany and were shipped home from England.

During this long struggle the total casualties of the Canadian Corps were 216,146, in which the deaths numbered 57,258—35,684 killed in action, 12,437 died of wounds and 4,057 died of disease, with 5,080 presumed dead or finally missing. The total of the wounded was 155,830; the troops who died in Canada and were not included in the total casualties were 2,287. About 2,800 Canadians were taken prisoners during the War—most of them at St. Julien. Half as many Canadians died in 1918 of the influenza epidemic as were killed at the Front by the Germans. As to the rest this great little army of the Empire distinguished itself in many ways apart from the courage and fighting skill which their Commander summed

up in a cable to J. H. Woods, President of the Canadian Press Association: "In the last two years of strenuous fighting it has never lost a gun, has never failed to take an objective and has never been driven from an inch of ground once consolidated, while its casualties among the rank and file bear the smallest percentage in proportion to its strength of all the British forces."

Canadian initiative was shown in directions which may be briefly summarized* as follows: (1) They were the first to construct light railways behind the firing line, and to use this means of transportation in conveying troops, munitions and supplies to the trenches as well as in carrying wounded to the rear; (2) they were the first to lay down plank roads in order to carry heavy trucks and guns through the quagmires of Flanders and France; (3) they were the first to substitute temporary, lightly-constructed waggon roads in place of the permanent highways in favour with the other Allies; (4) they were the first to originate trench raids for the purpose of breaking the enemy's *morale*, and obtaining necessary information regarding any opposing enemy forces; (5) they were the first to organize machine-gun batteries and to use machine guns in indirect fire—that is to say, against invisible objects; (6) they were the first to combat the disease known as trench-feet with any considerable success, and they invented the alkali bath to neutralize the poisonous effects of mustard gas; (7) they were the first of all the Allied armies to establish a Dental Corps and to introduce a delousing plant to rid the soldiers' clothing of insects.

In the Services, apart from Infantry, Canada had also a proud record. The most conspicuous was probably that of Aviation, in which a quite remarkable and largely individual place was won. Yet Canadians had no distinct Air organization, no centre for separate achievement and reputation, no Corps such as had won

* Condensed from an able review in the *Toronto News* by F. D. L. Smith, September 10, 1918.

distinction for Australia in the East. They simply took to the Air as the English had done to the sea, and by individual effort, voluntary action and initiative swarmed into the British service until both the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service recognized a peculiar aptitude in the splendid work rendered by Canadians while fighting side by side with their British brothers. The Canadian Army Corps was complete except in this one branch and there were plenty of Aviators in the latter years of the War to form Canadian squadrons. But for some reason or other Sir Sam Hughes did not approve, and though, after he ceased to be Minister, much was done in Canada to encourage the Imperial enlistment of aviators and to facilitate Imperial construction of machines and training of men, nothing was done in the organization of a Corps. It was estimated at the end of 1917 that 1,000 Canadians had joined the R. N. A. S., and 3,000 the R. F. C.—as officers and pilots, mechanics and assistants. The total number of Canadians who joined the R. N. A. S. and the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Air Force, into which they were absorbed, was 12,902.

In the individual success attained the central figure was Lieut.-Colonel William Avery Bishop, who, within a few months in 1917-18, won the V.C. and D.S.O. and Bar, the M.C. and D.F.C. A son of Owen Sound, in Ontario, his career was to Canada what that of Alfred Ball was to England or Guynemar to France or Richthofen to Germany. Barker, Hobbs, Mulock, Hallam, Knight, Leckie, Collishaw, Hervey, Fall, Fisher, Shearman, Rosevear, Hamilton Gault of the Princess Patricia's—after he had lost a leg on Infantry service—McLaren, Anderson, were other names in the galaxy of Canadian Aviation fame. As to the Cavalry Brigade a volume of the most thrilling character might be written. In 1918 they were greatly distinguished at the River Luce during the three first days of the Somme battle, in the Cambrai offensive they lived again the best

traditions of the British Army. Canadian armoured cars, and Tanks manned by Canadian troops, did splendid work, while the record of the machine-gun sections was equal to the best on the Allied front—and no greater praise could be given. The Sifton, Borden, Eaton and Yukon Batteries formed a great fighting brigade in the last year of the War. To the Canadian Artillery in general, under Major-Gen. Sir E. W. B. Morrison, many and high tributes were paid during all the years of the War.

The Forestry battalions were conspicuous for good work in England and France and close up to the Front, with the personality of Brig.-Gen. Alex McDougall as a great factor in their success. In England they provided the vital war-force of 300,000 tons of sawn lumber a year and 5,000,000 tons of mining timber cut in one period of 12 months. Equally effective was the splendid Transport system between Canada and England as initiated by Sir A. H. Harris, late of the C. P. R. and managed by him throughout the War; so with the Canadian Railway troops who laid lines of track right up to or behind the trenches and, when the period of moving battles came, provided the light and rapidly constructed transport systems by which the Canadians, and in some cases the British soldiers and the French, retired or advanced. At times they threw down their tools to fight the approaching enemy—as in the first Cambrai struggle and in the 1918 attack on the Somme.

Much might be said of the Engineers with their multitude of bridges—pontoon, trestle, heavy pontoon and heavy steel—erected under every trying condition of haste and enemy fire, of rush materials and supplies, crowds of wounded men, ever-moving masses of artillery and troops. The Canadian victory of Bourlon Wood was essentially an Engineers' battle and it depended upon the speed and the manner in which the crossings of the Canal du Nord were provided. The Medical Corps, Hospital surgeons and nurses, the C. A. M. C., as it

was technically termed, was in a class by itself. The heroism of Canadian nurses was amply proved during the loss of the *Llandoverry Castle*, in the bombardment of Etâples Hospital, in the tremendous work and strain of a thousand battles, and so with the physicians in a myriad of cases and during many conflicts. As to skill, No. I General Hospital on the French Coast and No. III (McGill) at Boulogne made a specialty of broken or injured femur bones, while the avoidance of all epidemics or plagues, the treatments for typhoid and trench fever, anti-tetanus inoculation, the general development of sanitation, chlorination, and bacteriological science were elements of great importance in the life of the Corps. So with the splendid Ambulance system and its gallant stretcher-bearers subject, like the doctors, to constant enemy fire and frequent casualties. The Chaplain Service was brave, sympathetic and a powerful influence for cheer and good-feeling. It controlled and guided the entertainment and recreation programme for the whole Corps, assisted by the Y.M.C.A., Salvation Army and other organizations. Food and cigarette canteens, coffee stalls, athletics, games and sports were amongst the matters handled, besides religious services and funerals. Financially, between 1915 and March 31, 1918, the Service received \$3,450,091 and expended \$3,122,153.

In Dentistry the Canadian Army Dental Corps lead the way, and Sir Auckland Geddes stated to the British Dental Association during May, 1918, that "the whole of the British forces have only a little more than twice the number of dentists belonging to the Canadian Army Dental Corps, while as to organization and administration the inferiority is equally manifest to those who are familiar with the details." Colonel J. A. Armstrong, C.M.G., was Director-General of the Corps and the value of its work to the health and stamina and *morale* of the troops was very great. The Canadian Salvage Corps was another institution of great value and its duty

was to collect and conserve all discarded articles, with a view to their return to military stores and for disposal to the best advantage if unserviceable. In nine months ending February 28, 1918, \$211,000 was saved in this way. Canadian Labour Battalions were also organized for general construction and repair work behind the lines with, also, availability for fighting in an emergency. It may be added that the cemeteries for those Canadians who passed away and out from this terrible crucible of war, scattered as they were all over the war area of France, were most religiously and carefully attended to with each man's name or number, rank or unit and date of death recorded wherever possible. They were well kept and often beautifully decorated; the exact spot where every Canadian in France or Flanders lay buried was recorded in three official places—with an Imperial Graves Committee headed by the Prince of Wales in charge. Let the words of R. J. C. Stead of Ottawa provide a fitting farewell to the Canadian dead in these many battles and to this memorable page in Canadian history:

He saw not where his path should lead,
Nor sought a path to suit his will;
He saw a nation in her need;
He heard the cause of Honour plead;
He heard the call, he gave it heed,
And now he sleeps in Flanders.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Canada at Versailles; Peace and Reconstruction

CANADA'S splendid record in the War merited representation at Versailles; the power of the British Empire gave it to her.

The issues involved in this Congress of Nations, meeting in 1919 to determine the fate of the Teutonic Powers, seemed almost too great and varied and complicated for any body of men to settle; some of them were too full of the fire and passion of war even to discuss amicably. Into this cauldron of European and Eastern controversy, geographical, racial, national and even religious feeling, there was interjected, for the first time, the fresh viewpoint of American thought and policy. The value of detached minds—if impartial—was at such a juncture very great; the danger lay in a possible ignorance of conditions which was fundamental and not superficial and which, in the case of the United States, might misunderstand or under-rate the vital forces of European institutions, traditions and problems.

The representatives of Canada and the various Dominions, on the other hand, went to Versailles with an inherited knowledge of conditions abroad, a certain traditional share in them as parts of a world-Empire and its long record of war and diplomacy, a certain preceding co-operation with the makers of history in this period through membership in Imperial Conferences and the more recent Imperial Cabinet. At the same time they were quite detached from the passionate territorial disputes of Jugo-Slavs and Italians, Poles and Galicians, Greeks and Turks, Serbs and Bulgars, except where the war had brought them in touch with the fringe of such feelings; they had, also, a strong desire to keep their new Nations before the

eyes of the world as dignified and influential entities in a great gathering.

The Imperial Conference and Imperial War Cabinet of 1917-18 had led up naturally to participation in this greater gathering of nations. Of the Imperial War Cabinet much might be said. The first official explanation of its scope, nature and objects was given by Mr. Lloyd George in an interview on January 25, 1917, as follows: "It will deal with all general questions affecting the War. The Prime Ministers of the Dominions or their representatives will be temporary members of the War Cabinet, and we propose to arrange that all matters of first-rate importance shall be considered at a series of special meetings. Nothing affecting the Dominions, the conduct of the War, or negotiations for peace will be excluded from its purview. There will, of course, be domestic questions which each part of the Empire must settle for itself—questions such as recruiting or home legislation. All the different problems connected with making peace, as was stated in the Government's invitation, will be threshed out; the War policy of the Empire will be clearly defined and, of great importance, in what I may call the preparation for peace. You do not suppose that the Overseas nations can raise and place in the field armies containing an enormous proportion of their best manhood and not want to have a say, and a real say, in determining the use to which they are to be put? That seems to us an impossible and undemocratic proposition."

At the Imperial War Cabinet meetings of 1917, which totalled 14 in number after the opening one of March 20th, all the Dominions were represented except Australia, which was politically tied up at the moment; India also had its place and the Imperial Premier announced, on May 17th, that the sessions were to be continued once a year or oftener; at the same time he described this decision of the

members as "a landmark in the constitutional history of the British Empire." Sir Robert Borden, in a London speech on April 2nd, used similar language: "The Imperial War Cabinet as constituted to-day has been summoned for definite and specific purposes, publicly stated, which involve questions of the most vital concern to the whole Empire. With the constitution of that Cabinet a new era has dawned and a new page of history has been written."

In 1918 the second session of the Imperial War Cabinet was held at Downing Street beginning June 11th with the British Prime Minister presiding; its spirit and Constitution were defined by Sir Robert Borden in an address on June 21st, when he said: "We meet on terms of perfect equality. If I might describe it, I should say it is a Cabinet of Governments represented by Ministers responsible to their own Governments, the conclusions of the Cabinet to be carried out by the parliaments of the Empire. Each nation retains its perfect autonomy and, I venture to express the hope, as I did last year, that there will be found in it the germ of a constitutional development which will form the basis of Empire unity in years to come." Mr. Premier Hughes of Australia, on the same occasion, defined this new policy as changing the Empire into "a Commonwealth of nations marching to a still more glorious destiny." As to the functions of the Imperial Cabinet, Sir Robert, on July 30th, pointed out that they dealt with matters of "common Imperial concern," while the British War Cabinet dealt with war matters local to the United Kingdom.

The new system was believed to combine securely the great essentials of Dominion or National autonomy and Imperial unity and security. Following on these constitutional developments came the announcement on August 20th that an important change had been arranged in the channels of communication between Ottawa

and London. It was formulated in a Resolution of the Imperial War Cabinet which declared on July 30th that (1) the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, as members of this Cabinet, should have the right of direct communication on important questions with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and that (2) the Prime Minister of each Dominion would have the right to nominate a Cabinet Minister, either as a resident or visitor in London, to represent him at meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet to be held regularly between the plenary sessions.

This place in the Councils of the Empire brought wider responsibilities. At the seventh Session of the Supreme Allied Council in Paris (July 5, 1918), when all the aspects of the military situation were considered and important decisions were reached, one of the striking features of the occasion was the presence of the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as several other Ministers from British Dominions. On behalf of the Council the Premiers of France and Italy expressed to these representatives of the British Empire the thanks of the Allies for services rendered on the battlefield by the troops of the British Colonies. At the first great Allied Conference of 1917, as to after-war fiscal and trade problems, Canada had been represented by Sir G. E. Foster as one of the United Kingdom delegates; in the Peace Conferences at the close of 1918 Canada and the other Dominions desired to have direct representation, while Great Britain preferred Dominion representation for the whole Empire rather than for separate countries. Just how the matter could be arranged was a problem, but it was finally worked out to the satisfaction of both British and Dominion Governments; not wholly to that of other nations who saw the British Empire delegation in all the Conferences greatly strengthened in voice and influence.

It would be well in dealing with this first share of Canada, Australia, South Africa and India in the foreign politics of the nations, to say that the influence which they wielded and the part they took were not based upon any distinct and separate power or upon any specific share in the war—vital and valuable as the latter might seem to be and as it really was to the British Empire in the general result. As nations, considered apart from the Empire, they were small and far-away, they ranked as yet, quite unfairly, with the lesser South American countries and the smaller States of Europe; the 100,000 men whom Canada had kept in the field, with all their gallantry and their achievements, could not have obtained a successful hearing in the Conference against the representatives of millions of other combatants had their Delegates not been backed by, and come from a part of, the British Empire. It was this great power behind them which compelled representation at the Congress for Dominions which had no technical place in that body; which placed their representatives on vital Committees and made their advice and opinions factors in the settlement of world issues; which compelled the United States delegates to give way and accept their membership in the Conference and in the League of Nations.

Borden, Hughes, Botha, Smuts, Lord Sinha and Massey were able men but so were Venizelos of Greece, Pessoa of Brazil, Pashitch of Serbia, Vesnitch of Croatia, Chinda of Japan, Bratiano of Roumania, and many more who took little share in the discussions or decisions. But the men of the Dominions represented a great Empire as well as their own countries and a power and *prestige* were theirs much greater than the press of the day in Canada indicated. When, as in the case of Sir Robert Borden, this condition was accompanied by a calm and judicial mind, a sane and careful outlook, a judgment which the British leaders of the Congress understood and respected, the influence wielded was far out of proportion to the population and

actual power of the country represented. Canada had won a great place in the War, but to Europe it was still a rather vague one; it was a part of the canvas of British colouring and an element of British preponderance in action on sea and land; the place of Canada in the Empire was still more vague and intangible so far as constitutional conditions and national powers were concerned.

To Canada and the other Dominions this was the crux of the situation from local standpoints and it was the evolution of National representation and position at the Conference, held with and backed by Empire strength and influence, that proved the testing point of Dominion statecraft and the strength of Mr. Lloyd George's support. As the latter said in Parliament, "it took time to settle this question." From the first, Lloyd George and the British Government had laid stress upon the representation of Canada and the Dominions in the making of Peace; the Armistice had not been signed when the British Prime Minister cabled Sir Robert Borden "to start without delay for Europe" so as to be present at the preliminary Conferences; the Canadian Premier promptly cabled a request for defined and recognized representation of Canada at the main Conference. Mr. Lloyd George took up the matter, plans were further developed and the following arrangement, suggested by Sir Robert Borden, was finally accepted:

First.—Canada and the other Dominions shall each have the same representation as Belgium and other small allied nations at the Peace Conference.

Second.—As it was proposed to admit representatives of Belgium and other small nations only when their special interests were under consideration, it was arranged that some representatives of the British Empire be drawn from a panel on which each Dominion Prime Minister should have a place.

On January 18, 1919, the greatest Congress in the history of the world was opened at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, with M. Clemenceau elected President and 5 Great Powers, 21 small nations, 5 British Dominions

and China, represented. The question of Representation was settled without serious discussion except in the case of the British Dominions. Here the opposition of the United States was registered and had not the British Government been united with its Dominions, in pressing the matter through, Continental jealousies and rivalries would have made the United States successful. But the British Empire was too strong for critics or opponents and the arrangements were made with the Dominions and India represented as follows: Two delegates, each, for Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, including the native States, one delegate for New Zealand. Canada was represented by Sir Robert Borden, Hon. C. J. Doherty, Sir George Foster, and Hon. A. L. Sifton. In the ensuing deliberations, in the proceedings of the important British Empire Delegation meetings which swung so many of the Conference decisions, in the Committees to which he was appointed, in the League of Nations' evolution, in the question of Mandates and territorial changes, the Canadian Premier exercised a good deal of influence and his Ministers too had their share of responsibility.

Sir Robert Borden's part in the Conference was considerable and really out of proportion to the actual strength of Canada. He left London for Paris on January 11th after conference with various British ministers and with Sir Edward Kemp, Sir George Perley, and General Currie who had come over from France. Sir George Foster, Hon. A. L. Sifton and Hon. C. J. Doherty went to Paris a little later. The Canadian Premier had been offered the 5th place in the British Delegation at the opening but he stood aside, on this occasion, in favour of Sir. W. Lloyd of Newfoundland. The first great problem with which Sir Robert was identified was that of Russia. He was understood to have suggested in the Imperial War Cabinet, late in 1918, that all sections of the Russian rulers, or attempted rulers, should be asked to send representatives to appear before the Conference

with a view to adjusting their difficulties; this was modified to a proposed meeting at Prinkipo, in the Sea of Marmora, between delegates from Bolsheviki and other Russian Governments and representatives of the Peace Conference; at the end of January Sir Robert was asked to head the British delegation at the meeting which, however, circumstances finally prevented.

Early in February there were several lengthy consultations between the Canadian Premier and President Wilson of the United States while Sir George Foster and Mr. Doherty held conference with members of the French Government and representatives of Roumania; Sir Robert also spoke at a dinner given in honour of the British Dominions delegation by the Franco-Anglo-American Commission; on February 5th it was announced that the Canadian Premier had accepted place as a British member upon the important Commission appointed to deal with the claims for a larger Greece which should include Epirus, the West Coast of Asia Minor and Islands in the eastern Mediterranean. Sir Eyre Crowe of the British Foreign Office was his colleague, together with two representatives each from the United States, France and Italy. Sir Robert Borden became Vice-Chairman and, eventually, this Committee on Greek Boundaries was recognized as one of the most efficient acting under the Conference. In this general connection he registered a serious protest against prolonged delays in the Conference—due very largely to the League of Nations' question being given precedence, under President Wilson's pressure, of other complicated problems.

On February 19th Canada was directly represented, for the first time, on the Council of Ten with Mr. Balfour and Sir Robert Borden present to discuss the position of Serbia and the Jugo-Slavs. At this period Sir Robert's position was distinctly one of influence and the New York *Herald* correspondent on February 3rd, described him in a

cable as "one of the great leaders of the Peace Conference," quoted him as opposed to secret treaties and as saying that: "It is perfectly true that negotiations must frequently be conducted under the seal of confidence, as otherwise they would be ineffective, but this is entirely consistent with the principle that the conclusions reached through such negotiations must be publicly announced." The further comment was made that: "Once or twice it was Sir Robert Borden who intervened to keep the consideration of Far Eastern matters along safe, smooth and satisfactory channels. He has a remarkably complete knowledge of many details that are not understood by all our own (U. S.) delegates."

Sir Robert Borden took an influential part in the League of Nations' discussion and the framing of its clauses; on April 11th and other days there were renewed conferences between the British Prime Minister and the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, to whom Mr. Lloyd George gave full reports of the proposals under consideration by the Council of Four; advice and assistance was sought on questions of serious importance and, in this way, the Canadian Premier was kept closely in touch with the proceedings and was able to present his views on all matters affecting Canadian interests. On April 25th Sir Robert met the Inner Council of the Conference and discussed subjects of importance; during the same week he presided several times at meetings of the British Empire Delegation. The Canadian Premier shared in the issues raised about and around the German Colonies and on January 24th appeared before the Council of Ten with Mr. Hughes of Australia, General Smuts of South Africa and Mr. Massey of New Zealand to discuss the question of their disposition—complicated by the war-time Treaties between Great Britain and France, and Great Britain and the King of the Hedjaz, regarding British and French spheres of power in Palestine, Syria, etc.

President Wilson's general idea was a sort of internationaliza-

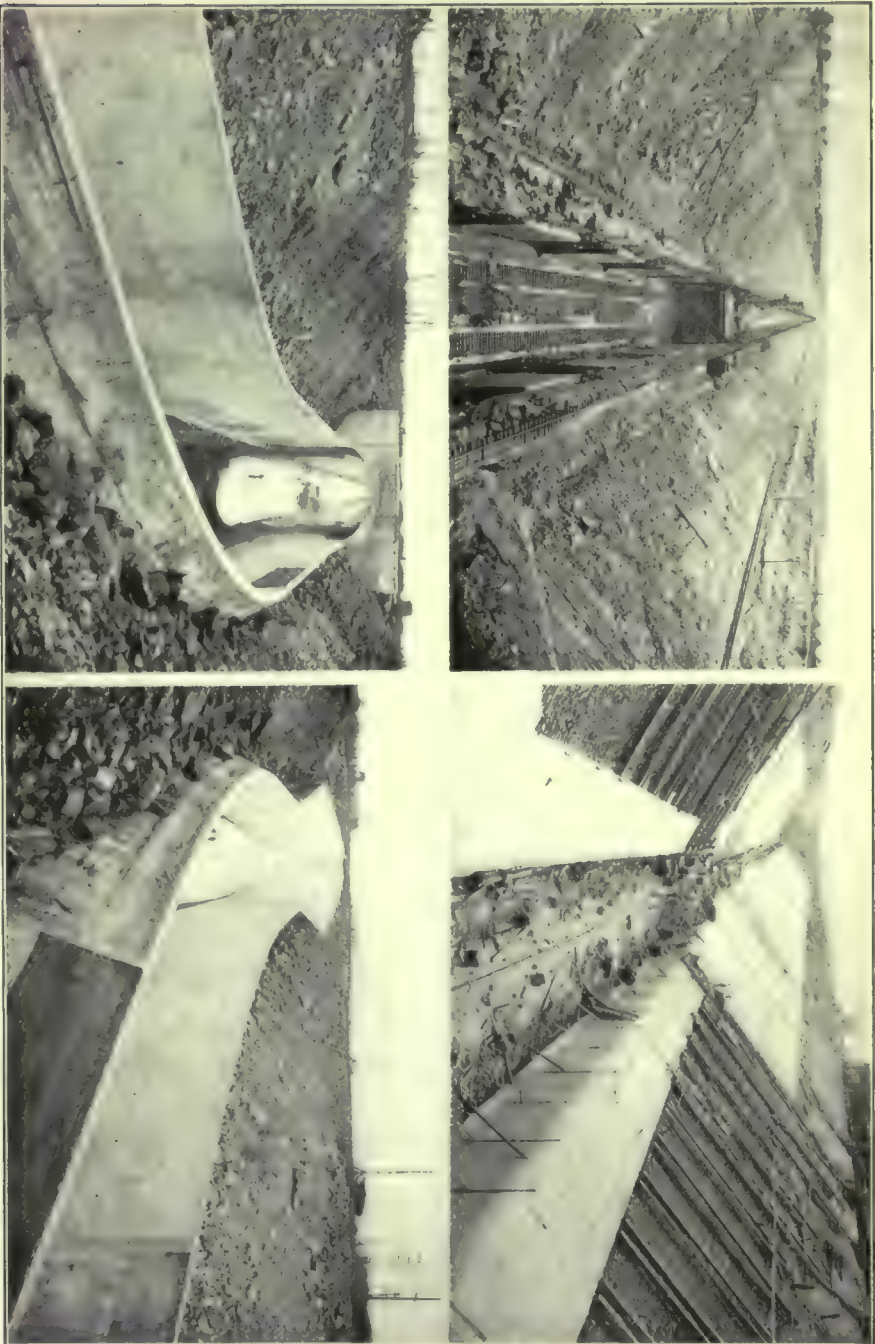
tion of all German, Turkish, and Austrian possessions which involved semi-civilized races or did not come under the self-determination policy. As finally developed by discussion it took the form of Mandatory administration of Colonial German areas by the Powers interested with responsibility to the League of Nations. Canada was not directly concerned but the Union of South Africa definitely claimed German Southwest Africa; in the Pacific, Australia claimed New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago; New Zealand wanted Samoa and Japan desired the Marshall Islands and the Carolines. Japan also suggested an equatorial delimitation between British and Japanese spheres of influence in the Pacific. The Canadian Premier sympathized with the aspirations of his Dominion colleagues; incidentally the arrangement came to on January 30, 1919, for a system of Mandates brought the Dominions and the United States into sharp antagonism. Mr. Hughes of Australia insisted on the complete annexation of New Guinea to Australia and Samoa to New Zealand which President Wilson opposed; the mandatory compromise was eventually accepted and in these cases the mandate was modified by a practically complete delegation of administrative authority to the State concerned.

The problems which then had to be settled were: (1) who was to pay for the development of the territory; (2) what rules regarding tariffs were to be observed and (3) were the mandatories to be allowed to exclude people or capital they did not wish to enter. As to these the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa submitted a scheme of administration but in their proposals Canada did not participate. One of the matters which Sir Robert Borden pressed upon the British Committee and the Conference was that of Canadian war damages and claims upon the enemy. A Commission in Canada composed of Hon. Martin Burrell (Chairman), Thomas Mulvey, K.C., of the State Department, C. C. Robinson for that of Justice and J. R.

Forsyth of the Finance Department, had been investigating conditions and classifying claims since the first of the year. These claims ran from Brazeau Collieries' shares, of which a million were held in Germany, and lands supposed (very doubtfully) to be held in British Columbia for the German Kaiser, to large blocks of C. P. R. stock (about \$10,000,000) held by Germans and a number of ships and vessels sunk by submarines. So many countries had similar or immensely larger claims and the resources of Germany were limited so obviously, that the question was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty. Eventually, an agreement was reached by the countries of the Empire as to the share which each should receive of any indemnities actually paid.

Another important matter which Sir Robert had to deal with before the Conference was over, and the terms of the Treaty settled for German acceptance, was the question of signatures to the Treaty itself. Under date of March 12, 1919, the Canadian Premier circulated at the Conference a Memorandum prepared on behalf of the Dominion Prime Ministers and declaring that they had reached the conclusion that all the treaties and conventions resulting from the Peace Conference should be so drafted as to enable the Dominions to become Parties and Signatories, thereto, in order to give suitable recognition to the part played at the Peace Table by the British Delegation as a whole and to record the status thus attained by the Dominions. The document then proceeded:

The procedure is in consonance with the principles of constitutional government that obtain throughout the Empire. The Crown is the supreme executive in the United Kingdom and in all the Dominions, but it acts on the advice of different Ministries within different constitutional units; and under Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, the organization of the Empire is to be based upon equality of nationhood. Having regard to the high objects of the Peace Conference, it is also desirable that the settlements reached should be presented at once to the world in the character of universally accepted agreements, so far as this is consistent with the constitution of each State represented. On



SECTION VIEWS OF THE GREAT CHIPPEWA CANAL. ABOVE NIAGARA FALLS. CONSTRUCTED BY THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER COM-
MISSION OF ONTARIO AND CONSTITUTING THE GREATEST WORK OF THE KIND IN THE WORLD



THE CHIPPEWA CANAL

A part of the publicly owned hydro-electric Power System of Ontario. It is the largest of its kind in the world, and cost over \$80,000,000. The Canal was constructed to augment the power supply from Niagara Falls and is expected, ultimately, to provide over 600,000 horse power of electric energy.

the constitutional point, it is assumed that each Treaty or Convention will include clauses providing for ratification similar to those in the Hague Convention, 1907. Such clauses will, under the procedure proposed, have the effect of reserving to the Dominion Governments and Legislatures the same power of review as is provided in the case of other contracting parties. It is conceived that this proposal can be carried out with but slight alterations of previous treaty forms.

The proposed policy was accepted by the British Empire Delegation and acted upon by the Conference. A Canadian Order-in-Council followed the acceptance of this proposal and, on April 10th, requested His Majesty the King "to issue letters patent to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden, the Right Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster, the Hon. Arthur Lewis Sifton and the Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, as Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries in respect of the Dominion of Canada with full power and authority to sign any treaties concluded at the Peace Congress." The request was granted and the Royal authority duly accorded. It may be added here that the Canadian Ministers accompanying Sir Robert Borden took their full share in the work of the Conference and its Committees and of the British Empire Delegation. Sir Robert, early in March, was appointed a member of the British Economic Committee which was to suggest policies and formulate machinery for the Supreme Economic Council of the Conference. A little later Sir George Foster became a member of this Council whose duties were of the first importance. It controlled, for the period of the Armistice, shipping, the extent and character of the blockade, the distribution of food to all the European countries, and the allocation of raw materials and rebuilding supplies; it was finally charged with determining to what degree this control should be continued during the reconstruction period following the signing of peace.

Early in May this body requested the appointment of a Canadian Director of Food Supplies and Dr. J. W. Robertson, C.M.G., of Ottawa, was selected by the Canadian Government. Mr. Doherty was

Chairman of a British delegation dealing with economic settlements and pre-war contracts and also dealt, on behalf of Canada, with the question of credits to Italy, Greece and Belgium. He was a member of a British Sub-Committee on the League of Nations and was legal adviser to the Canadian delegation on many vital issues. Mr. Sifton was the chief British delegate on the Committee appointed by the Conference to report upon international claims as to Ports, Rivers and Railways—the Fiume controversy between Italy, the Jugo-Slavs and the United States coming, no doubt, within his purview. Sir George Foster took an active part in many meetings and consultations. Late in May Sir Robert Borden returned to Canada and the Treaty was signed for Canada on June 28th by Sir G. Foster and Mr. Doherty. The Great Powers signed as follows, with 22 lesser nations and Germany:

United States*	.....Hon. Woodrow Wilson, Hon. Robert Lansing, Hon. Henry White, Hon. Edward M. House, General Tasker H. Bliss.
British Empire†	... Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, Rt. Hon. The Viscount Milner, Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes.
Canada	..... Rt. Hon. Sir George E. Foster, Hon. C. J. Doherty.
Australia	..... Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Cook.
South Africa	.. Rt. Hon. Louis Botha, Lieut.-Gen. The Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts.
New Zealand	.. Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey.
India	..... Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, Maj.-Gen. H. E. The Maharajah of Bikanir.
France	..... Georges Clemenceau, M. Pichon, L. L. Klotz, André Tardieu, Jules Cambon.
Italy	..... V. E. Orlando, Baron S. Sonnino, S. Crespi, Marquis G. Imperiali, S. Barzilai.
Japan	..... Marquis Saionji, Baron Makino, Viscount Chinda, H. Matsui, H. Ijuin.

* The United States of America came first in the Conference and signed first in the Treaty because it was personally represented by its ruler (the President of the Republic) and because it came first alphabetically—America.

† The appointed Plenipotentiaries of the United Kingdom and the Dominions signed for H. M. the King.

It is impossible to give more than a few details of this historic document. Conscription in Germany was abolished and the German Army reduced to 100,000 men, the destruction of Heligoland fortifications was undertaken and the opening of the Kiel Canal to all nations. Germany was to accept responsibility for all War losses and damage, to pay Belgium's debt to the Allies and the cost of Allied Armies of Occupation, to pay, on account, £1,000,000,000 within two years, £2,000,000,000 between 1921-26 and £2,000,000,000 later, with full settlement in 30 years. It was to surrender merchant ships to replace those of the Allies destroyed by submarines and to build for the Allies 200,000 tons a year for 5 years, while control of the rich Saar coalfields was given to France for 15 years. Belgium was to be reconstructed and the German Colonies surrendered together with Alsace-Lorraine; Posen and West Poland were to be handed over to Poland and Dantzic to be a free city and Polish sea-port; the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest Treaties were to be cancelled and the British Protectorate of Egypt recognized; Germany was to lose her concessions and property in China, Siam, Liberia and Morocco.

There was jubilation in many British centres over the signing of the Treaty; the King issued a Message of congratulation to the Empire on the termination of the War; Clemenceau, Lloyd George and President Wilson were given ovations at Versailles and Paris; Lloyd George received a tremendous welcome in Parliament. Canadian feelings were very quietly expressed—the most conspicuous feature being sermons in many pulpits on the succeeding Sunday. In the British Commons, on July 3rd, Mr. Lloyd George paid tribute to his Empire colleagues as follows: "I should like also to be able to say how much we owe to the Prime Ministers and other members of the great Dominion Governments for the assistance which they gave—Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Massey, and General Botha. They took part in some of the most difficult Commissions,

notably the Territorial Commissions, for the adjustment of the extraordinarily delicate and complex ethnical, economic and strategic questions which arose between the various States throughout Europe. They, in the main, represented the British Empire on many of the most difficult Commissions, and we owe a great deal to the ability and judgment with which they discharged their functions." Later on Treaties were signed with Austria and Bulgaria and signed and accepted by Canada.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ESTABLISHED

The League of Nations, meanwhile, had been created after an infinite amount of discussion and controversy. Canada asked for and was given the same rights and position as to the League Covenant that she held in the Peace Treaty. On January 25th the League of Nations had formed the chief subject at a Plenary session of the Conference when Sir R. Borden and Sir G. Foster were present as direct Canadian representatives and Mr. Doherty as one of the United Kingdom delegation. In the course of the discussion Sir Robert Borden said: "I have a great deal of sympathy with the point of view of the smaller nations because, possibly, the constitution of the League affects them even more closely than it does the status of the Great Powers of the world." He followed with what M. Clemenceau described as a "gentle reproach" for the self-constitution of the Conference Committee of Ten into a permanent Supreme Council similar to that which had latterly carried on the War. Speaking to a Y. M. C. A. meeting at Paris on February 15th the Canadian Premier was clear but emphatic in the following opinion:

"The proposed constitution of the League of Nations has been laid before the Peace Conference by the Committee appointed for that purpose; it affords a sound working basis for discussion and consideration. A formal organization is necessary, because it gives to the public conscience of the peoples of the world an opportunity of expressing in unity and co-operation their strong desire and firm

purpose to maintain the world's peace. But the machinery itself will count for little unless the conscience and will of the people give it essential vitality and strength to assert, and if necessary to enforce, that supreme purpose."

Mr. Doherty presented to the Conference a personal plan for the League which looked to the election of its governing body by some International system of popular vote. Various and vital discussions of the League document and its constitutional and international details followed in Conference and in Committees and in the British Empire Delegation. On March 24th Sir Robert Borden issued a Memorandum for consideration in which objection was taken to several points in the proposed arrangement. To Article X, reading as follows, strong exception was taken: "The High Contracting Parties [which included Canada] undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and the political independence of all States members of the League." Sir Robert urged that this clause should be amended so as to allow signatory Powers to withdraw from the League under certain conditions; this view found, later on, much support in the United States and in the Canadian Parliament; it was maintained afterwards by Canadian Delegates in the 1920 and 1921 meetings of the League itself. The Memorandum was not made public but, according to the *Morning Post* correspondent at Paris, its aim was to remove ambiguities from the Covenant and to emphasize the fact that the British Dominions did not feel it would be incumbent on them to take the responsibility of entering and deciding on differences that might arise between European nations in cases where the British Empire was not directly involved. The Covenant, as finally approved, was signed by Canada as a nation of the British Empire. Both the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League were approved by the Canadian Parliament in its Autumn Session of 1919.

MEETINGS OF THE LEAGUE

The first meeting of the League saw the new situation more fully developed with Canada's representatives acting as appointees of the King, and with exactly the same powers and rights as the United Kingdom delegates. Much was hoped from the creation of the League, much was feared, much, in the United States, was suspected. The bringing together of the Allied nations in such a compact—even without the United States and Russia—was a great event, the ultimate adhesion of 51 nations or countries to the Covenant was a wonderful pledge of peace; the greatest preliminary accomplishment of the League in its first year or two of work was the fact of its existence—the actual operation of its Council and Assembly and Secretariat. By the close of its first year the League had 48 States represented in its machinery; an assured yearly income of \$5,000,000 and the ownership of its central building and offices at Geneva costing \$100,000; a permanent Secretariat with a staff of 200 people under control of Sir James Eric Drummond of Great Britain as Secretary-General, with a salary of \$16,000. Sir Herbert B. Ames, M.P., of Canada, was appointed Financial Director of the League. This Secretariat was divided into 10 Sections including Political, Economics and Finance, Administrative, Commissions, a Registry Bureau for Treaties, the Mandate and Legal Sections, and those of International Health and Social Questions.

Organization was the first accomplishment of the League; others may be summarized in the following order: (1) Formation of the International Labour Organization, and its various Conferences; (2) the work of the Council as (a) the governing power in the Saar Valley and ruling through an appointed Commission, as (b) the ultimate and protecting power of the City of Dantzic and its territory, as (c) a peace-making force in the Balkans and between Finland and Sweden, and Lithuania and Poland, in (d) the repatriation of

300,000 war-time prisoners; (3) the work of the Assembly, acting as a Congress of Nations under a written constitution, in discussing the policy and operations of the Council and Secretariat, and in planning and organizing the programme of the League; (4) creation of 12 important Commissions including that of the Jurists who drew up a plan for the Permanent Court of International Justice, that of the Disarmament Commission, that on Economic Blockade conditions and possibilities, those dealing with Communications and Transport, Finance and Economics, International Credits, International Health and Regulation of Opium and Drug Traffics, the Mandatory Commission, the Revision Committee, the Statistical Commission and that on Deportation of Women and Children in Asia Minor.

The first meeting of the Council of the Geneva League was held on January 16, 1920; the first meeting of the Assembly was opened on November 15th with Sir George Foster, Rt. Hon. C. J. Doherty and Hon. N. W. Rowell representing Canada; the second Assembly was held at Geneva September 5 to October 5, 1921, with Mr. Doherty and Sir George Perley representing Canada. The nations represented numbered 51 and the creation of the Court of International Justice was gradually carried out and finally established during the 1921 meeting; the Canadian Parliament formally approved this and other developments of the period. As to Canada, Mr. Doherty was elected Chairman of the Committee on Humanitarian and Relief Organization and, *ex-officio*, a Vice-President of the League; Sir George Perley on September 22nd carried an Amendment requiring that at least one-half the members of the League—instead of one-third—could call a Transit Conference when the League was not in session; the 6th Commission of the League adopted a proposal of Mr. Doherty that the Council of the League be invited to direct the attention of the Ambassadors' Conference to the urgent need for

regulating the status of Eastern Galicia; Mr. Doherty also renewed his contention for the elimination of Article X from the League's constitution. The Committee having this matter in hand could not accept his view and adopted an interpretative Resolution to the effect that Article X was never intended to perpetuate geographical and political divisions as they had existed but merely to be a safeguard against external aggression; eventually the matter was again deferred to the next Assembly. Mr. Doherty and Sir Robert Borden were nominated by Canada for the International Court but the former withdrew and Sir Robert failed to be elected. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the League Covenant three International Labour Conferences were held—1919, 1920, 1921—with Canada fully represented.

THE IMPERIAL AND WASHINGTON CONFERENCES

Meanwhile Canada had taken part in the Imperial Conference of 1921 which was notable as being both a Conference of Premiers and an Imperial Peace Cabinet. In accordance with the War-time precedent, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the representatives of India present in London during 1921 were invited to meetings with members of the British Cabinet; they were called to deal with Imperial and Foreign questions of immediate urgency which arose in the course of the sittings; the Silesian question and the Reparations problem, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and the proposed Pacific Conference were instances. Concurrently, the Imperial Conference was sitting with its first session at No. 10 Downing Street on June 20th. Canada was represented by Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Prime Minister. A number of not very important Resolutions were passed; the most important question dealt with being that of the Japanese Alliance and its relation to American and Dominion sentiment. Canada was directly interested in the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and its proposed renewal because, (1) of the fact that the Japanese



THE LIFT-LOCK AT PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO

This Hydraulic Lift-lock, the only one of its kind in Canada, is part of the Trent Valley Canal system, and operates on the principle of two great balanced pans, one of which raises the boats to the level above, while the other descends with its burden to the lower water.



Courtesy J. Ross Robertson Collection

"THE LADY ELGIN": THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE IN ONTARIO

Built in Portland, Me., in 1851-52, for the Ontario, Simcoe & Huron Railway Union Company, incorporated 1849, which became the Northern in 1859, and in 1884 amalgamated with the Hamilton & Northwestern Railway. In 1888 the two latter, with the Northern, were merged into the Grand Trunk System.



Photo: British Columbia Press

PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, QUEEN'S PARK, TORONTO



TORONTO UNIVERSITY, TORONTO

question touched its Pacific shores and vitally affected the people of British Columbia, and (2) because it concerned the United States whose feelings were liable at any moment to be stirred to a sensational and perhaps dangerous point by Japanese pressure upon its Pacific Coast and by anti-Japanese agitations in its press and politics. Canada in this matter, as in so many others, shared the viewpoint of the United States. American prejudices against coloured peoples had their inevitable influence in the Dominion as against the experienced and more liberal outlook of Great Britain—but they were, fortunately, not so keen or so pervasive as in the United States.

To the United Kingdom as the head of a world-wide Empire, the alliance with Japan had for years been a valued compact which was carefully kept on both sides. Its creation was a triumph for Lord Lansdowne as Foreign Minister and its maintenance had, for years, stabilized Eastern conditions; assured peace and the absence of naval or other rivalry between the two chief Oriental Powers—Japan and Britain; supported British interests against the aggressive policy of Russia in its days of power and slow resistless sweep over Asia. During and after the War it had helped Great Britain to hold its *prestige* intact in the East and to meet the machinations of German diplomacy and the later efforts of Bolshevistic plotting in India, Persia, Afghanistan, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt and other regions. Mr. Meighen took ground at the Conference in favour of the abrogation of the Treaty; out of the discussion evolved a movement led by Mr. Hughes, Premier of Australia, for a Pacific Conference to include Japan and the United States as well as the British Empire; negotiations followed with Washington which were initiated and developed by the British Government; in the midst of these discussions President Harding on July 10, 1921, wired his official call for an International Peace Conference at Washington which would seek for a limitation of world armaments as well as an arrange-

ment in the Pacific. The Washington Congress opened on November 12th with the British Empire represented by delegates appointed from London. Great Britain was represented by A. J. Balfour and Lord Lee of Fareham, Canada by Sir Robert Borden, India by Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Australia by Senator G. F. Pearce, New Zealand by Sir J. W. Salmond, and South Africa by Mr. Balfour.

Immediately after the proposals of the United States for the reduction of Naval armaments were made by Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State (November 12th), the subject was taken into consideration by the British Empire Delegation. Sir Robert Borden strongly urged that the American proposals should be accepted in spirit and in principle. He also expressed his conviction that there should be a provision for periodical Conferences in order that the proposals put forward by Mr. Hughes might be effectively invested with continuity and permanence. Further he urged that an effort should be made to induce the Government of the United States to consider the paramount importance of associating that country in effective co-operation for the peaceful determination of international disputes. This he regarded as vital since the United States was not a member of the League of Nations and did not recognize the Permanent Court of International Justice, nor the means by which the jurisdiction of that tribunal could be invoked. According to press despatches he submitted a carefully prepared Memorandum along these lines.

On November 18, 1920, Sir Robert represented the British delegation at a meeting with the newspaper representatives of the world who were in attendance and went through the ordeal, it was said, with flying colours as one accustomed to the American type of interview. He described many of the questions which had arisen between Canada and the Republic, and one correspondent referred to him as "a sort of walking Canadian encyclopædia." It was on

this date that the Rush-Bagot agreement and the Canadian-American Joint Commission were brought before the Conference as illustrations of profitable Peace conservation. Canada's representative was opposed to any Japanese Treaty which affected American feeling toward Great Britain, but he did not unduly press his point on this occasion; he supported Britain on the subject of Submarines and, indeed, the Empire delegation was, in the main, a unit upon the chief issues before the Conference.

Sir Robert was appointed the British Empire representative on a Committee to deal with proposed reforms in the Chinese fiscal system to meet current international conditions. For the numerous loans made to China Customs duties had been a favourable form of security; the proceeds of the Salt duty, for instance, would be allocated to one group of borrowers and of the Cloth duty to another. The administration of the Customs was controlled by the lenders and the leading positions in the Administration were thus held by Europeans. The Chinese wanted to raise their duties to an average of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; British interests, of course, lay in keeping them as low as possible. Later on Sir Robert drafted the final Report of this Committee and upon this work and the ensuing arrangements depended much of current economic stability in the East, much of Chinese political integrity, and the solution of the Railway construction problem in China. Meanwhile, Senator G. F. Pearce of Australia represented the Empire on the Extra-Territoriality of China Committee.

At Washington on December 1st Mr. Balfour was quoted as saying that, in the negotiations, "Canada and her sister Dominions have been of the greatest possible assistance. From the very beginning of the proceedings they have worked in complete accord. With the delegates from the Mother Country they have been of mutual assistance and advice, and have worked together to bring

about a settlement of the different problems with which they have been faced." On the 11th Sir Robert Borden issued a statement declaring that: "Four great nations have solemnly agreed that every controversy between any of them arising out of a Pacific question and capable of settlement by diplomatic methods shall be brought to a joint Conference of all four Powers, and shall be there considered and adjusted. The purpose is to create the custom and establish the practice of Conferences for peaceful settlement of International differences." On the 29th the Canadian Delegate spoke strongly to the Conference in support of the Root Resolution as to restricting the use of the Submarine; he had stood with the rest of the Empire group in favour of its total abolition. Late in 1921 and early in 1922 the Treaties as to Limitation of Armaments and the Peace Agreement of the Pacific Powers arising out of this Conference were signed by Canada. This brief record of Canada's share in the Foreign policy of the British Empire during these eventful years may be concluded with a list of all Treaties signed for Canada as a Nation of the Empire from the time of the Versailles Treaty to the close of 1920:

Treaty	Date of Signature	Signed by
Peace Treaty with Austria.....	Sept. 10, 1919	Sir Edward Kemp
Peace Treaty with Bulgaria.....	Nov. 27, 1919	Sir George Perley
Protocol accepting Statute of Permanent Court of International Justice.....	Sept. 16, 1920	Phillippe Roy
Commercial Agreement with France.....	Jan. 29, 1921	Sir George Foster
Treaty for the Revision of Berlin and Brussels Acts.....	Sept. 10, 1919	Sir Edward Kemp
Treaty with Czecho-Slovakia <i>re</i> Minorities.....	Sept. 10, 1919	Sir Edward Kemp
Treaty with Serb-Croat-Slovene State <i>re</i> Minorities.....	Sept. 10, 1919	Sir Edward Kemp
Convention regarding Liquor Traffic in Africa.....	Sept. 10, 1919	Sir Edward Kemp
Arms Traffic Convention.....	Sept. 10, 1919	Sir Edward Kemp
Treaty with Roumania <i>re</i> Minorities.....	Dec. 9, 1919	Sir George Perley
Treaty of February 9, 1920, regarding Norway's Sovereignty over Spitzbergen.....		Sir George Perley
Peace Treaty with Hungary.....	June 4, 1920	Sir George Perley
Treaty with Denmark regarding Slesvig.....	July 5, 1920	Sir George Perley
Treaty between Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Czecho-Slovakia regarding Frontiers of Central Europe.....	Aug. 10, 1920	Sir George Perley
Universal Postal Union Convention.....	Nov. 30, 1920	T. H. Williamson
Treaty recognizing Roumania's Sovereignty over Bessarabia..	Oct. 28, 1920	The Earl of Derby

Meantime, in Canada, peace had been welcomed with enthusiasm and its heavy responsibilities accepted, for a brief period, without a clear knowledge of what they involved; the optimistic aftermath of war had its fling amongst the people and inflation continued for a while. The troops returned in 1919 and were cheered and fêted in localities all over Canada although, curiously enough, there was no formal National reception or recognition of them as an Army or National unit in a great War. Sir Arthur Currie was well received by the people but no state recognition of his services was given beyond a vote of thanks from Parliament. Where Haig, French, Beatty, Byng, Plumer, Allenby, Horne and others received Peerages and were given National grants running up to £100,000, General Currie received only the appointment as Chief of Staff at Ottawa—a position he resigned later to accept the Principalship of McGill University.

The other Generals of Canada's great little Army were included in the Parliamentary vote of thanks! Many of them were placed on the retired list and many others reverted to lower rank in the Militia. The soldier was well taken care of. Canadian pensions were probably the highest in the world; in 1919-21 various betterments were made by legislation; all kinds of preferences were given as to Government positions and public appointments. Memorials to the War-dead by the hundred were erected throughout Canada—chiefly in the form of Tablets or Memorial windows in Churches and institutions. The Government undertook to erect National monuments on the fields of France and in 1922 Walter Allward, a sculptor of Toronto, was selected for the chief of these.

CHAPTER XXXVII

From Borden to Mackenzie King

THE last days of the Union Government of Sir Robert Borden were filled with the echoes of war and with the development of great issues in which Canada found a place. From Versailles and Geneva to London, Petrograd and Paris, Canadian interests, as evolved in the Imperial and International policy of the Government, were concerned; the world was restless and the hectic, unreal prosperity of 1919, followed by the depression and deflation of 1920-21, affected the Dominion seriously. Echoes of the Irish troubles were heard in the formation of the Self-Determination League for Ireland in Canada and the heated response of Orange and other elements; echoes of the Bolshevik revolutions in ruined Russia found place in the Western rise and fall of the O. B. U. or One Big Union and in the Winnipeg strikes and riots of 1919; the fall of the German mark and the threatened competition of German industry touched varied interests in Canada; the fall and rise again of exchange rates and the value of the British pound found serious imitation in the situation of the Canadian dollar.

Meanwhile, Sir Robert Borden had been confirmed in office by renewed expressions of confidence from a 1919 Caucus of the Unionist Party; had faced the difficult Railway situation and carried on, gradually but steadily, the process of acquisition of the Grand Trunk and the Grand Trunk Pacific, the reorganization as a National system of the Canadian Northern, the Intercolonial and the National Transcontinental from Moncton to Winnipeg; had suffered severely in health, with a partial breakdown in 1919-20, following the high strain and responsibilities of the War period. His Government in 1919 lost strength in the retirement of Hon. T. A. Crerar, who took

over, a little later, the leadership of the new Progressive or Agrarian Party. The resignation of Sir Thomas White, the able War Minister of Finance, followed, and Hon. F. B. Carvell also retired to take the Chairmanship of the Railway Commission. Sir Thomas White in his last Budget speech (June 5, 1919) stated that the National Debt before the War was \$335,000,000 and, after Demobilization, probably \$1,950,000,000; that of Canadian securities \$150,000,000 were outstanding in Great Britain, \$362,000,000 in the United States and \$1,510,000,000 in Canada; that the annual interest payable before the War was \$12,893,804 and in 1919 \$115,000,000, with existing Pensions of 30 millions and a probable future total of 40 millions; that the estimated cost of demobilization and gratuities was \$300,000,000; that the total Expenditure for 1919-20 was \$620,000,000 with an estimated Revenue of \$280,000,000.

On February 17, 1919, Sir Wilfrid Laurier passed away amidst the deep regret of Canadian Liberalism, with the respect of all Canadians and with varied tributes from all parts of the Empire and many Foreign countries. D. D. McKenzie acted for a time as Parliamentary leader; at the Liberal Convention on August 5-7 the nominees for leadership of the Party were Hon. W. S. Fielding, Hon. G. P. Graham, Hon. W. M. Martin, and Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. Mr. Fielding had the support of Sir Lomer Gouin and a large Quebec contingent; Mr. Martin declined to be a candidate, though the press alleged that he would have been elected; Mr. Mackenzie King drew support from all parts of the Convention and, in the end, was chosen Leader. Many Resolutions were passed and the Tariff policy was announced as follows:

That the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens of customs taxation be made with a view to the accomplishment of two purposes of the highest importance: (1) Diminishing the very high cost of living which presses so severely on the masses of the people; (2) reducing the cost of the instruments of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the

Dominion, the vigorous development of which is essential to the progress and prosperity of our country.

That to these ends wheat, wheat-flour and all products of wheat, the principal articles of food, farm implements and machinery, farm tractors, mining, flour and sawmill machinery and repair parts thereof, rough and dressed lumber, gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils, etc., nets, net twines and fishermen equipments, and fertilizers, should be free from customs duties as well as the raw material entering into the same; that a revision downward should be made and substantial reductions should be effected in the duties of wearing apparel and footwear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries), as well as on the raw material entering into the manufacture of the same; that the British preference should be increased 50 per cent of the general tariff.

As the months passed into 1920, the ill-health of the Prime Minister became more serious, despite a long holiday and rest abroad during which Sir George Foster acted as Premier; on July 1st Sir Robert met his followers in caucus and informed them that his medical advisers declared retirement imperative; at the same time, he announced a reorganization of the Unionists as the National Liberal and Conservative Party with a new platform and policy which, it was hoped, would hold the Liberal members and prove a basis for electoral success. The policy included (1) Firm adherence to British connection, maintenance of national autonomy and approval of League of Nations' membership; (2) expert management, amalgamation and unification, with non-partisan operation, of the National Railways; (3) reorganization upon a moderate scale of the Canadian Militia and establishment of a Canadian Air Service; (4) aid to Agriculture and co-operation with the Provinces in providing better rural credits and social conditions.

Economy was urged and various general pledges made while the following reference to Tariff conditions was important: "A thorough revision of the Tariff with a view to the adoption of such reasonable measures as are necessary (a) to assist in providing adequate revenues; (b) to stabilize legitimate industries; (c) to encourage the establishment of new industries essential to the economic development of the

nation; (d) to develop to the fullest extent our natural resources; (e) to prevent the abuse of the tariff for the exploitation of the consumer and (f) to safeguard the interests of the Canadian people in the existing world struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy."

On July 7th the resignation of Sir Robert Borden was accepted and the Hon. Arthur Meighen undertook to form a Government. Only 44 years of age, he had forged rapidly to the front as a debater and Parliamentarian and, since taking office in 1913, had been recognized as one of the strong men in the Cabinet. [It was understood that Sir Thomas White declined to accept the Premiership. In the reorganized Cabinet announced by Mr. Meighen on the 10th Mr. Rowell had declined a place; F. B. McCurdy, R. W. Wigmore and E. K. Spinney were the new Ministers and Senator Blondin the only French-Canadian; Sir George Foster, Mr. Calder and Dr. Reid went into the Senate and Mr. Calder became the leader of the old-time Liberals in the Cabinet. A tour of the West by the new Premier followed in October and November and was notable for the strongly protectionist tone of his speeches; a month earlier Mackenzie King, as the new Liberal leader, had, also, spoken throughout the West; the Parliamentary session in March-June had been notable, chiefly, for the Dominion Franchise Bill which established practically uniform and universal franchise with woman suffrage (except in Quebec and P. E. Island), repeal of the War-time Elections Act and appointment of a General Electoral Officer.

Mr. Meighen attended the Imperial Conference in 1921 and took a conspicuous place in respect to the Anglo-Japanese Conference. Sir Henry Drayton, who had succeeded Sir T. White in 1920, presented a budget on May 9, 1921, which dealt in enormous figures for a people of 8,000,000 and showed how far Canada had marched since the days of 1914. The total expenditure for the fiscal year 1920-21 was estimated at \$533,368,077 as against \$613,225,411

provided in the 1919-20 Estimates. Of the current total \$362,600,000 was chargeable to Consolidated or ordinary account; special expenditures and Demobilization required \$57,102,000 and Railways \$96,931,077. During the year Tax-exemption bonds of \$89,228,300 had been acquired, taken off the market, and cancelled; after the writing-down of inactive Assets which took place in 1920, the Net Debt stood at \$2,350,236,700. The Minister added this comment: "In the period of 1896 to, and including, 1914, the net additions to the Debt totalled \$77,499,417. As compared with this, during the period 1914 to date, if the writing-down of non-active assets had not taken place and if the bare War-cost be deducted but with resulting current expenses arising from the War, such as for interest, pensions, etc., nevertheless charged, the Net Debt to-day would stand at approximately \$115,000,000 less than at March 31, 1914."

The charges to the Consolidated fund of payments made on current War accounts from and including the years 1914-15 to 1920-21, amounted to \$553,732,120 and for new services and expenses were \$30,077,580, making a total of \$853,809,700. The estimated Revenue for 1921-22 was \$372,600,000 and of ordinary and capital Expenditure \$378,258,101; the Railway expenditure, additional, was placed at \$165,687,633 and that of Soldiers' Settlement Board, Housing Loans and Sinking Funds, at \$47,491,963. The Business Profits' Tax was dropped, and trade agreements with France and the British West Indies were implemented by succeeding legislation; Excise taxes were increased on liquors as was the general Sales Tax on manufactures, wholesalers, jobbers and importers. During the year bye-elections continued to go against the Government in several important instances; the Parliamentary session of February-April was devoted largely to party preparations for the coming Elections; legislation included the Government measures to protect Canadian

producers against the dumping of foreign goods in Canada and Bills bringing the Grand Trunk Railway completely under Government control and providing for Arbitration as to terms of acquisition and payments, if any, with, also, varied legislation improving the position of the returned soldier.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1921

The elections of 1921 lacked the heated atmosphere, the Imperial and International issues which helped to make those of 1901 and 1911 so historically interesting. The new issues were important but were not fundamental; the leaders were men of ability but in all three cases it was the first general election in which they had controlled the issues of a National Party. The Government was handicapped by the depression which affected so many interests in the country, and by the heavy taxation which war and reconstruction had rendered necessary; by a West which was supposed to be behind the Progressives and a Quebec said to be assured to the Liberals; by American tariff action which hurt the farmers, especially, and was not met by any appeal to an anti-American feeling which might have been used for political ends; by a railway policy which involved, for the moment, huge and inevitable deficits; by Agrarian and Liberal attacks upon the Government as the alleged friend and patron of vested interests and financial monopoly, while many of these very interests were seriously estranged through the Government policy of railway ownership; by the passing, since 1917, of the Ontario, New Brunswick and P. E. Island Governments out of Conservative party control with the loss also of eight seats in bye-elections since that year.

All the parties in the contest had definite platforms; that of the National Liberal and Conservative (Government) dated from 1920, that of the Liberals from 1919, that of the Progressives from 1918; how far the respective Parties stood upon their platforms was a matter of controversy. The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, in courage

and speaking capacity, was an admirable party and election leader, though he lacked certain qualities which had drawn men to Sir John Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In this contest with manifold difficulties, however, he won a high place in the political history of Canada for determination of policy, vigour of action, speech-making power, and clarity of exposition.

It was at London, on September 1st, that he announced the coming election and made it clear that, so far as he could establish the issue, it would be fought on the tariff question. First came a reference to the war, the greatness of the problem, the difficulties of the Government, the generous verdict of other peoples concerning its policy, his belief and hope that, with mistakes admitted, the conduct of those who bore the responsibility of government through those trying years was not unworthy of the Canadian army and the Canadian nation. He then touched the central point of his address—the tariff policy of Canada: “For forty-three years we have had a Protective Tariff. We decided on that course deliberately in the throes of a great depression—a depression (1878) caused by the flooding of our markets and by the erection of customs barriers against us by the United States—blocking the passage of trade channels that we had opened up. With our eyes open, with our minds clear, we have sustained that policy ever since.”

A review of United States action and of world support to the protective idea, followed; a study of the views and actions of those who challenged this policy was given. As to the Liberals he declared that: “They challenge, I know, with muffled drums and uncertain chorus, and no one knows what is their song, or where they are, or what they intend to do. But they adopted in solemn convention just two years ago a resolution that bound them to place on the free list nineteen classes of articles.” Mr. Mackenzie King was asked if he still stood on that platform! Then Mr. Meighen turned to

the Progressives, and his words were not clothed in softness: "A new party has arisen in this country. It took its birth in Western Canada. There it flourished and there it has its stronghold still. By adroit organization, by special periodicals and propaganda, by class appeal, misinformation has been scattered, prejudice has been developed, and the harvest is a political party whose set purpose is to reverse the fiscal policy of this country. It has grown to full maturity; it has demonstrated great strength. The breath of life of that party is Free Trade." This was the central theme of the speech; the tariff was the issue as Mr. Meighen wanted it and understood it; this question was the pivot upon which the two hundred speeches he made in the ensuing contest chiefly turned.

As to the Liberals they had as leader a man of interesting personality. The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King had always been fortunate in politics; his advance during Sir Wilfrid Laurier's régime had been exceptionally rapid for so young a man; his capacity as an administrator was known, but it remained for this election to test his ability for leadership before and amongst the people. There was from the first no doubt about his energy and aggressive force; but the contest developed other requirements than these. Like Mr. Meighen and Mr. Crerar, he was new to the position; like them he threw himself into the contest with the greatest vigour. Being in Opposition his policy, necessarily, was not constructive; it was made up of attack, criticism, and offensive operations—in a military sense. Toward the Progressives it was a policy of conciliation, of desired co-operation in defeating a common enemy. He expressed continuous and assured confidence in Liberal success and, while the Premier proclaimed the Progressives to be the real danger to the Government, he tried to hold both Opposition parties in attack upon the Government and not upon each other. In the main he was successful.

The Liberal leader's policy was presented to a great meeting in Toronto on September 20. Here he touched on all the issues of the day as he saw them. He spoke of the colossal debt being shouldered by the Canadian people—a debt on which the interest was greater than the whole amount spent by the Laurier Government of 1911. He declared that the Meighen Administration had shown it was not capable of the economy necessary if Canada was to have a contented and prosperous people. He appealed for “the principles of Liberalism against the forces of reaction,” and called for unity among all people of progressive ideas and high ideals against “the common enemy.” He denied that the tariff was the whole issue: “In the mind of the Prime Minister it may be the issue; in the mind of the people, however, the issue is the Prime Minister himself and what he and his colleagues represent of autocracy and extravagance in the management of public affairs.”

As to the National Railways, he declared that their management and operation had been placed by the Government under a Board of Directors, the members of which were all the Government's own appointees and, with the possible exception of the Deputy-Minister of Railways, all immediate and close friends of the Administration. He denounced the Government as unwilling to give publicity to railway management and conditions through information given to Parliament. Upon the general issue he made this comment: “The question, as matters stand, is not one between Government ownership and private ownership; it is one between private interests and the interests of the public. We ought to give Government ownership a fair chance, and a fair show before we condemn it, but we cannot give it a fair chance if we have the interlocking of directors”—a reference to the National Railway Directors who, also, were directors of other large concerns. As to the tariff, Mr. King read extracts from the Liberal tariff resolution of the recent Session, and added:

It is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party has stood in bygone years; it is for that principle the Liberal party stands to-day, and it is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party will continue to stand if returned to power in the present contest. Let me tell Mr. Meighen that, while it is impossible to have an issue between a tariff based on the principle of protection and a tariff based upon the principle of free-trade, it is possible to have an issue on a tariff primarily for revenue as against a tariff primarily for protection; and that upon this issue we are prepared to fight.

The other party—the Progressives—was flushed with Provincial victories in Ontario and Alberta; it had confidence in a new leader and a new development of an old policy. Following the defeat of reciprocity in 1911 and the steady growth of the United Farmers' organization, both in the East and the West, the rise of a new political party was natural—particularly in the West. Equally so was the choice of the Hon. T. A. Crerar as leader. The son of a farmer, with experience as a school-teacher and a farmer, as a financier in his management of the Grain Growers' Company in Winnipeg and as a member of Parliament and of the Union Government at Ottawa, his selection as leader of the new Party was both natural and appropriate. Courageous and courteous, diplomatic at times and aggressive at others, he entered upon the 1921 campaign with an elaborate party platform, with a record of success in seven bye-elections, with the expected support of nearly all the Prairie ridings, with the co-operation of the Drury Government in Ontario, the Norris Government in Manitoba, and the Greenfield Government in Alberta, and with a certain amount of assured support in all the other Provinces—except, perhaps, Quebec and P. E. Island.

The opening speech of Mr. Crerar's campaign was at Brandon, on October 5th, and in it he strongly denied that he favoured class government, challenged the Government to show the source of its campaign funds, admitted that he was unalterably opposed to the tariff policy of the Dominion, charged that "big business" was

attempting to control the election for sinister purposes as, he insisted, it had controlled past Parliaments in Canada, and urged that a plot was afoot to return the National Railway System to private ownership and establish a monopoly in transportation. In defending the Agrarian movement he said: "The farmer is both a capitalist and a labourer. He owns his land and works with his hands, and his investment is in his property. Do you think, therefore, that the farmer will be a 'free wrecker' and attempt to tear down existing institutions? There is nothing to it. Nor is there anything to the claim that if the National Progressives are returned to power, our legislation will be class legislation, or that there may be a class domination. Let me say I detest class domination and class legislation. This movement is in all essentials a movement of Liberalism: I mean the spirit of liberalism that overran Italy, that is working its way through every Anglo-Saxon country in the world."

As to the tariff, he said: "I stand opposed to the principle of protection and I trust I ever shall. Our policy rests on this consideration, that the wealth of Canada can be best developed or added to by developing the natural resources of this country. Agriculture is an industry, as are lumber and timber developments. These are the real great industries of Canada. If you take the total export of Canada last year, more than one-half had its origin on the farms of Canada. A protective tariff is an arbitrary interference with the natural process of trade. If tariff protection is good, why not make it absolute so as to keep out imports altogether? I ask you, when it requires protection for an industry to compete in Canada, in the home market, how on earth is it going to export? And when it is able to export, why then does it need any protection at all?" As to the rest: "There is another fundamental truth—that you cannot sell unless you buy and that in the great general scheme of international trade, goods are paid for in goods." Prosperity had

been caused in the past by immigration and the opening up of fertile lands, and not by Protection. Upon the Railway problem he was explicit:

Let me say most emphatically that wherever the solution is to be found it must not be along the lines of fastening a Railway monopoly upon the Dominion. There are some of our statesmen in Eastern Canada who would turn the roads back to private ownership. Our Railway difficulties cannot be solved in that way. Wherever you go in the financial markets of the world there are no securities so unattractive as railway securities. We cannot hand back the railways to private ownership without terrific loss, and those who would hand them back are not reckoning all of the facts. We have built railways beyond our needs, we have more miles of railways per 1000 of population than almost any other nation. We have railway enough for 20,000,000 people. We must shape the policy of our railways to bring in more population, and we must keep the people here when we get them.

As the campaign developed, Mr. Meighen found himself very much alone upon the platform; Sir George Foster and Mr. Rowell were in retirement and the members of his Cabinet were hardly notable for their oratory; the Premier, himself, did wonders with a continuous record of 250 speeches which seemed almost impossible in the space covered and time involved. Nomination day showed only one acclamation and that was afterwards annulled; even in Quebec, there was a nominal Government or independent candidate in every seat. The Leader of the Opposition issued no Manifesto to the Electors but on December 5th did make a brief final appeal:

"The political campaign now drawing to a close has demonstrated clearly that, in the exercise of your franchise on December 6, you will be called upon to decide, as respects the next five years:

1. Whether the affairs of our country are to continue to be administered by an autocratic Executive, indifferent alike to the will of the people and the rights of Parliament, as the Meighen Administration has been ever since its usurpation of power nearly a year and a half ago; or

2. Whether, at this critical time in our country's affairs and the unsettled condition of other countries, we in Canada are to experiment in our Federal politics with government by class primarily in the interests of class; or

3. Whether we are to have a return to representative and responsible government, in the fullest meaning of the words, with a due recognition of the character

of the House of Commons as a deliberative assembly and of the supremacy of Parliament in all that pertains to our domestic, inter-Imperial and International affairs.

4. As matters stand, a vote for the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party is a vote in favour of autocratic government; a vote for the so-called Progressive party is a vote in favour of government by class; a vote for the Liberal party is a vote in favour of a return to government of the people, by the people, for the people, irrespective of any privilege or special favour."

Mr. Crerar campaigned in the West and in Ontario chiefly; he also spoke in the Maritime Provinces but left Quebec largely alone. He faced the defection of Michael Clark from his party ranks and was rather on the defensive as to the Grain Commission enquiry; he issued a Manifesto on October 17th which described the Tariff as an important question but the "supreme issue" was "whether our Government is to be free, or fettered, and whether legislation in the future shall be for the few or the many." As to the rest, Protection was immoral, markets for Canadian products must be found, public expenditures must be rigidly restricted, Railways must be aided by obtaining increased population: "Our goal is the ultimate elimination of the principle of Protection in our fiscal policy. But we recognize that changes must be brought about in a manner that will give a fair opportunity to Canadian industries, now enjoying protection, to adjust themselves. To the end that our agricultural resources may be developed in the fullest degree possible, we propose removing the duty from agricultural implements; and also from much of the mining and sawmill machinery for the encouragement of these industries. To lessen the cost of living a substantial reduction in the general tariff should be made."

In Quebec, Sir Lomer Gouin, the recently retired Provincial Premier, was a candidate and leader of the Liberal forces. He stood for moderate Protection, deprecated the National ownership and operation of Railways and received veiled support from several Conservative journals and from the chief financial elements of

Montreal. Mr. Bourassa essayed to take part in the contest but found himself with little political influence and soon withdrew. Mr. Meighen, in November, came to Montreal and made a plucky effort to hold up his banner; he spoke at Quebec and throughout the Eastern Townships; on December 5th he issued a special appeal to this Province to support a "strong and virile Canadianism." Meantime, Mr. King had accused the Government of importing an immense amount of ammunition, guns, and armament, for Militarist purposes; the Premier replied that it was Canadian material accumulated in England during the War. The Government was charged with having permitted the Riordon firm to pay overdue taxes by means of notes and they retorted that the Quebec Government had done the same thing; Mr. Raney, Attorney-General in Ontario, charged that special fiscal favours were given the Ford motor people and various tariff charges run up to help millionaires make greater profits; the Liberals appealed to Labour and the Women while the Conservatives pointed to Senator Robertson's record as Minister of Labour and to their grant of the suffrage to women.

The result of the contest on December 6th was the election of 117 Liberals, 50 Conservatives, 66 Progressives and 2 Independents. The Meighen Government was overwhelmed with 1,296,723 Liberal votes cast, 769,387 Progressive, and 84,232 Independent votes or 2,150,000 against 971,502 Conservative votes. The percentage of the electorate voting was 65 and, while the Progressives polled 200,000 votes less than the Government, they elected 16 more members. Mr. Meighen was defeated, personally, in Portage la Prairie, but elected early in 1922 for an Ontario constituency; of the Ministers, 10 were defeated while Sir Lomer Gouin and the Liberals swept Quebec and its entire 65 seats; Mackenzie King and T. A. Crerar were given large personal majorities and most of the Soldier candidates

and all but 2 of the Labourites were defeated; one woman, Agnes MacPhail, of Southeast Grey, was elected by 2,598 majority.

On December 29th the Government resigned office and the Hon. Mackenzie King was called upon and announced a Cabinet which had been in course of formation for some weeks. He had, during this period, done his best to bring Mr. Crerar and the Progressives into line for the organization of a Coalition Government but had failed—with certain Western Agrarians and the U. F. O., under J. J. Morrison, as the chief opponents of the plan. He did, however, obtain an understanding from the Progressives that they would give the new Government a reasonable measure of support while Mr. Crerar declined to assume the position of Leader of an Opposition party in Parliament; that position, therefore, fell to Mr. Meighen, in due course, as the re-elected Conservative leader. The Mackenzie King Government was as follows:

Prime Minister, Secretary of State for External

Affairs, President of the Privy Council.....Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G.,
Ph.D., LL.D.

Minister of Militia and Defence, and Minister of the

Naval Service.....Hon. George Perry Graham

Postmaster-General.....Hon. Charles Murphy, B.A., K.C.

Minister Without Portfolio.....Hon. Thomas Andrew Low

Minister of Railways and Canals.....Hon. William Costello Kennedy

Minister of Labour.....Hon. James Murdock.

Minister Without Portfolio.....Hon. Raoul Dandurand, LL.D., K.C.

Minister of Soldiers' Re-Establishment, and Minis-

ter in Charge of the Department of Health.....Hon. Henri Severin B  land, M.D.

Minister of Justice.....Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

Minister of Customs and Excise.....Hon. Jacques Bureau, LL.B.

Minister of Marine and Fisheries.....Hon. Ernest Lapointe, B.A., K.C.

Minister of Trade and Commerce.....Hon. James Alexander Robb

Minister of Finance.....Hon. William Stevens Fielding, LL.D., D.C.L.

Minister Without Portfolio and Solicitor-General..Hon. Daniel Duncan McKenzie

Secretary of State.....Hon. Arthur Bliss Copp, LL.B.

Minister Without Portfolio.....Hon. John Ewen Sinclair

Minister of Agriculture.....Hon. William Richard Motherwell

Minister of the Interior, Superintendent-General of

Indian Affairs, Minister of Mines.....Hon. Charles Stewart

Minister of Public Works.....Hon. Hewitt Bostock, M.A.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A Review of Material and National Progress

IN a country where the traditions of the people have been chiefly those of other and older lands; where the history, until within a few generations of time, has been one of internal conflict between rival races and foreign flags; where the modern events of development in a constitutional direction and in material welfare have been controlled by slowly-merging antagonisms of race and religion; in such a country the growth of liberty and the maturing practice of self-government have naturally afforded room for interesting and stirring experiences. Add to these considerations vast and for a long time unknown areas, immense difficulties of transportation and trade, the competition of a great southern neighbour of not always friendly tendencies, the continued arrival throughout half a century of hundreds of thousands of people with diverse tastes and politics and varied degrees of knowledge or ignorance, and the historical record grows in its interest and import.

With the nineteenth century commenced the constitutional history of Canada. To the British subject and Canadian of the twentieth century it is difficult to clearly comprehend the situation in those olden days. Newspapers were so few as to be of little influence. Books were scarce, valuable, and of a character not calculated to throw light upon existing problems. The people of Lower Canada were wrapped up in the traditions and surroundings of many years before under the British flag, and were fondly nursing the ideas and ideals of Old France in the days of Louis XIV—of New France in the days of Montcalm and the earlier period and glories of Frontenac. The people of the English Provinces were still little more than isolated pioneer settlers steeped in the shadowed memories of a past

struggle for King and institutions and country; embittered against all republican or democratic tendencies; prejudiced, naturally and inevitably, against the Radicals of England who had helped to ruin the Royal cause in the Thirteen Colonies and against the French of Quebec who had been so long the traditional enemies of England and the honest foes of British supremacy in North America. To them, all new-comers, whether the later Loyalists from the States, or immigrants of subsequent years from the Old Land, were subjects of suspicion as being either alien in origin, or indifferent in sentiment to these sacrifices and sacred political beliefs. To the French-Canadians, all immigrants were equally undesirable as being practically certain to possess religious and racial differentiation from themselves

THE EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN PARTIES

Into this peculiar mass of varied interests and antagonistic feelings came the leaven of a constitutional and Parliamentary system. It did not develop from within. It was not the result of popular evolution or even of popular desire. The French-Canadians accepted it as an external part of their new situation, a political appanage to the Conquest; while the Loyalists of the other Provinces did not really want it and would probably have been quite satisfied for many years to come with able Governors and reasonably efficient local advisers. Still, the latter knew how to use it when received and were more or less familiar with the underlying principles of a Legislature and free government. When, however, increasing population brought varied political sentiments and personalities into conflict with the Loyalists of the English Provinces, the inevitable result followed and a dominant class found itself in collision with a dominating people who cared more for the present than the past, more for phantasms of liberty than memories of loyalty, more for a share in the government of the country than for abstract justice to the men who had in

great measure made the country. In Lower Canada, as elsewhere pointed out, the Legislature soon became merely a weapon of defence against everything British; and the external institution foisted upon a people who understood autocracy better than the ideals of liberty, and who had not even practiced the most rudimentary elements of municipal self-government, was adapted to the exigencies of racial feeling with a facility which reflected credit upon French-Canadian quickness of perception. Out of all these conditions came the Rebellion of 1837, the troubles of 1849, and the struggles of the "Sixties."

The social condition of the people of British America was, of course, intimately connected with their changing political conditions. During the 19th century education went through various stages of growth. In Quebec it was at first and essentially a religious and ecclesiastical system, controlled by priests and nuns and institutions under the leadership of the Church. Much of it was of the higher, or collegiate type, and intended primarily for the training of religious teachers. The attempts at establishing a general school system prior to the events of 1837, were tentative and feeble, even amongst the small English population; and such schools as were in existence met with disaster in the times of trouble immediately preceding and succeeding the insurrection. The teachers of the day in English-speaking schools were needy and illiterate, the supervision careless and dishonest, the school-houses dirty and, in winter, very cold, the children unprovided with books and the parents singularly indifferent. After the union with Upper Canada legislation of various kinds and degrees of value followed, and, between 1853 and 1861, the pupils in Lower Canadian educational institutions of all kinds increased from 108,000 to 180,000, and the assessments and fees for their support rose from \$165,000 to \$526,000.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic religious bodies of Lower Canada had increased greatly in educational strength and efficiency

—especially in the higher institutions of instruction. They possessed at least 2,000,000 acres of land, some of it in the heart of Montreal and other growing centres, which developed wealth by every year's growth of the country. Colleges for this kind of teaching were founded at Quebec, Montreal, L'Assomption, Jolliet, Lévis, Nicolet, Rigaud, Rimouski, Ste. Anne, St. Hyacinthe, St. Laurent, Rouville, Terrebonne and other places. In 1854 Laval University was inaugurated at Quebec, and later on was also established in Montreal. From its scholastic halls have come most of the rulers and leaders of French Canada since that time. Three years later Normal Schools were established for the training of teachers, and in 1854 a Provincial Council of Public Instruction was organized with eleven Catholics and four Protestants in its membership. Out of this development came a common or public school system which slowly improved until, in 1875—eight years after Confederation, when education had been placed in the hands of the Provincial Governments—legislation initiated by M. de Boucherville along the lines which had been slowly evolved by Dr. Jean Baptiste Meilleur and the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau in two preceding decades, established a permanent system.

In the early part of the twentieth century this system was notable as having been created in a Province dominated by one race and religion, and yet as conceived and practiced in almost perfect fairness toward the minority. The Superintendent of Public Instruction usually held office for many years in succession and was fairly independent of political parties. The Catholic and Protestant elements of the population had separate sections of the Council of Public Instruction, and they administered the funds provided so as to suit the different ideas and ideals of their people. The Province boasted nineteen colleges founded and maintained by the Roman Catholic Clergy. It had McGill University as the centre of its English speak-

ing education during much of this period—very largely under the administration and management of Sir William Dawson—and this developed into one of the great Universities of the British Empire. The standard of superior education in the Province was high; the standard of education in its more preliminary forms was steadily improving; the Roman Catholic pupils in model schools and academies numbered 209,028 in 1920, with 5,296 female teachers and 2,129 male teachers; the elementary schools had 223,329 Roman Catholic pupils and 47,027 Protestant pupils; the total number of all educational institutions was 7,706, of all male teachers 4,466 and of all female teachers 14,652. The number of children attending all schools had increased from 212,000 in 1867 to 376,000 in 1910 and 533,381 in 1920.

In the other Provinces there was no racial division amongst the people, but there were, at first, the inevitable difficulties of pioneer life, poverty of resource, and distance in space. Isolation and lack of money produced paucity of schools everywhere and pooriness of teaching wherever they did exist. Dr. John Strachan, Bishop and politician and polemist, was practically the pioneer of education in Upper Canada. Out of his school at Cornwell came the leading men of the early days, and from his conception of sectarian, or Church of England education, came greater institutions of learning in Toronto—the Upper Canada College, King's College, which was afterwards secularized as the University of Toronto, and Trinity College, which he then established as an educational centre for his cherished Church. Contemporary with him in part, and living and working after him, was Dr. Egerton Ryerson, the modern organizer of the public school system of Ontario, the vigorous and devoted champion of popular education and common schools.

In 1876 the important change was made of placing the Education Department in charge of a responsible member of the Provincial Government. Progress from the middle of the century onwards was

marked. Between 1850 and 1871 the teachers in the public schools increased by 2,000 in number and the attendance of pupils by 100,000. Between the latter date and 1896, the teachers in the public schools increased from 5,306 to 8,988, and the average attendance of pupils from 188,000 to 271,000. In 1920 the teachers in all schools numbered 15,522 and the pupils 643,726.

Sectarian higher education had, meanwhile, grown really in popularity and power in Ontario. Besides the University of Toronto, which was secular in its control and instruction, though originally sectarian, and Trinity College, which was Anglican in support and policy, the Presbyterians had started Knox College at Toronto and Queen's University at Kingston—the latter a notable institution in the concluding quarter of the century under the control of Principal George Monro Grant; the Methodists founded Albert College at Belleville, which, in time, joined with Victoria College of Cobourg, as a federated institution and later on became the Victoria University of Toronto; the Baptists established McMaster University in Toronto; and the Roman Catholics founded in succession Regiopolis College at Kingston, the University of Ottawa at Ottawa and St. Michael's College at Toronto.

In the Maritime Provinces early conditions were like those of Upper Canada or Ontario. King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, was organized as far back as 1788; the University of New Brunswick was founded at Fredericton in the first year of the century; Dalhousie University was established at Halifax under the auspices of the Earl of Dalhousie in 1821; Acadia College, Wolfville, was formed in 1838, as the educational centre of the Baptists and as a protest against the Church of England associations of all the other colleges. Mount Allison College, Sackville, N. B., was founded by the Methodists in 1843 and the Presbyterian College at Halifax in 1820.

In Nova Scotia the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch and, in New Brunswick, the Rev. Dr. Edwin Jacob did continuous and splendid service to this cause of higher education. The elementary system developed more slowly. Nova Scotia possessed only 217 schools and 5,514 pupils in 1824, spent upon them less than \$50,000 and voted down more than one measure for taxing the people in their support. In 1850, however, Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. W. Dawson was appointed the first Superintendent of Education in the Province. Progress then became more rapid, and improved methods of teaching and plans of building were developed. He was succeeded in 1855 by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Forrester, and, in 1864, the Hon. Dr. Tupper introduced in the Legislature of Nova Scotia his famous measure establishing free schools and a general public assessment for their maintenance. He fought the Bill through successfully, but the unpopularity of the direct taxation involved defeated him at the ensuing elections. The system, however, was established and became eminently successful. The number of teachers rose from 916 in 1865 to 2,438 in 1896 and 3,089 in 1921; the average daily attendance of pupils from 23,572 to 53,023 and then to 112,882; the popular assessment for expenses from \$124,000 to \$450,000 and \$2,370,712; the Provincial Grant from \$87,000 to \$242,000 and, in 1921, \$576,591. The Council of Public Instruction was composed of five members of the Government, and the Superintendent of Education was a non-political administrator of the Department under their general control. Separate schools were never organized in Nova Scotia under Provincial auspices, although the Catholics established an efficient system of higher education which included St. Francis Xavier College at Antigonish and the College of Ste. Anne at Church Point.

In New Brunswick, for many years after the beginning of the century, teachers' salaries remained so small and the position was so undignified—as a result, in part, of the universal custom in pioneer

Canada of "boarding around" at the houses of the school patrons so as to eke out meagre remuneration—that good men would have nothing to do with the profession. As late as 1845 teachers' wages averaged \$125 a year in this Province, and much of that miserable sum was not paid in cash. In this year, however, matters seem to have come to a head, a Committee of the Legislature was appointed to investigate the condition of education in the Province, and two years later an effort was made to establish an organized system. In 1852 a Superintendent was appointed, and in 1858 further legislation took place. But it appeared impossible to change the apathy and indifference of the people. Though they were fighting bitter sectarian contests over universities and Test Acts and higher education, they refused to take any interest in, or tax themselves for, the elementary teaching of their children. In 1871, therefore, it was decided to establish free schools and compulsory attendance, and to, at the same time, abolish all religious teaching. This latter action was a distinct blow to the Catholic Separate Schools which had practically developed, and was, of course, strongly resented by the people of that Church. The measure passed, however, and the system became much the same as in Nova Scotia. Between 1872 and 1897 the number of schools increased from 884 to 1,737 and in 1921 totalled 2,898; the teachers increased from 918 to 1,829 and then to 3,089 and the pupils from 39,000 to 61,000 and 109,483 in 1921.

In little Prince Edward Island conditions were not different in early times from those in the larger Provinces, and it was not until 1825 that its first education act was passed. The year 1852 saw the establishment of a free school system and, in 1860, the Prince of Wales College was opened at Charlottetown. There were 121 schools in 1841 and 454 in 1920, 4,356 pupils in the former year and 17,354 in the latter. To sum up the situation in these Provinces it may be said that everywhere prior to Confederation similar con-

ditions existed and everywhere the same beneficial results followed upon the establishment of free schools—the formation of normal schools for the training of teachers, the taxation of the people for educational matters, their enforced interest in school affairs, and the increased dignity given to the teaching profession.

Development along these lines in the Northwest and British Columbia was naturally an affair of comparatively recent times. Such education as there was in earlier days came through the devoted activities of pioneer missionaries such as the ministers of the Red River Settlement, Fathers Taché and Provencher, the Rev. John West, the Rev. Dr. John Black and many others who spread themselves in a thin line of labour and self-sacrifice over a vast extent of territory stretching to the Pacific Ocean. In Manitoba the system after 1890 was a free school and undenominational one. There were 16 Protestant schools in 1877 and 17 Catholic schools, and, in 1890 these had increased to 628 and 91 respectively. After the new non-sectarian system was inaugurated considerable progress was made, and, in 1921, there were 1,893 public schools with 3,708 teachers and 129,015 pupils registered. The system in the Territories included a Council of Public Instruction of a somewhat mixed character and of modern formation. There were four members of the Government upon the Council, and four appointed members from outside—two Protestants and two Catholics. Progress was excellent, especially in view of the immense areas under Territorial jurisdiction, and the schools in operation increased between 1886 and 1896 from 76 to 366; the enrolled pupils from 2,553 to 12,796; the teachers from 84 to 433, and the Legislative expenditure from \$8,900 to \$126,000. In the new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan there were established the usual system of a Minister of Education with an Educational Council. There were, in Saskatchewan, in 1906, 873 schools in operation, 1,208 teachers and an average attendance of

15,770; on December 31, 1920, there were 4,399 school districts with 6,809 teachers and an average attendance of 103,745. In Alberta there were in 1906 602 districts and 924 teachers with a total attendance of 24,254 pupils; on December 31, 1920, the total number of schools was 2,826 and teachers 4,902, with a total attendance of 137,750.

British Columbia had practically no educational system prior to 1872. Up to that time both the earlier efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver Island and the later ones of the Legislature had been unsuccessful. The Public School Act of the year mentioned, however, established a system which was improved by legislation in 1879, 1891, and 1896. There was a Minister of Education as well as a Superintendent of Education, but the general character of the arrangements were not materially different from those in other Provinces. In 1872 there were 25 school districts which had increased to 1,003 schools in 1921; an average daily attendance of 575 as against one of 68,431; an expenditure of \$36,000 as against \$2,931,572. There were a large number of Indian schools in the Province under denominational control, and, though without a university until 1915, the Roman Catholics had two colleges for boys and various academies, while the Methodists had a college at New Westminster and McGill University had branches in Vancouver and Victoria; in 1921 there was a struggling but growing University of British Columbia. The only university from Lake Superior to the shores of the Pacific at the close of the century had been the University of Manitoba at Winnipeg. It originated, practically, from the Anglican Red River Academy of pioneer days, but was re-organized in 1877 with university powers and as a federated institution which included St. John's College (the old-time Academy), Manitoba College under Presbyterian auspices, the College of St. Boniface under Catholic control, and Wesley College under Method-

ist guidance. Archbishop Machray, the Anglican Primate of Canada, was its Chancellor for many years and had much to do with its history and success. In 1921, however, there was a successful University of Alberta at Edmonton, a progressive University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, as well as the University of British Columbia at Vancouver.

The religious progress of Canada since pioneer days is a subject of fascinating interest. It has worked in different ways into the very warp and woof of Canadian history, and finds a place, through denominational rivalry, in almost every branch of Canada's popular development. In Quebec, the Roman Catholic Church guided and modified and controlled the institutions of the Provinces, the habits and customs of the French race, the morals and politics and loyalty of the people. It helped Lord Dorchester to save the country to the Crown in 1776; it supported Great Britain with strenuous efforts in 1812; it modified and checked the revolutionary movement of 1837; it stood by the proposals for Confederation in 1867; it largely backed up the Conservative party in its principles of expansion and protection and railway development up to 1891; it opposed the movement in favour of Commercial Union with the United States. It had a place in the Jesuit Estates question, a pronounced share in the Riel issue, an important part in the New Brunswick School question, and a vital share in the Manitoba School matter and the Bi-lingual problem of later days.

The Church of England in all the English Provinces was a dominant power in earlier days, an influence for loyalty to the Crown, for education in the love of British institutions, for adherence to rule by a governing Loyalist class, for devotion to the policy of early British Governors. It held a high place in the government of all the Provinces—not excepting Catholic Quebec—prior to the Rebellion; it had a strong interest in the stormy question of the Clergy

Reserves; it took a vigorous position in matters of education; it did much, in co-operation with the Roman Catholic Church, to pioneer Western religious activities. The Methodist denomination always exercised a strong influence in public affairs. The chief political issue with which Presbyterianism was mixed up was that of the Clergy Reserves, just as the one public question in which the strong Baptist denomination of the Maritime Provinces was concerned was that of secular education.

In all these religious divisions the controversies of the Old Land were reproduced with more or less fidelity. The Church of England disputed over forms and ceremonies of High or Low Church practice just as they did in England. Methodism was divided into the Primitive Methodist Church, the Bible Christian Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, while its American affiliations and Canadian position brought into existence the New Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist New Connexion. Presbyterianism had its Church of Scotland in Canada, its Free Church Synod, its Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces, its United Presbyterian Church, its Canada Presbyterian Church. If, however, the denominations shared in the shaded differences of thought and creed which came to them from the Old Land, they also shared, immensely and beneficially, in the financial benefactions of the British Churches and of the great Missionary Societies; while the Church of England in Canada received large sums from the British Parliament.

Up to 1833, when a gradual reduction commenced, the Imperial Parliament granted £16,000 a year for the maintenance of this Church in British America, and many other sums were paid from time to time. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was indefatigable in its missionary work, and spent large sums in extending the Episcopate, endowing missionary clergy and aiding struggling parishes in the different Provinces. The Society for Propagating the

Gospel was more than a benefactor, it was almost the parent, of the Church of England in Canada. Its expenditures between 1703 and 1892 in British America were \$8,930,925, and from 1820 to 1865 its annual expenditure seldom went below \$100,000. The Church Missionary Society was another staunch supporter of Anglicanism in Canada. The various Methodist Churches were also largely aided by funds from London, and their early English missionaries were almost entirely supported from that source. So with the Presbyterian denominations and the well-known Glasgow Colonial Society and its practical work between 1825 and 1840.

The progress of these Churches makes a most interesting record—one in which the Roman Catholic Church naturally holds the chief place in numbers as well as in length of historic association with Canadian soil. As the French population of Quebec increased, so did its adherents, and with their increase came a similar expansion and expression of missionary zeal in the far West and in all the Provinces. The Catholic population of Quebec in 1783 has been placed at 113,000 by the Church itself. In 1830 it was at least half a million, with about 50,000 in Upper Canada. In 1851 the Church had 746,854 adherents in Lower Canada; in 1871, just after Confederation, it had 1,019,850; in 1891, 1,291,709; in 1911, 1,724,683. In Ontario its adherents in the years last-mentioned were 167,695, 274,166, 358,300 and 484,997, respectively. In the three Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island it had in nearly the same periods 181,561, 238,459, 286,250 and 330,974 adherents. The Western figures were of modern dates, and showed in Manitoba, the Territories and British Columbia, a total Catholic population in 1881 of 26,000, in 1891, 53,000 and in 1911, 291,487. The total for the Dominion was 1,080,000 Roman Catholics in 1851; 1,530,000 in 1871; 2,000,000 in 1891 and 2,833,041 in

1911. The progress of other great Churches since missionary days can be seen by a glance at the following tables:

I. CHURCH OF ENGLAND	1851	1871	1891	1911
Ontario.....	233,190	330,995	385,999	489,704
Quebec.....	44,682	62,449	75,472	102,684
Maritime Provinces.....	85,421	107,844	114,151	133,118
Total.....	353,293	501,288	575,622	725,506

II. METHODISM	1851	1871	1891	1911
Ontario.....	213,365	462,264	654,033	671,727
Quebec.....	21,199	34,100	39,544	42,444
Maritime Provinces.....	54,164	81,797	103,295	104,373
Total.....	288,728	578,161	796,872	818,544

III. PRESBYTERIANISM	1851	1891	1891	1911
Ontario.....	204,148	356,442	453,147	524,603
Quebec.....	33,470	46,165	52,673	64,125
Maritime Provinces.....	129,158	171,970	182,483	176,276
Total.....	366,776	574,577	688,303	765,004

LITERARY AND JOURNALISTIC PROGRESS

Literature did not wield a very great influence in the history of Canada. The earlier settlers had to pay almost undivided attention to their activities in field and forest, on lake and river. The axe of the settler, the rafts of the lumbermen, the canoe of the voyageur, the musket of the hunter embodied the practical and necessary aims of the people. Later on they developed keen political proclivities, and the press and the pamphlet took the place of books and what is generally regarded as literature. There were a few prominent names and a few early works which lived, but they were chiefly amongst the French-Canadians. The latter cultivated poetry and

music and song and the lighter graces of life long before such developments had penetrated the forests of Ontario or the Atlantic wilderness. Charlevoix, Bibaud, Ferland, Faillon, De Gaspé, Gerin-Lajoie, must be mentioned. Robert Christie and Henry H. Miles in Quebec, John Mercier McMullen in Ontario, Murdoch Campbell, Gesner and Archer in the Maritime Provinces, were historians who did good work in the English language. Then came the period brightened by the pen of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the inimitable "Sam Slick," the founder of a distinct school of humour, the best known of Canadian writers up to very recent times.

Canadian literature became voluminous after the middle period of the 19th Century, and was marked by the pens of Henry J. Morgan, W. J. Rattray, Alpheus Todd, Edmund Collins, John Charles Dent, George Stewart, Heavysege, Sangster and McLachlan. Dr. William Kingsford as an historian, Sir John George Bourinot as a constitutional authority and historian, Charles G. D. Roberts as a poet and novelist, Archibald Lampman and W. Wilfrid Campbell as poets of high quality, William Kirby as author of "Le Chien D'Or," Sara Jeanette Duncan, Lily Dougall and William McLennan, as novelists, Louis Frèchette as the chief of French-Canadian poets, Sir Gilbert Parker as one of the world's novel writers, Benjamin Sulte, Lieut.-Colonel George T. Denison, Dr. George R. Parkin, all held marked places in the literary life of Canada at the end of the century. Then came a new school, composed of novelists such as R. E. Knowles, Robert Barr, Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon, W. T. Grenfell, R. W. Service, L. M. Montgomery, Nellie L. McClung, Agnes C. Laut, W. A. Fraser and many more who might and should be mentioned; in still later years there were H. A. Cody, Stephen Leacock, Norman Duncan, Basil King, Arthur Stringer, Mrs. Arthur Murphy, R. J. C. Stead, Isabel Ecclestone MacKay, J. Murray Gibbon and Arthur Beverly Baxter. Historical writers such as Sir J. S. Willison, William

Wood, O. D., Skelton Thomas Chapais, George M. Wrong, Sir Joseph Pope, Dean W. R. Harris are illustrative of a later school.*

Poets in later years were numerous and some of them did work of a high degree of literary excellence—notably Bliss Carman, Duncan Campbell Scott, Marjorie Pickthall, Robert Norwood and Lieut.-Colonel John McCrae who won immortality by one poem—"In Flanders' Fields." Enough, however, have been mentioned to indicate that Canada in this, as in other respects, has grown out of the Colonial stage and taken its place in the stream of the world's contribution to published thought and fancy, expression and fact.

In journalism Canada hardly held its place in comparison with other branches of development. It always excelled in vigour and force of expression and was gradually moulded in type and style upon that of the United States; it failed to reach the culture and dignity of the higher class British journals. Some of its historic names were Joseph Howe, George Brown, Egerton Ryerson, William Annand, William Elder, John Livingston, J. B. E. Dorion, Joseph Doutre, J. E. Cauchon, Thomas White, John Cameron, John Reade, George Murray, E. Goff Penny, Peter Mitchell, John Dougall, D'Arcy McGee, William Lyon Mackenzie, James Lesslie, William McDougall, Hugh Scobie, George Sheppard, Daniel Morrison, Samuel Thompson, J. Gordon Brown, T. C. Patteson, William Fisher Luxton, Nicholas Flood Davin, John Robson, J. S. Willison and J. A. Macdonald. From the Atlantic to the Pacific these names range up through the stormy politics of a century. Many of the men were also eminent in other spheres, and all possessed distinct ability. But distance from the high standards of British journalistic life; proximity to the sensationalism of the United States press; developments arising from localism of character and narrowness of

* *The Canadian Annual Review*, a yearly History of Canada, 1901-1921, by the author of this volume can only be mentioned here.

view; lack of capital and a large constituency, dependence upon American cable news, tended for a long period to greatly weaken the influence and standing of Canadian newspapers and to hamper the true and best progress of the press. Toward the end of the century these influences lessened and the greater newspapers of Canada showed special characteristics of their own with a position about half-way behind the press of Britain and the United States and with a few journals which took high place in style and character.

Passing from matters of national thought and intellectual progress to those of material growth, it may be said that the Provinces of French and British Canada, up to the Conquest, were largely fur-trading communities. Their exports were the products of the chase or of the skillful labours of hunters and trappers in the wilds of the West. Under the French *régime*, and especially from 1660 to 1760, the country now called Quebec, which then stretched far down into the heart of the Mississippi valley, was in the hands of close corporations which controlled the trade and taxes and distribution of all products. Special monopolies in the fur-trade, or in the farming of the revenues, were given from time to time by the French King. Such conditions had a naturally restrictive and injurious effect upon individual enterprise, and the progress of commercial interchange was, therefore, seriously retarded. In 1719, for instance, the authorities were empowered to search houses for foreign goods and to burn them publicly, while men engaged in foreign trade were treated as pirates.

When Great Britain took possession of the country in 1763 its trade was, as a consequence, chiefly confined to furs and the products of the forest. Agriculture had made little progress and manufactures were non-existent—except those of the hand-loom and of home composition. With the accession of British rule came the British fiscal system. Canadians could trade freely with the Thirteen

Colonies, although there was little real demand for commercial exchange. At the same time all British possessions were governed by the Navigation laws and regulations against trading with foreign countries, or in foreign vessels, which were beginning to prove so irritating to the men of the Atlantic sea-board. Very soon, therefore, almost the entire Canadian trade had passed from the hands of France to the hands of England. By 1808 the figures for Upper and Lower Canada were £1,776,000 sterling, of which the greater part represented British business. Furs, wheat, flour, timber and fish were the chief exports, and of the imports £200,000 were manufactured goods and £100,000 were of tea, tobacco and provisions. In this year there were 333 vessels engaged in the external trade of the Provinces, while in 1830, 967 vessels arrived at the port of Quebec alone.

During these years and up to 1846 the Mother-land gave every possible encouragement to Colonial trade. If she restricted its expansion in foreign channels, she made up for the policy, and more than made up for it, by tariffs which gave immense preferences to Canadian products over those of other countries—lumber over that of the Baltic, and wheat over that of the United States, for instance. In 1845, the Imperial tariff showed a preference given to wheat of 18s. charged foreign countries as against 2s. to 5s. charged the Colonies; to horses and oxen of 21s. as against 10s.; to cheese of 11s. as against 2s. 7d. These instances might be indefinitely extended. In the following year, however, the Corn Laws and the Colonial preferences were alike abolished, and, after a preliminary crash and prolonged depression, the fiscal system of Provincial revenue tariffs, with touches of incidental protection, was established; Colonial trade was made open to the world and Colonial tariffs given, by a sort of gradually-broadening process, into the control of Colonial Governments. Up to 1867 the tariffs of the different Provinces and after

that of the Dominion, up to 1878, remained largely of a revenue nature—with the exception of Mr. Galt's policy in 1858-1859 in the Canadas. From 1878 onwards the tariff of Canada was a moderately protective one, with, however, a preference granted to British goods from and after 1898.

INTER-PROVINCIAL TRADE

In all this period, and up to the beginning of the fourth quarter in the nineteenth century, there was little real trade between the Provinces of British America. The Northwest and the Pacific Coast were hopelessly barred by distance, by the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, and by geographical obstacles, from the Lake and Atlantic Provinces. Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces naturally followed the lines of least resistance and of tariff encouragement, and traded with England. Upper Canada exchanged its goods and products in a very considerable frontier trade. When the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 came, Ontario trade developed steadily with the United States in preference to England, and even against the other Provinces. Tariffs were imposed by the Provinces, from the time of the abolition of the Corn Laws until Confederation, against each other. It was natural, therefore, that during the Reciprocity period, when people were growing rich on American trade and war necessities, and found their foreign commerce jumping up by leaps and bounds, that trade between Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces should be small and show little change—in 1855 it was \$1,889,428 and in 1866 \$2,429,038.

Confederation, consequently, started with a tiny traffic amongst the Provinces and with the very large trade, comparatively, of \$75,000,000 between the Provinces and the American Republic. After that time, what might be called the home trade grew, but very slowly, for a decade. Free-trade had, of course, become a fact as between the various divisions of the Dominion and in vivid contrast to the

previous conditions of Reciprocity with a foreign country and Inter-Provincial tariffs. But the first Dominion tariff was not made so as to encourage trade amongst the neighbouring Provinces, and it still tended southward to the magnet of a large population and the attraction of great industries which steadily expanded as the time of war and strife receded into the distance. A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1877 to inquire into the situation, but the anti-protectionist party was still in power and the Report could only express academic wishes for cheaper transportation and increased trade. Then came the establishment of the National Policy of protection and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Another Committee of the House was appointed in 1883, and, after exhaustive inquiry, they reported that the purchases of the Maritime Provinces from Ontario and Quebec had increased to \$22,000,000 in 1882. The trade in fish from Nova Scotia westward had "developed to very large proportions and, as far west as Montreal, a very considerable trade is already done in fish and oils and in West India goods and coal."

Exact information, either then or later, is difficult to obtain upon this point. There are no tariffs to draw upon for modern facts, and figures have to be largely estimates. But it is known that from 1882 onward the business between the Provinces, both east and west, greatly and steadily increased. Canadian manufactured goods held their own home market from Halifax to Vancouver, and, as the country grew in population, wealth and transportation facilities, the value of this market naturally developed. Iron and steel manufactures from Nova Scotia came up to the inland Provinces. Cotton and other goods of New Brunswick reached the markets of Ontario. Farm implements and various products of industrial activity from Ontario poured into the Northwest. Boots and shoes from Quebec supplied varied and increasing portions of Canada.

The fish of the Atlantic and Pacific came west and east in expanding quantities. Nova Scotia coal supplied Quebec more and more largely. Indications of this increasing Inter-Provincial traffic were found in the coasting trade, which grew 10,000,000 tons in volume between 1887 and 1896; in the freight carried by railways, which increased 8,000,000 tons during the same period; in the shipments of food products sent from Montreal to the Maritime Province ports, which expanded very largely in those years; in the freight carried by the Inter-colonial Railway, which grew from 421,000 tons in 1877 to 4,134,046 in 1908, and was chiefly Inter-Provincial traffic. While, therefore, estimates only were possible, the evidences of a large increase in this internal trade were sufficiently clear to warrant George Johnson, the Dominion Statistician, in making elaborate calculations and deductions, from which, in 1899, he placed the total trade interchange amongst the Provinces at \$80,000,000. Following out his method of calculation the figures in 1911 would be \$200,000,000, and in 1921 at least \$500,000,000.

DEVELOPMENT IN COMMERCE AND PRODUCTION

Meanwhile, external trade also developed largely. The impetus given to commerce with the United States, and to the use of American transportation facilities, by the abolition of the British Corn Laws and the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty, was checked by the abrogation of the latter measure in 1866, affected in some limited degree by Confederation, and greatly restricted for a number of years by the adoption of a Canadian protectionist tariff. The contiguity which had, at first, helped to make people consider the United States a natural market for their products taught the farmer after a while that it was, in the nature of things, simply a medium of transportation for the most of his products to Great Britain; it taught the manufacturer that as he had little chance of competing in the protected American market upon equal terms it would, there-

fore, be better for him to try and hold the consumers at his own doors and then to follow the British example and go abroad for trade.

Canadians believed, very largely and to a considerable extent in 1921, that Americans were their rivals in milling, competitors in production, opponents in railway and waterway transportation, antagonists in manufacturing, in jobbing, in importing and distributing, rivals in the British market. In 1853 the imports from the United States into British America were \$7,301,000; in 1863, \$24,967,000; in 1873, \$47,375,000; in 1883, \$56,032,000; in 1893, \$58,221,000; in 1907, \$222,382,593; in 1910, \$270,644,736; in 1920, \$801,097,318. In 1853 Canadian exports to the United States amounted to \$6,527,000; in 1863, to \$7,484,000; in 1873, to \$42,072,000; in 1883, to \$41,668,000; in 1893, to \$43,923,000; in 1907, to \$117,536,727; in 1910, to \$117,145,555; in 1920, to \$501,130,117. Trade with Great Britain, meantime, showed a curious process of development. At the beginning and up to the middle of the century, most of the commerce of the Colonies had been transacted with the Mother-land. After that time, for reasons already mentioned, a good deal was diverted to the United States. Until 1875, however, the Provinces, or the Dominion, as the case might be, continued to obtain most of their imports from Great Britain—nearly double what they exported to her. In 1873 the exports to the Mother-land were \$38,743,000, and the imports from her \$68,522,000; in 1893 the exports had become \$64,080,000, the imports \$43,148,000—almost a complete reversal. In 1898 the position was still more striking with exports of \$104,998,000 and imports of only \$32,500,000. Then came another development, due in part to the American tariff, and exports to Great Britain increased from \$107,736,368 in 1900 to \$136,965,111 in 1911. The War produced another change and in 1921 the exports were \$314,228,671, while

imports from Great Britain grew from \$44,789,730 in 1900 to \$109,936,462 in 1911 and to \$213,973,562 in 1921.

On the other hand, Canadians found that many American manufactured articles were cheaper than the corresponding British goods, or, perhaps, easier to obtain. Contiguity and cheapness combined had a pronounced effect in this connection, and a good illustration of the fact may be seen in the iron and steel imports of Canada during two periods of five years each. In 1882-86 the Dominion bought from Great Britain, in round numbers, \$44,000,000 worth of this great staple product, and, in 1892-98, \$29,000,000—a decrease of fifteen millions. In 1882-86 the Dominion bought from the United States \$20,000,000 worth of iron and steel, and, in 1896-98, \$41,000,000—an increase of twenty-one millions, or more than double the original figure. Local conditions and increased industrial production within Canada had, of course, something to do with this general decrease in the import of British goods, and in the decade following 1900 The Preferential Canadian tariff, as already stated, effected a considerable change.

A great and growing source of prosperity to Canada in and about the year 1900 and the following decade was its mines. Iron and coal, lead, copper, nickel, mica, silver, gold, asbestos and various other minerals existed in immense quantities, and some of them were long known to be rich resources of British America. But difficulties of transportation, of mining and of smelting the ore, and alarm as to the nature of the climate—coupled with general ignorance abroad concerning the richness of the country—combined to prevent much being done until near the end of the nineteenth century. British Columbia, it is true, shared in the California gold boom of the "fifties," its placer gold was pretty thoroughly explored and exploited, and, in time, some \$50,000,000 worth of gold dust was extracted from its streams and valleys. This, however, was merely skim-

ming the surface. Nova Scotia, for many years, kept up a small, steady and paying production of gold and coal, while salt and petroleum were long substantial products of Ontario. An increasing consumption of Canadian coal was also visible as the years went on, and tariffs were so arranged as to help Nova Scotia in the other Provinces. The exports of this product rose very slowly, from 265,000 tons in 1868 to 1,140,000 tons in 1899, and 2,315,171 tons in 1911. But this production of coal only touched the surface of the vast resources which were now known to exist in Nova Scotia, in British Columbia and in the Western Provinces. In 1921, the total was 15,057,262 tons, valued at \$72,451,656.

Every effort was latterly made by fiscal legislation and bounties—notably in Sir Charles Tupper's policy of 1883—to encourage iron and steel industries in Canada; but without very marked effect until the later "nineties," when blast furnaces began to appear in Nova Scotia, Ontario and British Columbia. The great Canadian development at the end of the nineteenth century was, however, that of gold production. In 1894 the total for all Canada was \$1,128,688, and at about that figure it had stood for twenty years. In 1896 it was \$2,754,774, in the next year over \$6,000,000; in 1898 \$13,000,000, and in 1899 over \$21,000,000. The main cause of this expansion was the discovery and development of the Yukon District and its apparently boundless resources. There was also the discovery of gold in the Lake of the Woods region of Ontario, and the immense wealth in the same connection which was believed to exist at Rossland and throughout the Kootenay District of British Columbia. Between 1896 and 1899 the gold production of the Yukon, known to Canadian authorities, increased from \$300,000 to \$16,000,000, and the quantity of gold dust carried away yearly by American miners, uncontrolled by the Government, must have made the figures of total production double the latter amount. Then came

decreased population, owing to the exhaustion of the placer mining, with a total known product, from 1897 to 1921, of \$175,085,580. Accompanying the decline in the Yukon was the discovery in 1910 of immensely rich gold resources in the Porcupine region of northern Ontario, with a production of \$83,000,000 worth of gold during the period 1912-21. Silver has been a fairly large product of Canada, though not always a profitable one. The exports in 1896 totalled \$1,595,548, and fluctuated for a decade until, in 1906, began the phenomenal development of the Cobalt region in northern Ontario and an increase in exports from \$4,310,525 to \$17,269,169 in 1911; the total production from 1904 to the end of 1921 was \$198,099,336. Nickel in great masses was found along the northern shores of Lake Superior, and its production in 1910 was valued at \$11,181,000, and in 1921 at \$61,775,777. The total of all mineral production in the Dominion was \$10,000,000 in 1893, \$22,000,000 in 1896, \$48,000,000 in 1899, \$85,927,802 in 1908, \$105,040,950 in 1910 and \$135,544,792 in 1921.

Meanwhile, the farmer and the farmer's position had been changing greatly. The pioneer log-houses and shanties of the older Provinces gave place to comfortable farm-houses and large barns; the forest and wilderness were replaced by smiling fields, or gardens, or fruit farms. The wooden, home-made furniture of early times disappeared, and even the antique relics of pre-Revolutionary days in the Thirteen Colonies were discarded for newly-manufactured articles largely made in Canada; and from the ever-popular organ to the horse-hair sofa, everything in the farm-houses began to breathe of a newer and cheaper age. The era of machinery came also and did away with the workingmen who, on large farms, had almost constituted villages in themselves. The rush and roar of the latter end of the nineteenth century affected the young men of the farms, and drew many of them into the teeming cities of the American

States, or to the growing centres of Ontario or Quebec. The boom of Western progress attracted others, and many a mortgage upon the homesteads of Ontario owed its origin to the settlement of sons in Manitoba or upon the Western plains.

The area for the farmer's work, the opportunities of agriculture, the facilities for production, all immensely increased. In Ontario, or Upper Canada as it then was, the area occupied in 1826 was 3,353,000 acres and the cultivated area 599,000 acres; in 1841 the figures for the one were 6,868,000 and for the other 1,811,000; in 1891 the former amounted to 21,091,000 acres, the latter to 14,157,000 acres. This was an enormous expansion for a Provincial population, which only increased in round numbers from half a million to two millions. The value of the field crops in 1908 was \$164,000,000, in 1910 over \$200,000,000. Added to this development was the opening up of the vast wheat fields of the West, the splendid ranching country of the Territories, or the Alberta of a later day, the fruit-bearing regions of British Columbia and Nova Scotia. The total value of Canada's field crops in 1860 was \$96,701,643; in 1880, \$158,403,533; in 1900, \$205,071,964; in 1909, \$532,992,100; in 1919, \$1,537,170,100; in 1921, \$931,863,670. The latter figures were due in part to inflation and then deflation in prices.

In the matter of railways, Canada made a progress during the latter half of the century which should be sufficient to stamp its people as an enterprising and capable population. When Confederation brought the scattered Provinces together there were only 2,000 miles of railway built, largely in Ontario, and comprising chiefly the Grand Trunk Railway. Then came the construction and rapid completion of the Inter-colonial Railway, connecting the Atlantic towns with the city of Quebec and ultimately with Montreal; the struggle for, and final creation of, the C. P. R., a trans-continental line which made the Dominion a national unit in all matters of

transportation and intercommunication; the building of many other lines in all the Provinces, including the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk Pacific, the National Trans-Continental and the formation of a general system which made the country a net-work of railways, running into every important nook and corner, and totalling in 1899 over 17,000 miles of track, in 1910, 24,731 miles and in 1920, 39,384 miles.

With this period and part of the country's development the names of Sir William Van Horne and Lord Shaughnessy in the later history and management of the Canadian Pacific; those of Charles J. Brydges, Sir Joseph Hickson and Charles M. Hays in the building up and extension of the Grand Trunk system; those of Sir William Mackenzie, Sir D. D. Mann, D. B. Hanna, in the initiation and extension of the Canadian Northern; those of George Laidlaw, F. C. Capreol and Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Cumberland in the construction of pioneer lines in Ontario; those of Sir Sandford Fleming, Thomas C. Keefer and Walter Shanly, as engineers in charge of construction; were intimately connected and may be recorded with honour. The bulk of earlier expansion was effected between 1875 and 1890, and, after the latter date, the progress continued steady until 1904, when the Grand Trunk Pacific was initiated and the Canadian Northern Railway system took shape and form as great railway enterprises. In 1875 the number of passengers was 5,190,000, in 1910, 35,894,000, and in 1920, 51,318,422; the tons of freight carried also rose from 5,670,000 to 74,482,000, and to 127,429,154; the earnings grew from \$3,695,000 to \$53,550,000, and, then to \$491,938,857.

Meanwhile, the Canal system which connected the Great Lakes with the St. Lawrence, and thence through a reasonable deepening of the river itself at certain points, with the Atlantic, developed steadily and at great cost. Canal construction was an evident necessity from the earliest period of British occupation in the country

and, even before the division of the Provinces in 1791, was urgently advocated. In 1815 a legislative effort was made to begin the work by constructing the Lachine Canal above Montreal, but without success, and it was not until six years later that operations really commenced. Towards its construction the British Government contributed \$400,000, and the same Government defrayed almost the entire expense of building the Rideau Canal between Ottawa and Kingston—\$3,911,000—as well as giving \$222,000 to aid the Welland Canal project. Very slowly other improvements in the St. Lawrence navigation were effected. The Beauharnois Canal was opened in 1845, and some fifty years later replaced by the Soulanges Canal; the Cornwall was opened in 1843; the Williamsburg series of three canals was completed in 1856; the Welland Canal, with prolonged pioneer work by the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt and many political and financial difficulties and failures, was commenced in 1821 and sufficiently completed to permit of its use a dozen years later. The Richelieu Canals, connecting the St. Lawrence with Hudson River *via* the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, were practically commenced, after much controversy, in 1835, and were in a sort of working order by 1843.

None of these works, however, were really completed at the time of opening. Changes and enlargements and improvements and, sometimes, complete renewals had to be effected. The Provinces were poor and, up to the Union in 1841, Lower Canada would do little or nothing to encourage developments of this nature. Its public men were too busy fighting for fancies and warring against windmills to care about coming down to practical every-day considerations such as the promotion of transportation facilities. Much, however, was done by men like the Hon. John Young, Sir Hugh Allan and W. Hamilton Merritt and, between 1841 and Confederation, considerable progress was made, and a total of \$21,000,000 expended.

The foundation had, in fact, been laid, and after 1867, money was freely spent—to the tune of \$34,000,000 up to 1889—in deepening, enlarging and strengthening the system. By 1920 the total expenditure amounted to \$178,427,953, while the traffic of 17,502,820 tons in 1908 grew to 33,720,748 tons in 1909 and 42,990,000 tons in 1910, increased further to 52,053,913 tons in 1913, and then steadily decreased to 8,735,383 tons in 1920.

This development of transportation upon lake and river and ocean had a most important influence upon Canadian progress. The Indian birch-bark canoe was early replaced by the French batteau and the Durham flat-bottomed boat. Upon the Great Lakes, also, sailing vessels of various kinds soon found a place in the stunted commerce of that period. The immense number of rivers everywhere and the absence of roads made water transportation popular with the pioneer traders, although the lack of canals and deepening facilities in early days rendered a great deal of portaging—the carrying of boats over or around an obstruction—necessary. The first steamer plying between Montreal and Quebec on the St. Lawrence was built by John Molson in 1811, and twelve years later there were a dozen of them. In 1816 Lake Ontario saw its first steamer in the *Frontenac*, built at a cost of \$75,000; and within twenty years from that time all the larger bodies of water throughout the country had steamboats plying between the principal ports. With Mr. Molson in the pioneer labours of this development were chiefly associated John and David Torrance, Sir Hugh Allan and Hon. John Hamilton. The first steamer on the Red River in the far West commenced operations in 1859; on the Pacific Coast the first to ply between the various fur-bearing posts of the Hudson's Bay Company was the *Beaver*, which came out in 1835 from England—after being launched by King William IV in the presence of a great gathering of people. In the Atlantic Provinces the splendid harbour

of Halifax was first entered by a steamer on August 31, 1831, when the *Royal William* came in from Quebec and entered upon its career as the pioneer steamship of the vast Atlantic traffic of the end of the century.

Nine years later the Cunard Line, founded by Sir Samuel Cunard, commenced to call at Halifax, though it soon afterwards made New York its American terminus. The first coasting steamer of this region had been launched at St. John in 1816. In the year 1910 there were many lines of steamships running from Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, or St. John, to Great Britain, the United States, the West Indies, South America and Newfoundland, while from Vancouver, on the Pacific, similar lines ran to the American Pacific cities, to Honolulu, Australia, Hong-Kong and Japan. Later were the steamship lines established by the Canadian Northern Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific and controlled in a still later period by the new National Railway System. Of these various transportation agencies the Allan Line was started in 1852 by Sir Hugh Allan, the Dominion Line in 1870, the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company in 1845. The latter was re-organized in 1882 by L. A. Senecal, a noted figure in the financial life of Quebec. The Canadian Pacific Railway Lines were started on the Pacific in 1891 and preceded by large boats upon the Great Lakes under the same management. By the year 1896 the Canadian tonnage arriving at Canadian ports included 96,641 vessels of 25,268,536 tons; in 1910 it totalled 126,633 vessels of 52,947,213 tons; in 1921 the deep-sea tonnage entering and leaving Canadian ports was 54,648,530 and the coast-wise tonnage 56,225,509.

The shipbuilding industry had, of course, an intimate connection with Canadian development along these lines. The immense inland resources of forest and timber made Quebec and the Atlantic coast ideal places for building ships in the days before iron and

steel worked their industrial and naval revolution. As far back as 1672, Talon, the eminent Intendant of New France, ordered the building of a ship at Quebec. During the century which followed, mainly under the French *régime*, shipbuilding was but a fitful pursuit, as were all industrial and commercial matters in that period. After 1787, when the production was ten ships of 933 tons, there were many ups and downs with Quebec as the centre for a small production. In Nova Scotia the palmy days of shipbuilding were in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Halifax, Yarmouth, Windsor and Pictou were great centres of production and Nova Scotia bottoms were to be found in every port of the maritime world. Decay came to the industry after 1882, and the only hope of revival lay in the utilization of the coal and iron which, side by side and almost upon the coasts of Nova Scotia and British Columbia, might well form the basis of a great future in iron and steel shipbuilding. For a time this development did come in the last years of the War period and a little later. For the fiscal year 1920-21, shipping constructed in Canada amounted to 95,838 tons, while 188,915 tons were registered in Canadian ports; in 1920 and 1921, 88,030 tons were sold to other countries valued at \$26,276,050.

BANKING DEVELOPMENT

Canadian general progress owed much to the Banking system of the Dominion. Like every other interest or institution in the country it experienced ups and downs and faced difficulties and dangers. When the Bank of Montreal and the Quebec Bank were started in 1817 and 1918, in the chief centres of trade and business, the banking of the country dealt chiefly with shipments of furs and transport of timber and in lending money to the men engaged in operations which covered thousands of miles of wilderness in Upper Canada and the far West. In time other banks started. The Bank of British North America was established by London capitalists in

1836. The Bank of Upper Canada was organized in 1823 by men largely interested in the dominant party of that day, and it continued, during many years of great prosperity and eventual adversity, to be somewhat of a political institution. The Commercial Bank of the Midland District, in the same Province, was formed in 1832, and others followed until, in 1859, after the commercial crisis of that period had come and gone, there were fifteen banks in the Canadas with a capital of \$24,000,000 as against \$3,000,000 when originally chartered. In the Maritime Provinces the Bank of Nova Scotia, one of the earliest and also one of the most notable institutions, was organized in 1832. In point of time it was preceded by the Bank of New Brunswick which had been incorporated in 1820.

Smaller institutions came and went in all the Provinces until, at Confederation in 1867, the Bank of Montreal with its twenty-nine branches and a capital of \$6,000,000, the Bank of British North America with its twelve branches and capital of \$4,866,000, the Commercial Bank of Canada with its eighteen branches and \$4,000,000 capital, were the principal institutions. There were twenty-eight banks, altogether, with 125 branches and a paid-up capital of \$32,000,000. The system, as existing in that year, and not yet matured and consolidated by Federal legislation, was a product of varied experiments and experiences. The early banking of the country had been carried on by American methods; although as time went on the Scotch ideas of the founders came more and more into effect, and the internal management of the banks largely followed the British system. The inauguration of the branch system strengthened this tendency and marked an important differentiation from American models. Still there was a strong legislative tendency to copy the United States in financial matters and, from time to time, dangerous experiments were tried—such, for instance, as the suspension of specie payments in 1837, against which Sir Francis Bond

Head protested so vigorously and uselessly to his Upper Canadian legislature. To the intervention at this time of the Imperial Government, the wise despatches of Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, and the later series of regulations propounded by Lord John Russell, Canada owed much of the stability and success of its final system. The proposals of Lord J. Russell in 1840 form, in fact, the basis of modern Canadian banking charters and laws.

At Confederation, the Government was faced with the necessity of a thorough re-organization of the banking system of the country. Practically it had to be federalized and made into a national institution. The preliminaries were gone into by the Finance Minister, Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Rose, largely in consultation with Mr. E. H. King, who was then head of the Bank of Montreal and the leading banker in Canada. Influenced by Mr. King and, perhaps, by his own financial fancies, he proposed to establish what was, in the main, the American system of banking and currency. The proposals, as eventually presented to Parliament excited the keenest controversy, were vigorously denounced by George Brown and the *Toronto Globe*, and were eventually withdrawn. Sir Francis Hincks succeeded Mr. Rose in the Ministry of Finance, and in March, 1870, introduced a series of Resolutions which were finally passed and under which the existing system was established.

Under succeeding Finance Ministers every decade saw a revision and improvement of existing arrangements, and Sir Leonard Tilley, Hon. George E. Foster and Hon. W. S. Fielding, each had to do with this perfecting of banking legislation. The statistical progress of banking after Confederation was very great. The paid-up capital of the Banks increased from \$30,000,000 in 1868, in round numbers, to \$62,000,000 in 1896 and \$128,066,769 on December 31, 1920; the notes in circulation from \$9,000,000 to \$31,000,000, and in 1920 to \$228,758,587; the deposits from \$33,000,000 to \$193,000,000 and in

1920 to \$2,445,264,999; the discounts from \$52,000,000 to \$213,000,000 and in 1920 to \$1,301,804,342. The total Assets in 1868 were \$79,000,000 and the Liabilities \$45,000,000. In 1896 they were, respectively, \$320,000,000 and \$232,000,000. In 1920 they were \$3,056,979,489 and \$2,781,980,000.

In other directions Canadian development was equally pronounced. Partly because of the protection given to its industries by the tariff and partly because of the growing efficiency of the manufacturers, and increase of population in the country, there was considerable Industrial development. In 1891, there were, according to the census returns, 75,941 manufacturing establishments in Canada, with a working capital of \$181,000,000, which employed 370,000 men, women and children, paid out one hundred millions of dollars in wages, used raw material to the value of \$256,000,000 and had a total production valued at \$476,000,000. In 1918 the manufacturing establishments of Canada had a capital of \$3,034,301,915; a payment of wages totalling \$339,696,360; a total product valued at \$3,458,036,275.

An important national interest and industry of Canada has always been its Fisheries, and sometimes they have also proved a factor of international importance. The fish of the Great Lakes; of the lesser bodies of water scattered in immense numbers throughout all the Provinces and, especially, in the far North and West, between Lake Superior, Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean; of the rivers flowing in all directions throughout the three million square miles of Canadian territory; seemed inexhaustible in variety and numbers. The sea fisheries of the Atlantic coast of Canada were of great value, though the annual average production did not exceed ten million dollars. Cod, herring, lobsters, salmon, haddock, halibut and whitefish, salmon-trout, sturgeon, pickerel, pike, black-bass, perch and carp in the lakes and rivers were the most numerous and

best known products of these varied waters. Between 1869 and 1896 the value of the fish extracted from the lakes and rivers and sea-board of the various provinces was stated at \$28,000,000 for Ontario, \$54,000,000 for Quebec, \$180,000,000 for Nova Scotia, \$81,000,000 for New Brunswick, \$5,600,000 for the Northwest, \$45,000,000 for British Columbia, \$25,000,000 for little Prince Edward Island. The value of yearly product in 1870 was \$6,575,000; in 1879, \$13,529,000; in 1889, \$17,655,000; in 1899, \$21,891,000; in 1909, \$19,629,000, and in 1920, \$49,321,217. In the seal fisheries of British Columbia, about which there was so much international controversy, there were 14,000 Canadians engaged in 1895, with sixty-one vessels and 638 boats and canoes. The industry dwindled steadily in succeeding years. Away to the farthest north of the Dominion were the richest whaling-grounds in the world—the last resort of the leviathans. The walrus, the sea-trout, the inconnu, the pike, sturgeon and other fish, also abounded in these waters.

In forests, Canada, at the beginning of the twentieth century, possessed great resources—a conservative estimate in 1920 being a timbered area of 1,092,000 square miles with 800,000,000,000 feet B.M. of timber and 1,000,000,000 cords of pulpwood, available, apart from mere forest areas. Of water-power, and electricity derived from it, an official estimate at Ottawa in 1921 put the available amount at 32,076,000 horse-power, of which only 2,471,000 h.-p. had actually been utilized. Passing from natural resources to the other and basic one of population it may be said that Canada did not really commence to grow in this respect until about 1902. The first decennial Census of the Dominion in 1871 showed a population of 3,485,761; in 1881 it was 4,324,810; in 1891, 4,833,239; in 1901, 5,371,315; in 1911, 7,100,000; in 1921, 8,769,004. Between 1901 and 1921 1,323,500 British settlers came into the country, 877,400 European settlers and 1,346,400 immigrants from the United States—

chiefly into the West. The Japanese immigration of 1900-21, about which so much was said politically, only totalled 20,418.

Such has been the natural and economic progress of Canada. In a consitutional sense, it has been not less remarkable. Despite the enormous pressure of a population ten or twelve times as great upon its southern border, Canada has remained faithful to British institutions and connexion; the World-War worked great changes in the National and Imperial outlook of the country but its tendency, upon the whole, was along the lines of an Empire unity elastic in details and conditions but enduring in sentiment and practical results.

The year 1914 saw Canada entering the War as one of a number of dependent Dominions, or subsidiary countries in a great British Empire; the year 1922 saw Canada a recognized nation in a group of nations still called and still acting unitedly as the British Empire. Within the Empire its Prime Minister had, during 1917 and 1918, sat as member of an Imperial War Cabinet and had helped Great Britain guide the greater events of war-time action; its right to share in the negotiations and terms of Peace was freely recognized by British leaders as a natural consequence of national participation in the War. In form its right of separate action and policy was admitted at the Peace Conference; in effect it remained one of the British Delegation with all the *prestige* and influence which that position involved at a world-gathering where Britain was the dominant power and British policy the prevailing force.

Appendix

Resources and Production of Canadian Provinces and Newfoundland

ALBERTA: With its 255,285 square miles of area, this Province has a total of 163,382,400 acres of which, it is estimated, at least 100,000,000 acres are fit and available for cultivation. During the year 1920 12,500,000 acres were in crop, and the estimated value of farm products for that year was \$184,415,554. Production in 1921 reached a minimum after facing exceptional storms, drought in Southern Alberta, exclusion of its live-stock from American markets, and the potent influence of deflation. With all these factors its wheat crop of 1921 was valued at \$40,756,000, its oats at \$15,406,000, its barley at \$3,730,000, its potatoes at \$4,072,000, and its hay at \$15,884,000; the crop of 1921 at the worst, was double that of 1911, compared with an increase in population during that decade from 496,525 to 588,454. An analysis of the field crop production of Alberta for the 7 years 1915-1921 inclusive, reveals some interesting facts. Wheat and oats are the two great crops of Alberta. Over the 7-year period there were produced 310,702,446 bushels of spring wheat with a total value of \$460,973,566. The average for each year was 44,386,064 bushels of wheat with a value of \$65,853,366. There were produced in that period 469,250,585 bushels of oats with a total value of \$274,038,773. The average yearly production was 81,321,512 bushels of an average value of \$39,148,396. Add to these figures the crops of barley, rye, flax, potatoes, turnips, peas, alfalfa and other field products and the average yearly production becomes \$139,159,452. There has been in this period, a yearly average of about 75,000 farms in Alberta. When the value of the live-stock raised and slaughtered and the value of dairy products are added, the average production per farm of Alberta agricultural areas is well over \$2500.

The 53 creameries operating in Alberta during 1920 produced 12,150,000 pounds of butter valued at \$6,864,750, and the 7 cheese factories manufactured 56,534 pounds of cheese valued at \$128,839. These, with milk and all its products, totalled in 1921, \$17,616,000 in value. The farm animals slaughtered or sold during 1921 were valued at \$16,065,000, the fruits and vegetables at \$1,500,000, the poultry and eggs at \$6,160,000. The horses of Alberta numbered 916,510 in 1921, valued at \$58,283,000, the cattle 1,854,202 worth \$59,760,000, with sheep and swine numbering 1,107,917 worth \$10,536,000.

Although a prairie Province, Alberta has plenty of timber. Except in the southeast and the extreme north, the supply is plentiful, though small. The eastern slopes of the Rockies are well timbered, and the streams are thickly fringed with spruce, pine, poplar and willow. Central Alberta, the park country, is partially wooded, aspen being the most common. White spruce predominates between the Rockies and the Prairie; aspen and balsam in the Athabasca and Peace River

regions of the north. In the Mackenzie Basin, white and black spruce, tamarack (larch), jack pine, birch and white poplar are found. The Province has practically unlimited coal resources of the lignite character with, also, much of the bituminous kind; though development is only commenced, it stands fourth amongst the Provinces in total mineral production and first in coal.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: With an area of 355,855 square miles, the population of British Columbia in 1921 was 450,000. There is estimated to be about 50,000,000 acres of good agricultural land open for settlement in the Province. The fruit farms of the Okanagan and other fertile valleys amongst the mountains, or on Vancouver Island, are rich and productive; the few farmers in the Province had, in 1921, 44,558 horses worth \$4,456,000; 261,372 cattle worth \$13,064,000 and 92,979 sheep and swine valued at \$1,118,000; the production in field crops included 1,178,700 bushels of wheat valued at \$1,435,000; oats of 2,756,000 bushels valued at \$1,571,000; potatoes of 2,940,000 bushels worth \$2,646,000; turnips, etc., of 2,492,000 bushels worth \$1,670,000; hay and clover of 315,800 tons worth \$7,478,000; grain hay of 155,500 tons worth \$3,141,000; alfalfa and fodder corn of 94,000 tons worth \$1,798,000. The total agricultural income in 1921 was \$37,151,000, of which \$20,447,000 represents field crops alone.

The catch of the British Columbia Fisheries leads the Dominion. Its value in 1920 was \$12,612,773 or 48 per cent of the total of the sea fisheries of Canada. Immense quantities of halibut are shipped to the markets of the Atlantic coast, while the whaling industry off the west coast of Vancouver Island and off the Queen Charlotte Islands is very prosperous. British Columbia has illimitable supplies of raw materials for industry, with transportation facilities by land and sea. There are large bodies of iron ore, and the known deposits of coal aggregate 88,828,523,000 tons. There is abundance of water-power, and the development, complete or under way, amounts to 463,185 h.p. In addition water-powers to an estimated total of 941,935 h.p. have been staked, and there is over 1,000,000 h.p. not yet developed. The timber lands of the Province contain 349,568,000,000 b. f. of saw material, and, in addition, there is a vast amount of pulpwood. In the Queen Charlotte Islands, alone, there is a stand of 23 billion feet of Sitka spruce. Modern methods of forest protection and reforestation would render these resources inexhaustible. Forest production in 1920, including paper and pulp, was valued at \$92,628,807, or an increase of \$22,000,000 over the previous year.

The great interest or wealth of the Province has been and is minerals. The chief items of production in 1920 were as follows: copper, \$7,832,899; coal, \$12,975,625; gold, lode, \$2,481,392; silver, \$3,235,980; lead, \$2,816,115; zinc, \$3,077,979.

MANITOBA: The total area of the province of Manitoba is 251,832 square miles; the population in 1911 was 461,394 and in 1921, 610,188; its comparatively small number of farmers owned, in 1921, 419,789 horses valued at \$37,305,000, 817,759 cattle worth \$24,508,000, and 356,065 sheep and swine worth

\$3,822,000. Its production of field crops, though affected by low prices and a bad year, as in other Provinces, included spring wheat of 39,054,000 bushels valued at \$35,533,000; oats of 49,442,600 bushels worth \$14,833,000; barley of 19,681,600 bushels worth \$8,463,000; rye of 3,564,700 bushels valued at \$2,816,000; potatoes of 5,858,200 bushels worth \$2,636,000; hay and clover of 378,500 tons worth \$4,921,000; and fodder corn of 124,900 bushels valued at \$1,124,000. Its total agricultural income in 1921 was over \$100,000,000.

Agricultural production in Manitoba has latterly been aided by Governmental policies and the Province has three special agencies for this in the Provincial Savings institution, the Rural Credits Societies and the Farm Loans Board which have been in operation for some years. The extension of the Provincial telephone system, the development of better roads and the construction of hydro-electric lines have been of value to the people and are being extended as opportunity permits. In 1912 the area of the Province was increased from 75,000 square miles to 251,832 square miles by the addition of a rich area to the north of the old-time Province, and Manitoba became a region capable of manufacturing, mining, and varied forms of industry. Its potentialities in water-power, gold, silver, and copper, oil, timber and pulpwood are undoubtedly great.

NEW BRUNSWICK: With an area of 27,911 square miles, or about that of Scotland, New Brunswick has a population of 387,876 or one-tenth that of North Britain. It has a great inland sea—the Bay of Fundy—which almost completely separates it from Nova Scotia and provides not only a winter port which is always open, but restless tides notable for scenic effects and for often rising 55 feet in one great volume of water; it has an extensive system of navigable rivers including the St. John which lighter vessels can use as far as Grand Falls—225 miles from the sea—the St. Croix, the Petitcodiac, the Miramichi, the Richibucto, the Restigouche, all running through tracts of low-lying alluvial land of remarkable fertility; it has a large number of small, beautiful lakes affording abundance of good fishing, and forests which still supply spruce, pine, hemlock, birch, cedar, maple, oak, elm, etc., in commercial quantities.

The Province possesses hunting grounds which are widely known and include the moose, caribou and deer in considerable numbers; its notable sea and other fisheries yielded \$4,423,745 worth of product in 1920—the famous salmon and trout in the inland lakes attracting a large circle of sportsmen; its mines are not greatly developed but there are resources in coal, iron and limestone with manganese, gypsum, building stones, shale and natural gas under actual production.

There are 17,910,400 acres of land in the Province with over 13,000,000 acres suitable for agriculture and only 50 per cent occupied. Along the Bay of Fundy are immense areas of reclaimed marsh lands famed for their productivity, year after year and without fertilizers; there are, also, extensive areas of land especially fitted for the cheap production of wool and mutton. The agricultural product of

1921 included wheat valued at \$641,000; oats at \$4,627,000; buckwheat at \$1,108,000; potatoes at \$14,573,000; hay at \$15,625,000. Its horses numbered 69,958 valued at \$8,045,000; cattle 295,446 worth \$9,159,000; sheep and swine 326,288 worth \$2,704,000. The total agricultural income in 1921 was \$48,458,000.

A great resource of this Province is in its forests. Of the merchantable timber 39.4 per cent is composed of hardwood. Large quantities of white birch and poplar are available.

NOVA SCOTIA: The nearest Canadian Province to Great Britain is Nova Scotia. As the oldest established portion of the Dominion it has much of interest to the visitor; from the standpoint of production and industry its possibilities are very great. It perhaps has the most basic resources for industrial development of any portion of the American continent with iron and coal in close juxtaposition. While industries are expanding rapidly, agriculture still remains of prime importance.

Nova Scotia has land suitable for mixed farming, market gardening, dairying, and fruit growing. Its apples are among the finest-flavoured in the world and the Annapolis Valley is famous for its fertility as well as its beauty and its industry; its trees yield from five to ten years after planting and yield profitably for from 60 to 100 years. Nearly a million acres of land not yet planted are eminently suitable for orcharding. Its agricultural product in 1921 included \$2,897,300 worth of oats, \$6,093,000 of potatoes, \$1,528,000 of turnips, etc., and \$17,749,000 worth of hay. Its horses numbered 61,321 valued at \$61,007,000, cattle 333,292 worth \$11,335,000; sheep and swine 376,324 valued at \$274,000. In 1921 the total agricultural income was \$44,234,000.

Nova Scotia has strong local markets and unexcelled opportunities for exporting. Her ports, a number of which rank amongst the most accessible and safest harbours in the world, are near to the great international trade routes. In an industrial connection the Hon. E. H. Armstrong, Commissioner of Mines, has summarized Nova Scotia's advantages as follows: (1) an abundant supply of coal; (2) an exceptional geographical position on the Atlantic seaboard; (3) shipping facilities and opportunities of access to the populous centres of the world for export; (4) remoteness from other sources of supply; (5) thickness and regularity of the coal seams; (6) good quality of coal for steam, gas, metallurgical and general purposes; (7) richness of by-products and practical freedom from gas; (8) ample iron deposits and an abundant supply of limestone.

The 1919 industrial figures of the Province (Federal Bureau) showed 1032 establishments in Nova Scotia with a capital of \$51,866,821, 16,541 employees, and \$73,811,822 of products; the three chief industries were (1) rolling mills and steel furnaces with \$20,399,234 capital and \$31,362,000 production; (2) ship-building and repairs with \$6,732,419 capital and \$7,663,072 production and (3) electric light and power with \$4,834,368 capital and \$1,637,130 production.

ONTARIO: This Province possesses an agreeable climate in most of its great

area of 407,270 square miles; vast natural wealth in farm lands, forests, minerals, and water-powers; an immensely productive soil rich in nutritive grasses, grains and roots, with cheap electric power and the greatest Hydro-plants in the world; a great dairying system and industry with an output of cheese factories, creameries, condensories and milk powder factories—together with milk delivered in towns and cities and butter made upon the farm—which, in 1921, totalled \$124,000,000.

The timber resources of Ontario are amongst the most valuable of the American continent, with 260,000 square miles of available forest areas; the pine is, perhaps, the best in quality to be found in either Canada or the United States, and is in constant demand; hardwoods, used in furniture and modern equipment, are available, and of pulpwood the Province has resources running to 300,000,000 cords.

Water-power is a rich and plentiful force in development, with 6,000,000 horse-power not utilized and 985,000 horse-power developed for commercial and general use. The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, under Sir Adam Beck's guidance, has harnessed Niagara Falls and controls fourteen different systems in co-operation with the municipalities; in its Chippewa Power Canal it possesses the greatest hydro-electric development in the world at a cost of \$80,000,000 and promising the production of over 600,000 horse-power.

The mineral resources of Ontario cover practically the entire list of commercially valuable metallic and non-metallic minerals, with the exception of coal and tin. The Sudbury mines are the world's chief source of nickel; Cobalt has produced \$198,099,336 of silver; its mines have paid \$84,388,185 in dividends; the Porcupine areas constitute one of the great gold regions of the world and the Hollinger Mines make up probably the richest gold camp known to-day with a gross income since 1912 of \$50,000,000 and dividends paid totalling \$16,558,000. The following are the mineral products of Ontario in 1921: gold, \$14,085,000; silver, \$5,497,160; nickel, \$2,110,750; nickel in matte, \$1,939,851; pig-iron, \$2,079,729; Portland cement, \$6,425,266; clay products, \$3,885,199; natural gas, \$2,953,000; salt, \$1,509,287; lime, \$1,172,680; building stone, \$1,812,863.

The fruit belt of Ontario has a large area in the famous Niagara region. It is not an oasis in a desert, but a garden in process of production on an enormous scale. The yield is limited only by the available labour. Grapes and peaches and all the small fruits grow luxuriantly; the land, the sunshine and the rain are all there; only men and capital are needed. Transportation in every form is abundant. The fertile farms and large barns and substantial homes are notable to any observer. The farmers owned, in 1921, 694,237 horses valued at \$66,349,000; 2,890,113 cattle worth \$128,767,000; 2,645,635 sheep and swine valued at \$28,908,000. The field crops of that year included fall and spring wheat of 15,575,400 bushels valued at \$16,376,000; oats of 72,575,000 bushels worth \$33,774,000; barley of 10,149,000 bushels worth \$6,390,000; corn (for husking) of 13,542,000 bushels valued at \$10,750,000; potatoes of 15,400,000 bushels worth \$15,400,000; turnips, mangolds,

etc., of 36,586,000 bushels worth \$12,805,000; hay and clover of 3,954,200 tons valued at \$84,027,000. The income from field crops in 1921 was \$239,627,000; dairy products, \$124,947,000. In estimated value, the pine timber of Ontario is worth (1921) \$132,000,000; its pulpwood, hardwood, etc., \$225,000,000; the mining lands and profits \$100,000,000; the agricultural lands unoccupied \$15,000,000, and the water-powers \$20,000,000. The District of Patricia is a vast, almost unknown area of 146,000 square miles, with large resources in timber, fisheries, furs and minerals.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND: This little Province is a garden of 2184 square miles and 88,536 people, with a rich, red soil only one-half cultivated though almost all of it is fit and fertile; with a healthy climate and not very severe winters; with a splendid top-dressing for the farms in mussel-mud which is found in all the bays; with prosperous mixed and fruit farming and abundant room for more.

Its fisheries, chiefly lobsters and oysters, are important to the island people and worth over \$1,000,000 a year; its fur-breeding industry has become widely known—especially in silver-black fox and beavers, and the humid temperature produces remarkably fine furs; it is an ideal region of summer resorts and bathing beaches, for boating and fishing in deep bays and inlets—trout-fishing in particular, for summer climate and accessibility.

Agriculturally, the production of the island included in 1921 wheat valued at \$573,000; oats at \$4,588,360; potatoes at \$2,684,600; turnips at \$1,336,400, and hay at \$6,455,000. Horses numbered 31,311 valued at \$2,637,000; cattle 138,195, at \$3,861,000; sheep and swine, 174,210 worth \$1,342,000. In fur-farming the island was pioneer and chief amongst Canadian Provinces and possessed (1920) over one-half of the 306 fur-farms in the Dominion with foxes valued at \$3,018,870 and returns from pelt sales over \$1,000,000 a year. The total agricultural income of its people in 1921 was \$21,431,000.

QUEBEC: Quebec's far-stretching acres number 450,000,000, and make it the most spacious of all Canada's Provinces. Of this huge territory only 15,000,000 acres—about 3.5 per cent—are under cultivation, and only half of this acreage can be called improved lands. Yet from this relatively small acreage much wealth has been and is derived. The income from minerals in 1920 was \$28,223,141; field crops, \$330,251,000; dairy produce, \$35,708,621.

Dairying in Quebec is a highly developed and specialized industry. Much land is devoted to pasturage, and the growing of fodder crops is greatly favoured. The 1920 figures give a total of 1813 cheese and butter factories with an output for the year as follows: butter, 40,037,692 pounds, value \$22,352,146; cheese, 52,441,504 pounds, value \$13,356,475. Value of lumber, pulp, etc., in 1920, was \$58,328,477. The population, according to the census of 1911, was 2,003,232; 1921, 2,361,196.

Quebec surpasses every other Province of the Dominion in the matter of her

forest areas. These total 130,000,000 acres, or about 30 per cent of the total acreage, and by comparison with the value of the cut of timber in other Provinces, Quebec's figures are about one-third of the whole. The value of its forests is estimated, officially, as follows: white and red pine, \$200,000,000; spruce and balsam, \$250,000,000; pulpwood, \$100,000,000; hardwood, \$25,000,000; total, \$575,000,000. As a producer of pulpwood, and of manufactured pulp, Quebec stands in the forefront of Canadian Provinces. In 1919, 46 out of 49 Canadian companies engaged in the manufacture of pulp were located in Quebec, and the consumption of pulpwood amounted to 1,176,134 cords, or about 48 per cent of Canada's total consumption. In addition to the domestic consumption, 1,837,548 cords of pulpwood were exported, being about 75 per cent of the whole Canadian export.

For one highly useful mineral, Quebec is the main source of the world's supply—asbestos. During 1920 the value of the output of her asbestos mines was \$14,000,000—or an output for each working day of \$47,000. The chief field crops in 1921 included spring wheat of 2,754,000 bushels valued at \$4,379,000; oats of 50,591,000 bushels worth \$30,355,000; barley of 4,073,000 bushels worth \$4,073,000; buckwheat of 3,503,000 bushels valued at \$3,503,000; mixed grains of 4,038,000 bushels worth \$3,432,000; potatoes of 36,089,000 bushels valued at \$28,871,000; turnips, etc., of 16,934,000 bushels worth \$6,774,000; hay and clover of 4,205,000 tons worth \$121,945,000; fodder corn of 806,000 bushels valued at \$7,657,000. The horses of Quebec in 1921 numbered 406,959 worth \$36,219,000; the cattle, 2,052,494 valued at \$71,113,000; the sheep and swine numbered 1,890,540, worth \$20,183,000. The agricultural income of the Province in 1921 was \$325,291,000.

SASKATCHEWAN: Saskatchewan, with an area of 251,700 square miles and a population (1921) of 757,510, is, pre-eminently, the wheat-growing Province of Canada, producing in 1921 one-third of the wheat crop of the entire Dominion and one-fourth that of the United States; some preliminary success has also been attained in developing natural resources in coal, clay and mineral salts; the industrial development of the Province has been considerable, the value of manufacturing products in 1918 being \$49,998,136.

The agricultural riches of Saskatchewan are very great and its progress, apart from the depression of 1920-21, remarkable. The live-stock owned by its farmers in 1921 included 1,169,278 horses valued at \$95,463,000; its cattle were 1,563,332 worth \$52,239,000, and its sheep and swine numbered 620,897 worth \$7,163,000. The field crops in 1921 included spring wheat of 188,000,000 bushels valued at \$142,880,000; oats of 170,513,000 bushels worth \$40,372,000; barley of 13,343,000 bushels valued at \$4,858,000; rye of 13,546,000 bushels worth \$9,080,000; flax-seed of 3,230,000 bushels worth \$4,443,000; potatoes of 11,334,000 bushels worth \$5,172,000; hay and clover of 445,800 tons valued at \$5,015,000; and fodder corn of 258,700 tons worth \$2,199,000. The total agricultural income in 1921 was \$253,722,000.

THE YUKON TERRITORY: This famous region and its great placer gold-field celebrated, in 1921, the 25th birthday of gold discovery in the Klondike on Aug. 17, 1896, and hundreds of pioneers gathered at Dawson to mark the event. Between 1897 and 1911, when its placer product reached a declining stage and a small total, the product of Canada's Yukon gold was \$137,361,362. Its production in 1921 had fallen to \$1,325,000 under hydraulic operations, which were still maintaining ground and still finding a profit in the work. In 1920 the production had been \$1,512,006 and in 1919 \$2,355,631. There were known, also, to be great resources in Silver in the Yukon and a series of discoveries were reported in March, 1921, at Keno Hill, the centre of the Mayo mining district, 160 miles east of Dawson.

The population was small at this period and Dawson very different from its days of gold and glory but the settlement was stabilized and the people living under a Territorial system of government, established in 1898, and since developed until it is somewhat similar to that of the North-West Territories prior to 1905. There is no Legislature in name, but the Yukon Council, since 1919, has consisted of 31 members, elected to hold office for three years, with an indemnity of \$400 per annum, and this body has legislative powers. The Chief Executive Officer is the Commissioner of the Yukon, appointed by the Dominion Government.

The Commissioner is under the direction of the Governor-in-Council at Ottawa or, more specifically, the Minister of the Interior. The Yukon Judicial District was first created on Aug. 16, 1897, when the gold rush commenced; in 1898 it was made a Territory by Act of Parliament. The total area is 207,076 square miles or 132,528,640 acres of which 415,280 is water and the balance land. The population in 1911 was 8512 and in 1921 is 4157.

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES: The North-West Territories originally extended from Manitoba—then part of the vast area of Rupert's Land—north to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean, and West to the Mountains of British Columbia. The rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in these regions were granted under Royal Charter by King Charles the First, in 1670, and extended through British Columbia into the present States of Oregon and Washington. On July 31, 1868, the Rupert's Land Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament, provided for the acquisition by the Dominion Government of Rupert's Land or the Hudson Bay Territory—as it was at that time—and, on May 11, 1870, £400,000 was paid by the Dominion for all territorial rights.

Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, as they were known after this became part of the Dominion on July 15 and the District of Keewatin was created out of the latter in 1876. The Districts of Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan were formed from the southern part of the Territories in 1882 and, in 1888, were accorded local responsible government with the old North-West Council replaced by a North-West Legislature which existed up to August 31, 1905. Meanwhile, in 1895, the Districts of Mackenzie, Ungava and Franklin had been

established in addition to the others. Keewatin, which had formerly been under the administration of the Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, was, by Order-in-Council of July 24, 1905, re-annexed to the North-West Territories and made subject to their government and laws while, on Sept. 1st, 1905, Alberta and Saskatchewan, comprising the more settled portions of the Districts of Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan—south of the 60th parallel, N. Latitude—began their existence as separate Provinces.

Legislation passed, in the 1911-1912 Session of the Dominion Parliament, provided for the division of the District of Keewatin between the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba. By this legislation Manitoba was extended northerly to the 60th parallel of latitude, which also formed the northern boundary of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The eastern boundary of Manitoba was extended in a northeasterly direction to Hudson Bay and the remaining southern part of Keewatin was added to Ontario. By the same Act the whole of the immense District of Ungava was added to the Province of Quebec. The Islands in James Bay, Hudson Bay, Hudson Straits, and other northern waters, were left as a part of the new North-West Territories which included the Districts of Mackenzie and Franklin. The area of the Territories, as thus constituted, is 773,072,400 acres of land and 21,950,950 acres of water or a total of 975,023,360 acres or 1,242,224 square miles. The population, according to the Census of 1911, was 6507 and, in 1921, 7988.

According to the North-West Territories Act of 1905, the Governor-General appoints for the Territories a chief executive officer styled Commissioner who exercises the powers formerly vested in the Lieutenant-Governor of the old North-West Territories. On Aug. 31, 1905, when the separation of the new Provinces took place, there was a special provision that this Commissioner should administer the government of the Territories under instructions from the Governor-in-Council or the Minister of the Interior.

These great Territories included, in 1921, the Northern islands, many of them of large area, and the vast, unorganized Districts of Franklin and Mackenzie. According to evidence before a Select Committee of the Senate in 1906-07, mining areas in these Districts contained enormous resources in timber and minerals. Later discoveries indicated riches in oil and coal and iron, while agricultural lands were numerous and fertile in many sections of the Mackenzie District; the great rivers and lakes teemed with fish and the forests and plains afforded unbounded numbers of big game for the sportsman. In 1921 the oil possibilities developed into practical form at Fort Norman and other points with the Imperial Oil Company spending large sums of money in testing the unexplored and undoubted riches of this far northern region—with 150,000 square miles in the Mackenzie River basin, running from the Peace River to the Arctic Circle, described as areas of great possible wealth in petroleum.

NEWFOUNDLAND—THE ATLANTIC KEY TO CANADA: This Island Dominion, though small in comparative area and population, is of great strategic, political, commercial and financial importance to Canada. It controls strategically, the Atlantic pathways of trade and the naval position of the Canadian Dominion; it owns Labrador, the strip of cold and little known territory—rich in pulpwood and water powers—which spreads along Canada's Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Hudson Straits; it has great possibilities in production with vast iron resources in Belle Isle, a tributary part of its coast line, and with varied riches in fishing, in general mining, in lumbering and in agriculture.

Newfoundland is triangular in shape with deeply indented coast lines, and is about 370 miles long by 290 miles in breadth. The coast is extremely rugged and the coastal regions are mountainous with noble scenery which attracts tourists from distant parts of the world, as well as from the Dominion and the United States. The interior is undulating and hilly with many lakes and rivers, and some swampy areas; with, also, many fertile valleys where the climate is favourable to agriculture, and where there exist immense natural resources in forests of pine, and birch, and in the pulpwood now so vastly valuable. The people of the Island are a strong, hardy, thrifty, industrious race. They contributed out of their 240,000 of population nearly 12,000 men to the fighting forces of the Empire during the Great War, and, in addition to these, 3000 Newfoundlanders enlisted in Canadian and other forces mustered for the Empire's defence.

Newfoundland is the oldest of British Colonies. It was discovered by John Cabot on June 24th, 1497, and soon became the centre of a fishing industry which has never ceased to be of importance during the succeeding 400 years. In August, 1583, the Island was formally occupied by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 it was recognized as British. In 1728 a Governor was appointed and in 1855 responsible government was accorded. It has a very healthy climate, the thermometer in winter seldom reaching zero, while summer temperatures range only from 70 to 80 degrees. The people occupy the coastline, chiefly, with 10,000 engaged in the cod-fishing industry during summer and in seal-fishing during the winter and spring. Newfoundland dried cod are exported largely to South America and across the Atlantic to European ports. In 1920-21 exports from the Fisheries reached a value of \$15,943,490; more than one-fifth of the total population were then engaged in this industry.

In the pulp and paper industry Newfoundland has a splendid source of wealth based on abundant resources of timber; the forests of the Island are immense and those of Labrador practically inexhaustible so far as pulpwood is concerned. Great mills have been erected in the Island, and an increasing number of people are finding employment in connection with this industry; the Northcliffe interests have here, probably, the finest pulp and paper mills in the world. The population in 1921 was 262,938.

CENSUS OF CANADA, 1921

Population of Canada by Census of 1921, as compared with 1911.

PROVINCES.	1921	1911	PROVINCES.	1921	1911
Alberta.....	588,454	374,295	Quebec.....	2,361,199	2,005,776
British Columbia.....	524,582	392,480	Saskatchewan.....	757,510	492,432
Manitoba.....	610,118	461,394	Yukon.....	4,157	8,512
New Brunswick.....	387,876	351,889	North West Territories.	7,988	6,507
Nova Scotia.....	523,837	492,338	Royal Canadian Navy..	485	....
Ontario.....	2,933,662	2,527,292			
Prince Edward Island..	88,615	93,728		8,788,483	7,206,643

POPULATION OF PRINCIPAL CITIES AND TOWNS IN CANADA COMPARED FOR 1921 AND 1911

CITIES AND TOWNS.	1921.	1911.	CITIES AND TOWNS.	1921.	1911.
ALBERTA—			NOVA SCOTIA—		
Calgary.....	63,305	43,704	Amherst.....	9,998	8,973
Edmonton.....	58,821	31,064	Dartmouth.....	7,899	5,058
Lethbridge.....	11,097	9,035	Glace Bay.....	17,007	16,562
Medicine Hat.....	9,634	5,608	Halifax.....	58,372	46,619
Red Deer.....	2,328	2,118	New Glasgow.....	8,974	6,383
Wetaskiwin.....	2,061	2,411	New Waterford.....	5,615	....
BRITISH COLUMBIA—			North Sydney.....	6,585	5,418
Fernie.....	4,343	3,146	Springhill.....	4,958	5,713
Kamloops.....	4,501	3,772	Stellarton.....	5,312	3,910
Nanaimo and suburbs...	9,088	8,306	Sydney.....	22,545	17,723
Nelson.....	5,230	4,476	Sydney Mines.....	8,327	7,470
New Westminster.....	14,495	13,199	Truro.....	7,562	6,107
North Vancouver.....	7,652	7,781	Westville.....	4,550	4,417
Prince Rupert.....	6,393	4,184	Yarmouth.....	7,073	6,600
Vancouver.....	117,217	95,235	ONTARIO—		
Victoria.....	38,727	31,660	Arnprior.....	4,077	4,405
MANITOBA—			Barrie.....	6,936	6,420
Brandon.....	15,397	13,839	Belleville.....	12,206	9,876
Portage la Prairie.....	6,766	5,892	Brampton.....	4,527	3,412
St. Boniface.....	12,821	7,483	Brantford.....	29,440	23,132
Transcona.....	4,185	....	Brockville.....	10,040	9,374
Winnipeg.....	179,087	136,035	Chatham.....	13,256	10,770
NEW BRUNSWICK—			Cobalt.....	4,449	5,638
Campbellton.....	5,570	3,817	Cobourg.....	5,327	5,074
Fredericton.....	8,114	7,208	Collingwood.....	5,882	7,090
Moncton.....	17,488	11,345	Cornwall.....	7,419	6,598
St. John.....	47,166	42,511	Dundas.....	4,978	4,299

CITIES AND TOWNS.	1921.	1911.	CITIES AND TOWNS.	1921.	1911.
ONTARIO—Continued					
Eastview.....	5,324	3,169	Welland.....	8,654	5,318
Ford City.....	5,870	....	Windsor.....	38,591	17,829
Fort William.....	20,541	16,499	Woodstock.....	9,935	9,320
Galt.....	13,216	10,299	PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—		
Goderich.....	4,107	4,522	Charlottetown.....	12,347	11,203
Guelph.....	18,128	15,175	QUEBEC		
Hamilton.....	114,151	81,969	Cap de la Madeleine.....	6,738	....
Hawkesbury.....	5,544	4,400	Chicoutimi.....	8,937	5,880
Ingersoll.....	5,150	4,763	Granby.....	6,785	4,750
Kenora.....	5,407	6,158	Grand' Mere.....	7,631	4,783
Kingston.....	21,753	18,874	Hull.....	24,117	18,222
Kitchener.....	21,763	15,196	Joliette.....	9,113	6,346
Lindsay.....	7,620	6,964	Jonquière.....	4,851	2,354
London.....	60,959	46,300	Lachine.....	15,404	11,688
Midland.....	7,016	4,663	La-Tuque.....	5,603	2,934
Niagara Falls.....	14,764	9,248	Lauzon.....	4,966	3,978
North Bay.....	10,692	7,737	Lévis.....	10,470	8,703
Orillia.....	8,774	6,828	Longueuil.....	4,682	3,972
Oshawa.....	11,940	7,436	Magog.....	5,159	3,978
Ottawa.....	107,843	87,062	Montmagny.....	4,145	2,617
Owen Sound.....	12,190	12,558	Montreal.....	618,506	490,504
Paris.....	4,368	4,098	Outremont.....	13,249	4,280
Pembroke.....	7,875	5,626	Quebec.....	95,193	78,710
Penetanguishene.....	4,037	3,568	Rivière du Loup.....	7,703	6,774
Peterborough.....	20,994	18,360	St. Hyacinthe.....	10,859	9,797
Port Arthur.....	14,886	11,220	St. Jean.....	7,734	5,903
Port Hope.....	4,456	5,092	St. Jérôme.....	5,491	3,473
Preston.....	5,423	3,883	Shawinigan Falls.....	10,625	4,265
Renfrew.....	4,906	3,846	Sherbrooke.....	23,515	16,405
St. Catharines.....	19,881	12,484	Sorel.....	8,174	8,420
St. Thomas.....	16,026	14,054	Thetford Mines.....	7,886	7,261
Sandwich.....	4,415	2,302	Three Rivers.....	22,367	13,691
Sarnia.....	14,877	9,947	Verdun.....	25,001	11,629
Sault Ste. Marie.....	21,092	14,920	Valleyfield.....	9,215	9,449
Smiths Falls.....	6,790	6,370	Westmount.....	17,593	14,579
Stratford.....	16,094	12,946	SASKATCHEWAN—		
Sturgeon Falls.....	4,125	2,199	Moosejaw.....	19,285	13,823
Sudbury.....	8,621	4,150	North Battleford.....	4,108	2,105
Thorold.....	4,825	2,273	Prince Albert.....	7,558	6,254
Toronto.....	521,893	376,538	Regina.....	34,432	30,213
Trenton.....	5,902	3,988	Saskatoon.....	25,739	12,004
Walkerville.....	7,059	3,302	Swift Current.....	3,518	1,852
Wallaceburg.....	4,006	3,438	Weyburn.....	3,193	2,210
Waterloo.....	5,883	4,359	Yorkton.....	5,151	2,309





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